

A New Perspective On The Kennedy Assassination

INTRODUCTION

In November 2004, I created a PowerPoint presentation on the John F. Kennedy assassination medical evidence for the JFK Lancer conference in Dallas. In 2005, I expanded this presentation and once again brought it to Dallas. In November 2005, I put this now book-length presentation online on a Mac page. Throughout 2006, I greatly expanded this presentation by adding sections on the Warren Commission and the eyewitnesses. I continue to add sections to this day. This expanded version begins below. The text should be a lot easier to read than on the Mac page. The images should also be clearer. I hope you find your time here worthwhile.

A New Perspective on the John F. Kennedy Assassination

by Patrick J. Speer



If you notice anything in this photograph that could possibly be a bullet hole then you should conclude the U.S. Government has ignored or buried the photographic evidence of a conspiracy in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Welcome to the dark side.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

A Dedication

It all goes back to Mr. Ellis. The 80-year old caretaker of a walnut grove handed me a shiny new 50 cent piece. He said the man on the coin was a great President. He suggested that as a form of remembrance I should hold onto the coin and never spend it. This sounded a bit strange to me so I looked to my father. I was, after all, only three years old and "never spending" sounded like quite a long commitment. My father nodded his head in approval. This was 1964. Decades later I would learn that Rose Kennedy, the man on the coin's mother, was another to pass out Kennedy-halves, and I would reflect that somewhere in a small safe whose combination I'd forgotten sat the very Kennedy-half Mr. Ellis handed me, still waiting to be spent.

This investigation, then, is dedicated to Mr. Ellis, and all those like him, who fought foreign wars to defend democracy, only to see it snuffed out at home

11-22-63: Background and Foreword



Above: Governor Connally tips his hat to the First Lady at the beginning of the motorcade. While one might say he's simply being a gentleman another might wonder if he knows what is to come.

11-22-63: Background and Foreword

President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963. Although his death was investigated by a Presidential panel in 1964, and re-investigated by the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) in the late 1970's, to most, the facts of his murder are still mystery. This presentation represents one individual's attempt to peel a layer or two from the mud surrounding that mystery.

Over the more than forty years since the President was shot to death while riding in an open-topped limousine through Dealey Plaza, Dallas, Texas, there have been a multitude of theories proposed about the assassination, the most prominent one being that a 24 year-old ex-marine named Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, performed the shooting. This was, of course, the finding of

the panel of seven prestigious Americans put together by Kennedy's successor, Lyndon Johnson, and headed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Earl Warren. This panel, commonly known as the Warren Commission, made the bulk of its evidence available to the public in an attempt to show there was nothing being held back. The 26 volumes of exhibits and testimony it released had the opposite effect, however, and many researchers, commonly called conspiracy theorists or conspiracy buffs, have used (some say abused) much of this evidence in order to question the Warren Commission's findings.

But some new evidence was uncovered as well. So much new evidence bubbled to the surface, in fact, that by 1976 it became necessary to re-open the investigation in the United States House of Representatives. The most damaging of this new evidence included: the admission that both the FBI and the CIA had failed to disclose to the Warren Commission that the CIA had been trying to murder Oswald's purported hero, Cuban dictator Fidel Castro, with the help of organized crime; that the FBI had destroyed and concealed the existence of a purportedly threatening note from Oswald to one of its agents; that, in opposition to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's sworn testimony that "there had been no information that would have warranted our reporting him (Oswald) as a potential hazard to the security or the safety of the President," Hoover had secretly disciplined seventeen of his agents for failing to report Oswald to the Secret Service as a security risk; and that the pathologists who performed the President's autopsy recorded the location of his head wound incorrectly, were off by four inches, and had verified this incorrect wound location after reviewing the autopsy photos.

In 1979, the House Select Committee on Assassinations (the "HSCA") ended its investigation by confirming the Warren Commission's finding that Lee Harvey Oswald fired the shots that killed the President. It did, however, disagree that he acted alone, and offered instead a scenario where a second shooter fired a shot that missed. It then referred the case to the Justice Department and asked it to identify this second shooter. The Justice Department refused to do this, however, and instead questioned the HSCA's belief that a recording of the assassination reflected more than the three shots Oswald was presumed to have been able to fire in the time frame established for the shooting. This time frame had been established by the careful study of a home movie of the assassination taken by dress manufacturer Abraham Zapruder. In 1982, the Justice Department declared that its experts

disagreed with the HSCA's experts, and that there was no evidence for additional shots, and thus no need to follow-up on the findings of the HSCA.

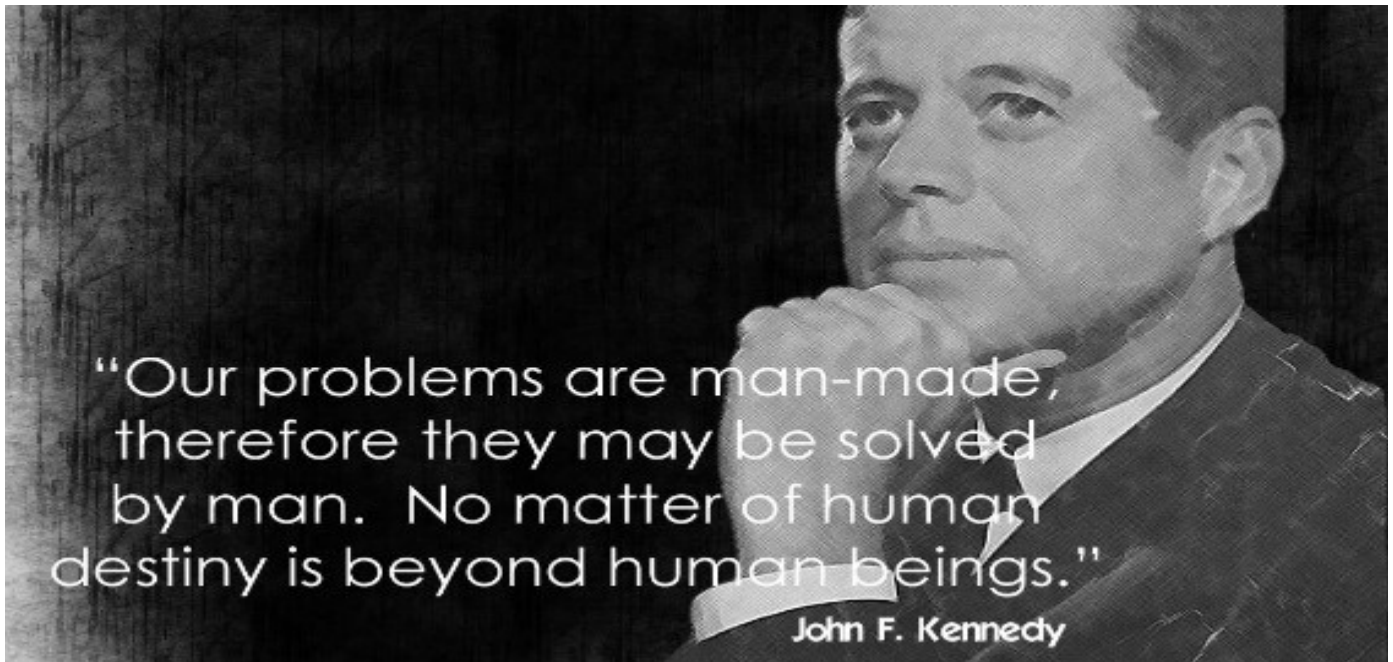
In 1991 Oliver Stone released his film, JFK, and re-ignited the controversy. Stone insisted there was valid evidence that the government itself performed the assassination, setting Oswald up as a patsy. To support his position, he cited the fact that many of the HSCA's records were sealed for fifty years.

Right before the 1992 election, however, President George Herbert Walker Bush surprised many by signing into law the JFK Records Act. This act created a government body, the Assassination Records Review Board (ARRB), to review and de-classify hundreds of thousands of pages of documents related to the assassination. Many of these pages have still not been read or analyzed by the JFK research community that demanded their release.

Unfortunately, by then many of the conspiracy theorists had grown so cynical from the almost thirty years of government secrecy and deception that they disbelieved any evidence that pointed away from their now fervent belief that Kennedy was shot from in front of the limousine, from an area of the plaza known as the grassy knoll. Accordingly, they concluded that the President's autopsy photos, as presented in books such as Best Evidence and High Treason, were doctored to hide the true nature of his wounds. Ironically, many of the theorists even came to believe that the home movie of Abraham Zapruder, which depicted the President's head flying backwards after the fatal headshot and was subsequently responsible for convincing millions of Americans that the head shot came from the front, was also faked, as it showed the large exit wound on the President's skull near his temple, and not on the back of his head, where a shot fired from the grassy knoll would presumably have made its exit. This conviction that the accepted evidence had been faked became so widespread, in fact, that the prominent conspiracy writer Dr. David Mantik conceded in Murder in Dealey Plaza that "If the evidence in the JFK case is merely accepted at face value, then the conclusions are rather trivial. The rookie Scotland Yard inspector can easily solve this case--it was Oswald alone. The real challenge is to assess the credibility of the evidence."

With the fortieth anniversary of the assassination, in November 2003, ABC News and its anchor man Peter Jennings only added to the cynicism of the research community by broadcasting what was claimed to be an in-depth investigation of the assassination, but was, instead, a barely-scratch-the-surface over-view featuring a computer-generated cartoon depicting the killing of the President. Claiming this computer simulation, which grossly misrepresented the relationship between the President's back wound and his throat wound, as new conclusive evidence, ABC sought to close the case, once and for all. Sadly, this confirmed for many theorists what they'd always suspected--that the





media was in league with the government in an ongoing conspiracy to cover-up the truth about of the assassination. It was shortly before this broadcast that I began my own investigation. It was perplexing to me that such an important part of American history remained so clouded in mystery. And so I read virtually everything I could on the assassination, with a special emphasis on the medical evidence and medical testimony available on such websites as Rex Bradford's History-Matters.com. At first I was surprised to find that I agreed with the Warren Commission more often than not. I soon realized, however, that the medical evidence area of the case left little room for disagreement, whereby agreeing with the conspiracy theorists even 10% of the time still left you a conspiracy theorist. After a year or so of this immersion into all things assassination, and weary of my inability to reach a firm conclusion on just what I thought happened, I decided to run a test of sorts. Since it makes no sense for conspirators trying to cover up a conspiracy to fake evidence which indicates a conspiracy, I decided to disregard the opinions expressed in the many books I'd read, from Weisberg to Groden to Lifton to Mantik, and determine for myself if the autopsy photos now available on the internet represent solid evidence for a solo assassin firing from behind. Taking historian Stephen Ambrose's statement that "a single researcher, working alone, is always preferable to a committee" to heart, I sought to educate myself on forensic pathology, ballistics, and psycho-acoustics to an extent beyond that of most researchers. If it was true that the photos and x-rays were evidence for one shooter firing from behind, I was willing to conclude that the government's defenders were right after all, as I just couldn't accept so much evidence had been faked, and that so many "experts" had been deceived.

But what I found astounded me. I found that the autopsy photos, when studied along with the Zapruder film, suggested not one lone-nut assassin but two shooters firing from behind, and thus, a conspiracy. This left me as one of the few conspiracists on what many would consider the wrong side of "the great divide," which, according to Dr. Mantik, separates those who accept the medical evidence at face value from the "alterationists", who believe evidence was doctored to sell the American people there was one shooter firing from behind. Although I came to believe that the autopsy photos, x-rays, Zapruder film, etc., were all genuine and unaltered, I found myself in adamant disagreement with the conclusions of many of the experts hired by the government to interpret this evidence. Additionally, I developed an understanding of the assassination and its investigation that put me at odds with the majority of conspiracy theorists, as I came to believe that the incorrect conclusions of the government investigations had more to do with incompetence and institutional cowardice than with any conscious desire to conceal the truth. In some ways this was liberating, in that I could question men's judgment

without identifying them as accessories after the fact in the murder of the president. In other ways it was restricting, however. The "worship of expertise" in American society is such that it is nearly impossible to question the "expert" opinions of doctors, rocket scientists and nuclear physicists with any credibility unless you counter them with the opinions of other doctors, rocket scientists and nuclear physicists. Accordingly, I'm hoping to include some "expert" responses to this presentation in the near future. Fingers crossed.

Pat Speer

August, 2005, November, 2006, March 2007

P.S. Throughout 2006, I tried to acquire some "expert" responses. Despite repeated visits to radiology websites and the posting of multiple fliers at UCLA's Medical Center seeking advice, I was not able to find one medical professional willing to offer his or her expertise to help solve this crime. Some would defer to the opinions of

other doctors without looking into the case themselves. An example of this sheep-like mindset can be found in Dr. Scott Christianson's 2006 book *Bodies of Evidence*, a book on forensic science.

Christianson so admires Dr. Michael Baden, whom he describes as "one of the world's leading forensic pathologists" that he presents every single thing Baden has said about the Kennedy assassination, no matter how ill-informed, as fact. Included in the list of Baden's "non-fact facts" repeated by Christianson is that Kennedy's autopsy photographer was an FBI agent and that the "back and to the left" movement of Kennedy's head after the fatal head shot can be explained by the acceleration of the limousine. If nothing else, I hope my efforts will wake others up to the "fact fact" that you can't accept the works of men like Christianson and Baden as the ultimate sources on the assassination, no matter how many letters have been placed after their names.

In retrospect, I was probably naive to think that young doctors would step up to the plate. In 2004, a high-school acquaintance turned emergency room doctor assured me that the assassination was coffee talk among medical professionals, and that the consensus was that Kennedy's medical evidence was in conflict with the official story. Perhaps I should have realized then that the medical establishment's refusal to say something was not from a decisive lack of information, but from its decided lack of courage and concern.

Within the first half of this investigation we shall examine the history of the Warren Commission and the statements of the many witnesses in Dealey Plaza. Within the second half, we shall look at the autopsy photos, x-rays and assassination films to see if they support my conclusions regarding the eyewitness evidence. While I will not attempt to show who was behind the shooting, I shall acknowledge some of my suspicions and point out some of the circumstantial evidence that may lead the reader to his or her own suspicions. No matter how much you think you know about the assassination, I'm betting there will be arguments and evidence presented throughout this investigation that will challenge you and surprise you.



Chapter 1: The Aftermath

A look at the behavior of Lyndon Johnson, the FBI, the news media, and the Warren Commission in the days immediately following the assassination.

The Delivery Men



Above: The delivery of the Warren Report to President Johnson on September 24, 1964. From left to right: commissioner member John J. McCloy, commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin, commission member Senator Richard Russell, commission member Congressman Gerald Ford, commission Chairman Chief Justice Earl Warren, President Lyndon Johnson, commission member Allen Dulles, commission member Senator John Sherman Cooper, and commission member Congressman Hale Boggs.

The Delivery Men

While J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel to the Warren Commission, and the man tasked with heading its investigation of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, is reported to have told his staff that the truth was their *"only client,"* much evidence has arisen over the years to indicate that this simply was not so. The available record, in fact, now suggests that the Commission had another client, one whose interests were to be placed above and beyond the Commission's search for truth. This client was called... "national security" or, more specifically, President Lyndon Johnson.

One need look no further than the memoirs of Chief Justice Earl Warren, (for whom the commission was named), for that matter, to see that this is true. There, in the final pages written at the end of his long successful life, Warren admitted that he was strong-armed into chairing the Commission only after Johnson, Kennedy's successor, told him that if people came to believe there was foreign involvement in the assassination it could lead to a war that would kill 40 million. This, one can only assume, gave Warren the clear signal he was NOT to find for a conspiracy involving a foreign power. But when one reads between the lines--and reads other lines--a fuller picture emerges. Warren was also told he was NOT to find for a domestic conspiracy, or at least anything that could point back to Johnson.

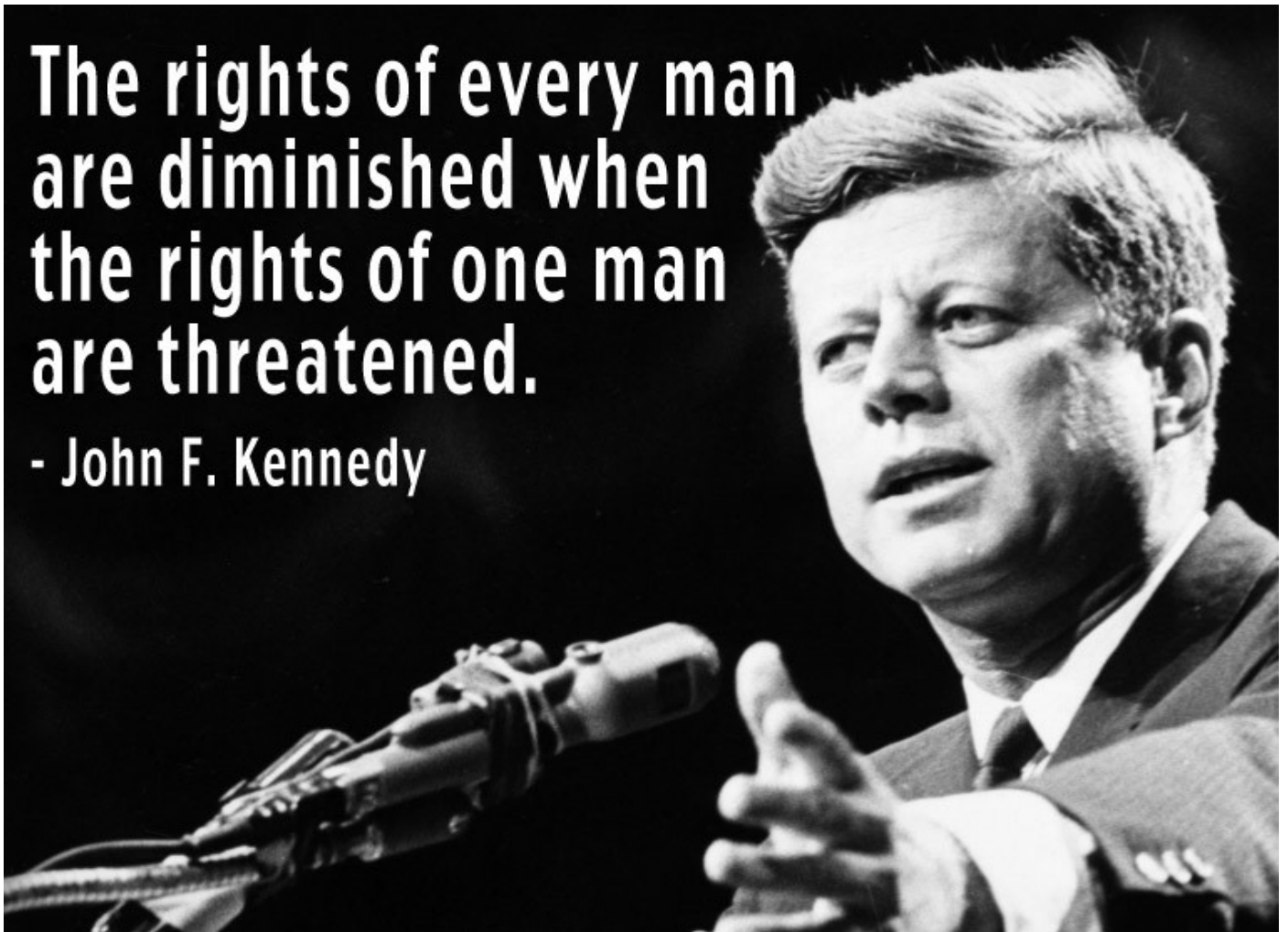


There were signs for this from the get-go. The Voice of America, the U.S. Information Agency's worldwide radio network, had initially reported, in the moments after the shooting, that Dallas, Texas, the scene of the crime, is also *"the scene of the extreme right wing movement."* It soon stopped doing so. This suggests that someone in the government was particularly sensitive to the idea that the right wing would be blamed for the shooting, and had ordered the Voice of America to downplay the possibility of a domestic conspiracy.

This "sensitivity," moreover, was in the air and spreading. Acting Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, whose discussions in the days after the shooting sparked the creation of the Warren Commission, testified before the House Select Committee on Assassinations on 9-21-78 that his basic concern at that time was *"the amount of speculation both here and abroad as to what was going on, whether there was a conspiracy of the left or a lone assassin or even in its wildest stages, a conspiracy by the then vice president to achieve the presidency, the sort of thing you have speculation about in some countries abroad where that kind of condition is normal."* Yikes. These words make clear that Katzenbach, who was only running the Justice Department in the aftermath of the assassination, considered Johnson's involvement unthinkable, and not really worth investigating.

The rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

- John F. Kennedy



That Katzenbach's concerns infected the Warren Commission's investigation, moreover, seems obvious. Howard Willens, a Justice Department attorney reporting to Katzenbach, was made an assistant to Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin, and was tasked with 1) hiring the commission's junior counsel (the men tasked with performing the bulk of the commission's investigation), 2) assigning these men specific areas of investigation, 3) supplying these men with the FBI, Secret Service, and CIA reports pertinent to their areas of investigation, 4) working as a liaison between these men and the agencies creating these reports, and 5) helping to re-write the commission's own report. On 7-28-78, in Executive Session, he testified before the House Select Committee, and admitted: *"there were some allegations involving President Johnson that were before the Commission and there was understandably among all persons associated with this effort a desire to investigate those allegations and satisfy the public, if possible, that these allegations were without merit."*

But these allegations *weren't* investigated, not really. The Commission's final report amounted to a prosecutor's brief against a lone assassin named Lee Harvey Oswald, and the 26 volumes of supporting data published by the Commission contained next to nothing on Johnson or other possible conspirators.

That this "clearing" of Johnson's name was a major factor in the commission's creation is confirmed, moreover, by a memo written by Warren Commission counsel Melvin A. Eisenberg. While reporting on the Warren Commission's first staff conference of 1-20-64, Eisenberg recalled in a 2-17-64 memo that Chief Justice Warren had discussed *"the circumstances under which he had accepted the chairmanship of the Commission,"* and had claimed he'd resisted pressure from Johnson until *"The President stated that the rumors of the most exaggerated kind were circulating in this country and overseas. Some rumors went as far as attributing the assassination to a faction within the Government wishing to see*

the Presidency assumed by President Johnson. Others, if not quenched, could conceivably lead the country into a war which could cost 40 million lives."

Eisenberg's account of Warren's statements was supported, for that matter, by Warren Commission Junior Counsel--and subsequent Senator--Arlen Specter in his 2000 memoir *Passion for Truth*. In Specter's account, Warren claimed that Johnson had told him *"only he could lend the credibility the country and the world so desperately needed as the people tried to understand why their heroic young president had been slain. Conspiracy theories involving communists, the U.S.S.R., Cuba, the military-industrial complex, and even the new president were already swirling. The Kennedy assassination could lead America into a nuclear war that could kill 40 million people..."*

And this, apparently, wasn't the only time Warren admitted Johnson's worries extended both beyond and closer to home than the possible thermo-nuclear war mentioned in his autobiography. In his biography of Warren, Ed Cray reported that Warren once confided to a friend that *"There was great pressure on us to prove, first, that President Johnson was not involved, and, second, that the Russians were not involved."*

And yet Warren refused to put Johnson's fears he'd be implicated on the record. While he was interviewed a number of times in his final years about the creation of the Warren Commission, Warren never admitted in these interviews what he'd readily told his friends and the commission's staff--that Johnson had railroaded him onto the commission in part to clear himself. In fact, Warren said the opposite. When interviewed by Warren Commission historian Alfred Goldberg on March 28, 1974, to be clear, Warren told Goldberg the opposite of what he'd told Eisenberg and Specter (and presumably Goldberg) in 1964. Instead of claiming Johnson told him *"Some rumors went as far as attributing the assassination to a faction within the Government wishing to see the Presidency assumed by President Johnson,"* Warren now related *"There were of course two theories of conspiracy. One was the theory about the communists. The other was that LBJ's friends did it as a coup d'etat. Johnson didn't talk about that."*

It seems likely, then, that even Warren thought it improper that the Chief Justice of the United States, the head of the Judicial Branch of Government, be hired by the head of the Executive Branch of Government, the President, in part to clear his name.

Now, it's not as if Warren's fellow commissioners had a problem with serving this higher purpose... John McCloy, Wall Street's man on the Commission, told writer Edward Epstein on June 7, 1965 that one of the commission's objectives was *"to show foreign governments we weren't a South American Banana Republic."* Well, seeing as the expression "Banana Republic" is not a reference to countries whose leaders have been killed by foreign enemies, but to countries whose leaders have been killed by domestic enemies, who then assume power, this is most certainly a reference to Johnson.

And it's not as if this was all a big secret. The December 5, 1963, transcripts of the Warren Commission's first meeting reflect that Senator Richard Russell, Johnson's long-time friend and mentor, admitted *"I told the President the other day, fifty years from today people will be saying he had something to do with it so he could be President."*

And it's not as if Washington insiders weren't also in the know. In 1966, columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak published *Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power*. They discussed the creation of the Warren Commission as follows: *"There was first the question of the assassination itself. Inevitably, irresponsible demagogues of the left and right spread the notion that not one assassin but a conspiracy had killed John Kennedy. That it occurred in Johnson's own state on a political mission urgently requested and promoted by Johnson only embellished rancid conspiratorial theories. If he were to gain the confidence of the people, the ghost of Dallas must be shrugged off."*

Now, should one still doubt that Johnson was at least as concerned with suspicions of himself as of the Soviets, there is confirmation from an even better source: Johnson himself. In a rarely-cited interview with columnist Drew Pearson, cited in a November 14th, 1993 article in The Washington Post, Johnson admitted that, in his conversation with Warren, in which he convinced Warren to head his commission, Johnson brought up the assassination of President Lincoln, and that rumors still lingered about the conspiracy behind his murder 100 years after the fact. According to Pearson, Johnson admitted telling Warren that *"The nation cannot afford to have any doubt this time."* Well, this says it all. The doubt, according to Johnson, the nation could not afford to have, was doubt about Southern and/or military involvement in the assassination. The rumors about Lincoln's death, after all, revolved largely around his being murdered by The Confederate Army as revenge for his successful campaign to re-unite the States, or his being murdered by his Secretary of War, or his being murdered by his Vice-President, a Southerner named JOHNSON.

And Johnson confirmed these concerns in his presidential memoir, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives on the Presidency 1963-1969*, published 1971. Of the national mood on 11-24-63, after the man accused of killing President Kennedy, Lee Harvey Oswald, a purported communist-sympathizer, was shot down while in police custody, by Jack Ruby, a man with connections to organized crime, Johnson wrote: *"The atmosphere was poisonous and had to be cleared. I was aware of some of the implications that grew out of that skepticism and doubt. Russia was not immune to them. Neither was Cuba. Neither was the State of Texas. Neither was the new President of the United States."*

And, should one have doubts so many men--not only those working for the commission, but those working for the Secret Service, FBI, and CIA--would agree to give Johnson a free pass, in the name of national security, etc, one should consider that some of these same men defended the conclusions of the Warren Commission for these very same reasons...and left a "smoking gun" document in the National Archives as proof of their activities.

Here is a link to this document. [The Smoking Gun Document](#) One might wish to take a quick look at it before returning to our discussion...

This document, released in 1993 as a result of the 1992 JFK Records Act, which was passed in the aftermath of Oliver Stone's movie JFK, was written on January 4, 1967, at a time when questions surrounding the assassination were beginning to be taken seriously, and appear in mainstream publications like Life Magazine, the New York Times, and The Saturday Evening Post. It is a CIA document, and it proposes that the CIA chiefs around the world to whom it was directed *"employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks of the critics. Book reviews and feature articles are particularly appropriate for this purpose. The unclassified attachments to this guidance should provide useful background material for passage to assets. Our play should point out, as applicable, that the critics are (i) wedded to theories adopted before the evidence was in, (ii) politically interested, (iii) financially interested, (iv) hasty and inaccurate in their research, or (v) infatuated with their own theories."*

Note that it says *"Destroy when no longer needed"* across the bottom. We were never supposed to know about this. Note also that January 1967 marks the precise time the so-called mainstream media pulled back from its criticisms of the Warren Commission, and started focusing its criticism on the critics. CBS News, most pointedly, had started an investigation of the Warren Commission months before, but had changed its direction around this same time, after former Warren Commissioner John McCloy was invited to participate as a top secret adviser.

But note, primarily, the stated purpose of this propaganda push. It says nothing about the danger Americans might think a foreign power killed Kennedy. It says nothing about preventing World War

III. Instead, it says, in so many words, that all this talk of conspiracy is starting to circle in on President Johnson and the CIA, and that would be bad for business. Here are the relevant paragraphs:

1. Our Concern. From the day of President Kennedy's assassination on, there has been speculation about the responsibility for his murder. Although this was stemmed for a time by the Warren Commission report (which appeared at the end of September 1964), various writers have now had time to scan the Commission's published report and documents for new pretexts for questioning, and there has been a new wave of books and articles criticizing the Commission's findings. In most cases the critics have speculated as to the existence of some kind of conspiracy, and often they have implied that the Commission itself was involved. Presumably as a result of the increasing challenge to the Warren Commission's Report, a public opinion poll recently indicated that 46% of the American public did not think that Oswald acted alone, while more than half of those polled thought that the Commission had left some questions unresolved. Doubtless polls abroad would show similar, or possibly more adverse, results.

*2. This trend of opinion is a matter of concern to the U.S. government, including our organization. The members of the Warren Commission were naturally chosen for their integrity, experience, and prominence. They represented both major parties, and they and their staff were deliberately drawn from all sections of the country. Just because of the standing of the Commissioners, efforts to impugn their rectitude and wisdom tend to cast doubt on the whole leadership of American society. **Moreover, there seems to be an increasing tendency to hint that President Johnson himself, as the one person who might be said to have benefited, was in some way responsible for the assassination. Innuendo of such seriousness affects not only the individual concerned, but also the whole reputation of the American government.** Our organization itself is directly involved: among other facts, we contributed information to the investigation. Conspiracy theories have frequently thrown suspicion on our organization, for example by falsely alleging that Lee Harvey Oswald worked for us. The aim of this dispatch is to provide material for countering and discrediting the claims of the conspiracy theorists, so as to inhibit the circulation of such claims in other countries. Background information is supplied in a classified section and in a number of unclassified attachments.*

Now note that, according to this last paragraph, this trend towards accusing Johnson was, in the eyes of the writer of this dispatch (undoubtedly one of the CIA's top officials), "a matter of concern to the U.S. government," **including** the CIA. This more than suggests that this order to "employ" the CIA's propaganda assets to help clear Johnson's name did not originate within the CIA itself... but from elsewhere in the executive branch.

Quite possibly Johnson himself... In October 2007, the Johnson Presidential Library released a batch of previously withheld recordings of President Johnson's phone calls while President. Most interesting of these was a January 11, 1967 phone call between Johnson and his most trusted adviser, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas. This call built upon similar calls with Fortas on October 1 and October 6, 1966; it was made, moreover, just one week after the "smoking gun" document was written. In this call, amazingly, Johnson drops his guard completely, and tells Fortas that he believes Senator Robert Kennedy--his predecessor's brother--and Robert Kennedy's supporters are behind the recent spurt of books and articles on the assassination. He claims, moreover, that: *"They've started all this stuff...they've created all this doubt...And if we'd had anybody less than the attorney general--ah, the chief justice--I would've already been indicted."*

And should one think Johnson exaggerating here, and stating something that he didn't really believe, one should consider that he said similar things even after Robert Kennedy was dead and buried. As reported by Robert Caro, in his 2012 epic *The Passage of Power*, Johnson dropped his mask yet again during the August 19, 1969 recording of an oral history for the Johnson Library. He declared: *"I*

shudder to think what churches I would have burned and what little babies I would have eaten if I hadn't appointed the Warren Commission." He also offered a slightly different and no doubt more honest version of how he got Warren to chair his commission. Leaving off the bit about the Russians launching nukes should they think we blamed them for killing Kennedy, he admitted he'd actually pressured Warren through a call for domestic tranquility. He said he told Warren: *"When this country is threatened with division, and the President of the United States says you are the only man who can save it, you won't say no, will you?"* And that Warren responded, *"No, sir!"*

So there you have it, straight from the horse's--ah, President's--mouth. Johnson felt that his having left-wing icon Earl Warren chair the commission investigating President Kennedy's murder not only stopped Kennedy's brother Robert Kennedy from having him (Johnson) investigated as a suspect, but stopped him (Johnson) from actually being indicted for Kennedy's murder.

Which leads us back to the "smoking gun" document... Note that one of the arguments the CIA plans on using to assure the world Johnson is above reproach is *"Conspiracy on the large scale often suggested would be impossible to conceal in the United States, esp. since informants could expect to receive large royalties, etc. Note that Robert Kennedy, Attorney General at the time and John F. Kennedy's brother, would be the last man to overlook or conceal any conspiracy."*

Well, this is grossly unfair. Robert Kennedy did not participate in the investigation of his brother's murder. He never even read the report of Earl Warren's commission.

This argument is also familiar. On November 4 1966, just when critics of the Warren Commission started gaining traction, President Johnson made a similar argument at a press conference. He offered: *"The late, beloved President's brother was Attorney General during the period the Warren Commission was studying this thing. I certainly would think he would have a very thorough interest in seeing that the truth was made evident."* (Note that this was well after Johnson first started musing that the "beloved President's brother," Robert Kennedy, was behind all these critics...)

This argument was then repeated by those closest to Johnson. A January 1968 letter to the New York Times by John Roche (subsequently quoted in its January 5 edition), offered: *"Any fair analysis of Sen. Robert Kennedy's abilities, his character and of the resources at his disposal as Attorney General would indicate that if there were a conspiracy, he would have pursued its protagonists to the ends of the earth."* Roche was a "Special Consultant" to Johnson, his so-called "intellectual in residence." Roche had written Johnson a memo on 11-23-66 urging Johnson to make countering the critics of the Warren Commission a *"top priority"* of his administration.

And the residue of this sticky business stuck to Johnson for the remainder of his days. In 1971, Johnson published *The Vantage Point*, his presidential memoir. On page 25, he relates: *"One of the most urgent tasks facing me after I assumed office was to assure the country that everything possible was being done to uncover the truth surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy. John Kennedy had been murdered, and a troubled, puzzled, and outraged nation wanted to know the facts. Led by the Attorney General who wanted no stone unturned, the FBI was working on the case 24 hours a day and Director J. Edgar Hoover was in constant communication with me."*

Well, this was bullshit of a presidential magnitude. Johnson knew full well that Robert Kennedy barely followed the FBI's investigation, and most certainly never "led" it. Kennedy even put this on the record, signing a statement to the Warren Commission declaring *"As you know, I am personally not aware of the detailed results of the extensive investigation in this matter which has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."* What's worse, Kennedy's statement was an understatement...a gross understatement. The June 4, 1964 memo of Warren Commission counsel Howard Willens, in which Kennedy's signing such a statement was proposed, admits *"The proposed response by the Attorney General has, of course, not been approved by him, or on his behalf by the Deputy Attorney General. It*

*represents a revision of an earlier letter which I did show to them during my conference with them earlier today. At that time the Attorney General informed me that he had not received **any** reports from the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding the investigation of the assassination."*

So...gulp...President Johnson was not only so paranoid he thought Robert Kennedy was behind the rumors he'd killed President Kennedy, and so concerned about these rumors he thought that only his appointing Chief Justice Earl Warren to chair the commission investigating President Kennedy's murder had saved him from an indictment for murder, and a reputation as one of the world's most evil men, but so ruthless he was willing to use Robert Kennedy's deep remorse over his brother's murder, and resultant failure to promptly investigate his brother's murder, to suggest what he (Johnson) undoubtedly KNEW was untrue--that Robert Kennedy, President Kennedy's brother, ("Bobby"), had led the FBI's investigation into President Kennedy's murder, and cleared Johnson of all wrong-doing.

Well...would an innocent man behave in such a manner?

Perhaps. But Johnson's creation of a commission in part to clear himself is only part of the story. If one is even remotely prone to suspicion, it is also intriguing that Johnson initially hoped to avoid an independent commission altogether, and instead pressured the FBI and a Texas Court of Inquiry to investigate the crime, and, presumably, clear his name. In a 12-23-68 interview conducted on behalf of the Johnson Library, Leon Jaworski, Special Counsel to the State of Texas during its inquiry, explained the circumstances of its creation: *"Here and in Europe were all kinds of speculations, you know, that this was an effort to get rid of Kennedy and put Johnson in, and a lot of other things. So he immediately called on Waggoner Carr, who was Attorney General of Texas, to go ahead and conduct a Court of Inquiry in Texas."* That Johnson would call on Texans with right-wing political affiliations to investigate a crime many suspected was committed by Texans with right-wing political affiliations was not lost on Jaworski, who clearly saw the need for something with a more national flavor. In his memoir *Confession and Avoidance*, Jaworski, who met with Johnson in Washington a few days after the assassination, describes the circumstances of their meeting as follows: *"a problem had developed. The city was seething with rumors and accusations surrounding John Kennedy's death. Some sources in Europe had jumped on the story that Johnson himself had disposed of Kennedy in order to ascend to the presidency. Any investigation that was localized in Texas would be, to put it gently, under suspicion."*

From Jaworski's words we can see that Johnson was desperate to deflect any speculation about his own involvement in the assassination, and that he created the Warren Commission in large part because it had become clear that an investigation by Texas officials and the FBI would fail to be convincing to those most needing to be convinced. But, in hindsight, this should always have been obvious. While Warren was purportedly asked to chair the Commission because as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court he had unparalleled credibility with the American public, the truth is that Warren was probably the last person Johnson would want to deliver the message that Russians were not involved in the assassination, as those likely to believe communist involvement would not believe anything Warren had to say, and considered him pretty much a communist himself. It seems clear then that Johnson drafted Warren onto the commission chiefly to convince those who trusted Warren--the liberals and intellectuals throughout the world who loved Kennedy and were most suspicious of Johnson--that there was no right-wing conspiracy behind the killing. It should be noted, furthermore, that Warren quite possibly pushed Johnson into this by publicly eulogizing Kennedy within hours of the assassination as having *"suffered martyrdom as a result of the hatred and bitterness that has been injected into the life of our nation by bigots."* Johnson, who counted among his supporters many of these very same bigots, could not have been pleased.

And so the Warren Commission was born. The participation of the famously liberal Warren appeared to offset the otherwise inexplicable participation of Kennedy's biggest opponent on civil rights, Senator

Richard Russell, and a man Kennedy had fired, former CIA director Allen Dulles. The political make-up of the commission--five Republicans and two conservative Democrats--moreover, assured that no one would follow any suspected right-wing or left-wing conspiracies beyond where Johnson would want them to go. Now this is not to say that the Warren Commissioners consciously concealed the truth. It seems clear, however, that such a commission, created under such circumstances, and comprising such men, would be unlikely to disagree with the FBI's conclusion that there had been no conspiracy, and would most certainly never push upon the public that perhaps just perhaps their current president was behind the murder of their former president. In his book *Real Answers*, Gary Cornwell, an assistant counsel to the HSCA (the late '70's congressional committee that reviewed the work of the commission) asserted that in order to find a conspiracy you have to at first suspect a conspiracy, and act a little paranoid. The Warren Commission, not surprisingly, refused to act paranoid, even a little. They were, in fact, barely interested in their work. Its members attended less than half its hearings and participated in the questioning of only a small percentage of its witnesses. They relied almost exclusively on inexperienced junior counsel and the FBI, even though they acknowledged in private they didn't trust the FBI.

And there is reason to believe this was all according to plan. In a 1991 article about Oliver Stone's film *JFK*, former Senator and longtime Washington insider Daniel Patrick Moynihan asserted that the Warren Commission *"was Lyndon Johnson at his worst; manipulative, cynical. Setting a chief justice of no great intellect to do a job that a corrupt FBI was well content should not be done well."*

This was not just an old pol letting off steam. Moynihan's comments are justified by the official record.

This record, furthermore, reflects that Johnson was not alone in his desire to put the past behind him and reassure the public that their president was not a murderer.

From the boardrooms to the newsrooms, he found plenty of support.

A Tragedy of Errors



Above: Attorney General Robert Kennedy, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, and President Kennedy. Above, right: an 11-22-63 press conference with Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade. At left: an 11-22-63 press conference with Doctors William Kemp Clark and Malcolm Perry. At right: Nicholas Katzenbach and President Johnson.



A Tragedy of Errors

Although much about the assassination of John F. Kennedy is in dispute, or tinged with mystery, most everyone agrees he was shot in the head on a Dallas street about **12:30 PM CST, 11-22-63**, and that he was pronounced dead at Parkland Hospital shortly before **1:00 PM CST**.

While this marked the end of history for Kennedy, his death marked the beginning of a bizarre new chapter in American history...that continues to this day.

At **2:16 PM CST**, two of the doctors who'd tried to save Kennedy appeared before the media. This press conference was the beginning of a truly bizarre chain of events. During the Warren Commission investigation, the exact words of this press conference were debated. By the mid 1970's however a transcript was discovered at the LBJ Presidential Library in Texas. (While the transcript says the time of the press conference was 3:16 CST, it seems likely this was supposed to read 3:16 EST, and that it really took place at 2:16 CST. This is supported, to be clear, by the TV coverage of the assassination, in which Walter Cronkite discussed the impending swearing-in of President Johnson -- which took place at 3:38 EST--in the same segment he reported on the press conference.)

Dr. Malcolm Perry, who had performed a tracheostomy on the President in an effort to save his life:

"Upon reaching his side, I noted that he was in critical condition from a wound of the neck and of the head...Immediate resuscitative measures were undertaken, and Dr. Kemp Clark, Professor of Neurosurgery, was summoned, along with several other members of the surgical and medical staff. They arrived immediately, but at this point the President's condition did not allow complete resuscitation...The neck wound, as visible on the patient, revealed a bullet hole almost in the mid line...In the lower portion of the neck, in front ...Below the Adam's apple." (When asked if a bullet had passed through Kennedy's head) "That would be conjecture on my part. There are two wounds, as Dr. Clark noted, one of the neck and one of the head. Whether they are directly related or related to two bullets, I cannot say...There was an entrance wound in the neck. As regards the one on the head, I cannot say." (When asked the direction of the bullet creating the neck wound) "It appeared to be coming at him." (When asked the direction of the bullet creating the head wound) "The nature of the wound defies the ability to describe whether it went through it from either side. I cannot tell you that." (When asked again if there was one or two wounds) "I don't know. From the injury, it is conceivable that it could have been caused by one wound, but there could have been two just as well if the second bullet struck the head in addition to striking the neck, and I cannot tell you that due to the nature of the wound. There is no way for me to tell...The wound appeared to be an entrance wound in the front of the throat; yes, that is correct. The exit wound, I don't know. It could have been the head or there could have been a second wound of the head. There was not time to determine this at the particular instant."

Dr. William Kemp Clark, who had examined the President's head wound and pronounced him dead: *"I was called by Dr. Perry because the President... had sustained a brain wound. On my arrival, the resuscitative efforts, the tracheostomy, the administration of chest tubes to relieve any...possibility of air being in the pleural space, the electrocardiogram had been hooked up, blood and fluids were being administered by Dr. Perry and Dr. Baxter. It was apparent that the President had sustained a lethal wound. A missile had gone in or out of the back of his head, causing extensive lacerations and loss of brain tissue. Shortly after I arrived, the patient, the President, lost his heart action by the electrocardiogram, his heart action had stopped. We attempted resuscitative measures of his heart, including closed chest cardiac massage, but to no avail." (When asked to describe the course of the bullet through the head) "We were too busy to be absolutely sure of the track, but the back of his head...Principally on his right side, towards the right side...The head wound could have been either the exit wound from the neck or it could have been a tangential wound, as it was simply a large, gaping loss of tissue."*

The reports on this press conference should have cleared up any confusion. But a few minutes before the press conference, Dan Rather had told his CBS audience that *"we've been told"* that the fatal bullet *"entered at the base of the throat and came out at the base of the neck on the back side."* After the press conference began, less than ten minutes later, however, Walter Cronkite corrected this report for CBS' audience: *"We have word from Dr. Malcolm Perry, the surgeon at Parkland Hospital who attended President Kennedy. He says that when he arrived at the Emergency Room, he noticed the President was in critical condition with a wound of the neck and head. When asked if the wounds could have possibly been made by two bullets, he said he did not know."* Cronkite then described some of the care Kennedy received while at Parkland, including that he'd received a tracheotomy.

But the other networks and news agencies weren't so precise, or accurate. Indeed, in his own rushed report on the press conference, NBC's Robert MacNeil told its viewers: *"A bullet struck him in front as he faced the assailant."* As NBC had previously reported that Kennedy had been struck in the head, its viewers would undoubtedly have taken from this that Kennedy had been struck in the head from the front.

And other news reports supported this belief. An AP dispatch on the press conference quoted on WOR

radio at 2:43 CST claimed that Dr. Perry said *"the entrance wound was on the front of the head."* This dispatch, moreover, was quoted far and wide. The Albuquerque Tribune, on the stands within hours of the press conference, related: *"Dr. Malcolm Perry, attendant surgeon at Parkland Hospital who attended President Kennedy, said when he arrived at the emergency room 'I noticed the President was in critical condition with a wound of the neck and head.' When asked if possibly the wounds could have been made by two bullets, he said he did not know."* The article concluded *"When asked to specify, Perry said the entrance wound was in the front of the head."*

They were not to be outdone, however. The 11-23 San Francisco Chronicle, building upon the inaccurate reports of the AP and UPI, put its own spin on the press conference, reporting *"At Parkland Hospital, Dr. Malcolm Perry said Mr. Kennedy suffered a neck wound--a bullet hole in the lower part of the neck--and a second wound in the forehead."*

Even the great ones got it wrong. An 11-23 New York Times article on the press conference reported: *"Mr. Kennedy was hit by a bullet in the throat, just below the Adam's Apple... This wound had the appearance of a bullet's entry. Mr. Kennedy also had a massive gaping wound in the back and one on the right side of the head. However, the doctors said it was impossible to determine immediately whether the wounds had been caused by one bullet or two."* The doctors, of course, had never mentioned a gaping wound on Kennedy's back.

At 3:30 PM CST, Drs Perry and Kemp once again spoke to the press, this time on the phone to local reporters unable to attend the official press conference. Connie Kritzberg of The Dallas Times-Herald was one of these reporters. Her article on the President's wounds was published on 11-23.

Neck Wounds Bring Death

Wounds in the lower front portion of the neck and the right rear side of the head ended the life of President John F. Kennedy, say doctors at Parkland Hospital.

Whether there were one or two wounds was not decided.

The front neck hole was described as an entrance wound. The wound at the back of the head, while the principal one, was either an exit or tangential entrance wound. A doctor admitted that it was possible there was only one wound.

Kemp Clark, 38, chief of neurosurgery, and Dr. Malcolm Perry, 34, described the President's wounds. Dr. Clark, asked how long the President lived in the hospital, replied, "I would guess 40 minutes but I was too busy to look at my watch."

Dr. Clark said the President's principal wound was on the right rear side of his head.

"As to the exact time of death we elected to make it - we pronounced it at 1300. I was busy with the head wound."

Dr. Perry was busy with the wound in the President's neck.

"It was a midline in the lower portion of his neck in front."

Asked if it was just below the Adam's apple, he said, "Yes. Below the Adam's apple."

"There were two wounds. Whether they were directly related I do not know. It was an entrance wound in the neck."

The doctors were asked whether one bullet could have made both wounds or whether there were two bullets.

Dr. Clark replied. "The head wound could have been either an exit or a tangential entrance wound."

The neurosurgeon described the back of the head wound as:

"A large gaping wound with considerable loss of tissue."

Dr. Perry added, "It is conceivable it was one wound, but there was no way for me to tell. It did however appear to be the entrance wound at the front of the throat."

"There was considerable bleeding. The services of the blood bank were sent for and obtained. Blood was used."

The last rites were performed in "Emergency Operating Room No. 1."

There were at least eight or 10 physicians in attendance at the time the President succumbed. Dr. Clark said there was no possibility of saving the President's life.

The press pool man said that when he saw Mrs. Kennedy she still had on her pink suit and that the hose of her left leg was saturated with blood. In the emergency room, Mrs. Kennedy, Vice President Johnson and Mrs. Johnson grasped hands in deep emotion.

But the nature of Kennedy's wounds was not the only part of the story muddled up by the press.

The details of the shooting were especially muddled. CBS News, the only network news agency to accurately report the Parkland press conference, whose reporting on the shooting was to become the stuff of legend, reported so many falsehoods and half-truths in the first hour after the shooting that one might wonder why the entire news team wasn't fired. Within a half-hour or so of the shooting legendary newsman Walter Cronkite, repeating some of the early reports coming over the news wire, told the nation: *"Some of the Secret Service agents thought the gunfire, however, came from an automatic weapon fired to the right rear of the Chief Executive's car, possibly from a grassy knoll, and that's that knoll to which motorcycle policeman were seen racing and where the huddled figures of a man and a woman were seen on the ground with a crowd surrounding, which suggests of course that perhaps this is where the shots came from. This we do not know as yet, positively."* Moments later, Eddie Barker, reporting from Dallas, compounded this mistake, declaring: *"The report is that the attempted assassins--we now hear it was a man and a woman--were on the ledge of a building near the Houston Street underpass."* Soon afterward, Cronkite told the nation: *"Governor Connally was shot, apparently, twice in the chest."* After this rush to speculation, however, Cronkite grew more cautious, and stressed that they had unconfirmed reports that Kennedy was dead and unconfirmed reports Connally was in surgery. He then reported that a Secret Service agent had been killed in the line of duty while trying to protect Kennedy, noting that *"apparently, this is correct."* (Apparently, it wasn't).

But Cronkite's cavalcade of confusion was far from over. Moments later, after reading a report that Governor Connally had said he was hit from the back, Cronkite tried to correlate this information with the information previously received. He told his audience: *"Governor Connally could very possibly have been shot in the back with the assassin's bullet still coming from the front of the car. He rode in a small jump seat in the center of the back of the specially-built presidential limousine."* (Apparently, Cronkite thought the jump seats faced the side of the limousine.) The cavalcade continued. While looking at a photo of Kennedy in the motorcade, shortly after receiving word that a witness claimed to see a man fire at Kennedy from the Texas School Book Depository, Cronkite asserted: *"The assassin took dead aim. He got the President, apparently, with the first shot in the head, and then Governor Connally with the next two shots."* Cronkite failed to explain that CBS News now believed its earlier reports regarding multiple assassins and automatic weapons were inaccurate. He just changed the story as new information came along--whether or not this new information had been confirmed. As much as an hour after the shooting, Cronkite was still reporting that *"a Secret Service man was also killed in the fusillade of shots that came apparently from a second floor window."* Ironically, he reported this canard just before reporting, affirmatively, that Kennedy had passed. One can only wish he'd got the first part right but was wrong about the second.

Should one wonder where CBS got this story that a Secret Service Agent had been killed, one should consider that around this same time an AP dispatch (found in the Racine Journal-Times) reported that *"A Secret Service agent and a Dallas policeman were shot and killed today some distance from the area where President Kennedy was assassinated"* and that ABC News reported that they'd received

confirmation from the Dallas Sheriff's office both that a Secret Service agent had been killed and that four shots had been fired at the limousine. Even worse, when one considers the subsequent refusal of the American people to believe the findings of the Warren Commission, was the analysis of Don Goddard, V.P. of ABC News. After explaining that American assassins normally use pistols and make no attempt to escape, he pronounced that *"This must have been a very carefully planned terrible tragedy and conspiracy."*

Still, it's hard to single out ABC for adding to the public's suspicion, when CBS News, supposedly the premiere news agency of the day, was making similar mistakes. Around 3:40 EST, at least two hours after the shooting, things were still so confusing that Dan Rather reported *"There have been a number of suspects arrested by Dallas police, Dallas County Sheriff's Officers. One of the suspects was a 25-year old white youth. He was the first one arrested. He was in the vicinity of a multi-storied building, near the scene where President Kennedy and Texas Governor Connally were shot. On the fourth or fifth floor--it has never been completely determined on which floor of that building--four empty cartridges were found."* This was, according to what the public would soon be told, the wrong number of cartridges...on the wrong floor. The arrested man, moreover, was quickly released.

And NBC was no better... NBC anchorman Frank McGee, after showing his viewers a photo of a sniper rifle being removed from the book depository, reported *"The best we can make out now the President's motorcade had really traveled perhaps a few yards beyond this point and that the fatal shots that were fired were fired from behind and struck him in the back of the head."* He then added *"and then incongruously some way another bullet struck him in the front of the neck."* Incongruously, the possibility there was more than one shooter was not to be discussed.

Meanwhile, America's newspapers only added to the confusion. An 11-22-63 UPI article by Merriman Smith, who would win the Pulitzer Prize for his reporting, claimed Governor *"Connally was hit in the head and back,"* at the same time CBS was telling its viewers Connally had multiple chest wounds. Neither report was accurate, of course. An 11-22 article rushed out for the Dallas Times Herald, moreover, reported both that *"Bullets apparently came from a high-powered rifle in a building at Houston and Elm"* and that a witness said: *"the motorcade had just turned onto Houston Street from Main Street when a shot rang out. Pigeons flew up from the street. Then, two more shots rang out and Mr. Kennedy fell to the floor of the car. The shots seemed to come from the extension of Elm Street from just beyond the Texas School Book Depository Building..."* Hmmm... Someone reading this article would quite possibly have concluded the President was shot by more than one assassin while riding on Houston Street.

On the other side of the world, The Christchurch Star reported *"Three bursts of gunfire, apparently from automatic weapons, were heard."*

Closer to home, as Air Force One soared back to Washington, Mrs. Kennedy was offered the choice of having her husband's autopsy performed at Walter Reed Army Hospital or Bethesda Naval Hospital. She chose Bethesda as the place where the questions would be answered. This proved to be a mistake. The hospital at Bethesda proved as inadequate at performing forensic autopsies as America's newspapers proved at reporting accurate information regarding the President's wounds.

And let's not forget the magazines... The Contents section of U.S. News and World Report in 1963 claimed that each issue reached the streets the Monday before its street date, after having gone to press the Friday before that. Its first articles on the assassination were in its 12-2-63 issue. This, then, suggests that these articles were written on the 22nd, just after the shooting and just as the magazine was going to press.

And they show it... U.S. News' initial article on the shooting was seriously short on facts, or at least the facts as most have come to know them. It declared *"The assassin killed President Kennedy with a*

single shot from a powerful .30 caliber rifle. The bullet struck in the neck and emerged from the back of the head." Yes, this is what one of the top magazines in the country was telling its readers as long as 10 days after the shooting. And yet, confused as these early accounts were, they were consistent on one thing--there was only one shooter. Not only did this article declare there was but one "assassin" before the writers of the article could possibly know anything about Lee Harvey Oswald (soon to be the sole suspect, who was never even mentioned in the magazine), but a companion piece on the motorcade announced in its title *"A Thousand Well-Wishers--And One Assassin."*

Amidst this confusion, and with the newly-crowned President quite literally still up in the air, someone got the idea that the public should see a friendly face. At **5:01 PM**, grandfatherly ex-President Dwight Eisenhower took to the airwaves and assured the masses huddled before their boob tubes that *"Americans are loyal, and it's just this occasional psychopathic accident that occurs, and I don't know what we can do about it."* It's unclear if Eisenhower had been following the developments in Dallas, and had already decided that Lee Harvey Oswald, an employee of the building from which shots were fired, and a suspect in the murder of a Dallas police officer, was a *"psychopathic sort of accident."* But he certainly prepared the American people to think as much.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was no less guilty of spreading half-baked info. Hoover's notes from this day reflect that he called Attorney General Robert Kennedy and told him that the suspected assassin Lee Harvey Oswald had run into two police officers a block or two away from the assassination site and had killed one of them in a shoot-out. He also told Kennedy that Oswald had been to Cuba several times. As a solo Dallas policeman had been killed a few miles away from the assassination site, and as Oswald had never been to Cuba, these statements were quite incorrect, and suggest that either Hoover's information or his ability to grasp such information was seriously flawed.

But Hoover was not the only one seriously out of touch with the most basic facts. More than four hours after the Italian Mannlicher-Carcano rifle used in the assassination had been found in the school book depository, and nearly as long after Oswald had been arrested in a movie theater without firing a shot, the great Walter Cronkite was still telling his viewers that the rifle found in the depository had been a German Mauser (a story that would not be corrected until the next day), and that Oswald had killed a policeman in a shootout at a theater.

But the Johnson Administration, apparently, had bigger concerns than the mainstream news media's totally confusing the public. Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade was, apparently, letting it be known that he suspected Oswald was but one actor in a larger conspiracy. (The next morning's Dallas Morning News, in fact, claimed that Wade had intimated that "preliminary reports indicated more than one person was involved in the shooting" and that he'd said "Everyone who participated in this crime--anyone who helped plan it or furnished a weapon, knowing the purposes for which it was intended--is guilty of murder under Texas law" and that they "should all go the the electric chair.")

Wade's comments, moreover, were bland as milk compared to those of his assistant, Bill Alexander, who was hinting to the press that Oswald would be charged with acting as part of a communist conspiracy.

Well, this just wouldn't do. Wade was later to admit that Cliff Carter, one of newly-crowned President Johnson's closest aides, called him repeatedly on this evening, starting around 5 or 6 o'clock, to make sure that Oswald was not charged with acting as part of a conspiracy. While Johnson was reportedly concerned that Wade would press charges accusing the Russians of conspiring against Kennedy, it seems more than clear that his interference in this matter would lead Wade and the Dallas Police to be less than enthusiastic about pursuing *any* conspiracy.

Even so, Wade's promise of cooperation was apparently not enough. An 11-14-93 article in the

Washington Post revealed that, at roughly the same time Johnson was having Carter contact Wade, he was having another close associate, Homer Busby, contact Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr, and ask Carr to convene a state *"court of inquiry"* that would supersede the authority of the Dallas Police and the Dallas County District Attorney's office.

But these were not the last of Johnson's power grabs. Shortly after landing in Washington, President Johnson had his own talk with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. According to a Hoover memo, Johnson told him to ignore the inconvenient problem that he had no jurisdiction, and to simply take charge of the investigation. According to Cartha DeLoach, the FBI's liaison with the media, LBJ told Hoover to have a report on his desk in two days, and to use whatever powers the executive branch had to offer to accomplish this task.

Hoover sprang into action. At **8:40 PM CST**, the FBI distributed the following teletype to all its field offices: *"All offices immediately contact all informants, security, racial and criminal, as well as other sources, for information bearing on assassination of President Kennedy. All offices immediately establish whereabouts of bombing suspects, all known Klan and hate group members, known racial extremists, and any other individuals who on the basis of information available in your files may possibly have been involved."*

Around **10:00 PM CST**, the FBI sent another teletype to its field offices, this one even more instructive: *"The Bureau is conducting an investigation to determine who is responsible for the assassination. You are therefore instructed to follow and resolve all allegations pertaining to the assassination. This matter is of utmost urgency and should be handled accordingly keeping the Bureau and Dallas, the office of origin, apprised fully of all developments."*

By **11:18 PM** Dallas Mayor Earl Cabell had had enough. While he'd mostly sat by as a parade of pundits criticized his city for its climate of intolerance and violence, he decided it was time to go on the defensive, and deflect the blame onto Lee Harvey Oswald. He told a national audience *"I don't believe this event will hurt Dallas as a city. This was the act of a maniac who could have lived anywhere--a man who belonged to no city."* The investigation into Oswald's possible guilt was only hours old, and already public figures were denouncing him as a homeless maniac.

At **11:49 PM CST** it was announced that Lee Harvey Oswald had been officially charged with the murder of the President. That's right. Mayor Cabell had pronounced Oswald a *"maniac"* and guilty of killing Kennedy before Oswald had even been charged with the crime.

All through the night the FBI and DPD worked together in lockstep. The Dallas Police sent much of the physical evidence gathered to the FBI's crime lab. The FBI pursued a few leads of its own. By morning, the FBI had linked Oswald to the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of his work. They had also examined his background as a former resident of the Soviet Union.

Sometime the next morning, the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Foy Kohler, met with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. According to a State Department cable on the meeting, Kohler told Khrushchev the new company line--that Oswald must have been a *"madman"*. Reflecting his concern that those prosecuting Oswald would focus on his alleged *"Marxism"*, and that this would hurt U.S. relations with the Soviets, Kohler offered *"While we clearly must be factual and objective in our output, I would hope, if facts permit, we could deal with the assassin as 'madman' with long record of acts reflecting mental unbalance rather than dwell on his political convictions."*

And Kohler wasn't the only one itching to move on. An 8-19-70 interview of CIA Director John McCone, conducted for the LBJ Library, reflects that on the night of the shooting McCone visited Johnson at his home and that Johnson's *"mood was one of deep distress over the tragedy, and grave*

concern over how to properly handle the men in the organization whose competence he recognized...he decided to work with the organization and to win its support, and he did so successfully. Many men who were determined to leave the next morning stayed on and served him loyally and very well--and some to the end of his Administration." While Johnson's Daily Diary, available on the LBJ Library website, demonstrates that McCone was mistaken as to the exact timing of this discussion, and that it actually took place early the next morning, on the 23rd, his recollection is nevertheless illuminating. Johnson was supposedly concerned that a foreign government had been behind Kennedy's death. And yet, he met with two ex-Presidents, three top Kennedy advisers, and twelve members of Congress upon his return to Washington, and failed to meet with the head of the CIA until the next day. This suggests that Johnson's priority on his first night as President was not in finding out what had happened to his predecessor, but in political maneuvering. Even stranger, McCone failed to mention any concern of Johnson's that Kennedy was killed by an international conspiracy. This would have been the expected topic of conversation.

If, with the arrest of Oswald, Johnson was preparing to move on, however, his plan would soon hit a snag. At **9:01 AM CST** on **11-23** he called FBI Director Hoover for an update on the investigation. While the tape of this conversation has mysteriously been erased, the remaining transcript reflects that Hoover told Johnson that *"The evidence that they have at the present time is not very very strong,"* and that Hoover then discussed a recent trip that Oswald had made to Mexico City: *"We have up here the tape and the photograph of the man who was at the Soviet Embassy, using Oswald's name. That picture and the tape do not correspond to this man's voice, nor to his appearance. In other words, it appears that there is a second person who was at the Soviet Embassy down there."* While Hoover seems much more in command of the evidence in this conversation than in the previous day's conversation with Robert Kennedy, by the end of the conversation, he once again displayed his confusion: *"I think that the bullets were fired from the fifth floor and the three shells that were found were found on the fifth floor. But he (the sniper) apparently went up to the sixth floor to have fired the gun and throw the gun away and then went out."* The rifle and shells were, of course, later determined to have both been recovered from the sixth floor.

Shortly after this call, at **10:20 AM CST**, the FBI dispatched another teletype to its field offices, this one telling them to stop pressing for information, and to resume normal activities. *"Lee Harvey Oswald has been developed as the principal suspect in the assassination of President Kennedy. He has been formally charged with the President's murder along with the murder of Dallas Texas patrolman J.D. Tippit by Texas state authorities. In view of developments all offices should resume normal contacts with informants and other sources with respect to bombing suspects, hate group members and known racial extremists. Daily teletype summaries may be discontinued. All investigation bearing directly on the President's assassination should be afforded most expeditious handling and Bureau and Dallas advised."*

Well, wait a second. Hoover had just told Johnson that there may be someone "using Oswald's name" and engaging in suspicious activity, and yet the FBI sends out a teletype telling its field offices to stop pressing their sources for information? Was Hoover afraid of finding out something he didn't want to know? Even if the case against Oswald looked solid, shouldn't the FBI have pressed its sources for more information?

Or was Hoover not interested in such information, for his own selfish reasons? Just moments before this teletype went out, Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry, reciting something he'd been told the night before, told a national television audience that the FBI had known for some time that Oswald was dangerous, but that they had failed to inform the local police. This raises the possibility that Hoover didn't want the investigation to expand beyond Oswald because it might cast suspicion on his own

agents.

Or perhaps not. In either event, Chief Curry's statement proved too much for the thin-skinned Hoover. Hoover's top aide DeLoach asserts in his book that after hearing Curry's comment Hoover called up his many powerful friends in Texas and asked them to put whatever pressure was necessary on Curry to bring him into line. This approach, apparently, proved successful. Curry would later withdraw his statement. (This proved too little too late for Curry, however. The Dallas PD was refused the assistance of the FBI crime lab for some time afterward and only regained access to those services upon Curry's removal from office.)

Still, Hoover wasn't the only one circling in on the Oswald-did-it-all-by-his-lonesome scenario. Sometime before noon, CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite presented his viewers with the unexpected question of whether Oswald had been aiming at Kennedy, or Governor Connally. While doing so, he read aloud a letter Oswald wrote to Connally, when Connally was Secretary of the Navy, in which Oswald had asked that his *"dishonorable"* discharge be changed, and had asserted that he would *"employ all means to right this gross injustice."* This was inaccurate, but fair. Although Oswald had, in fact, received an *"undesirable"* discharge, and not a *"dishonorable"* discharge, Oswald himself had misrepresented the discharge in his letter. What was both inaccurate and unfair, however, was Cronkite's misrepresentation of Oswald's complaint. According to Cronkite, Oswald was *"dismissed"* from the Marines after twice being court-martialed, once for possession of a private firearm, and once for abuse to a non-commissioned officer. Cronkite had thereby painted a picture of Oswald as a violent malcontent, and had hidden from his viewers that Oswald had in fact been given an honorable discharge from the Marines, and that his discharge status from the Marine Corps Reserves had been changed to *"undesirable"* only after he had moved to Russia.

If Cronkite ever corrected this mistake, moreover, well, *that* would be news. We do know, however, that he did try to clarify one piece of information he'd provided on the day before. Apparently reporting the speculation of some of the doctors as if it had been the conclusion of all of the doctors, he further confused the country as to the nature of Kennedy's wounds by reporting that the Dallas doctors now *"said that the bullet that entered his neck came out the back of his head."* Yes, you read that right. While on the day of the shooting CBS had been the one network to accurately report that Dr. Perry *"did not know"* if Kennedy's wounds were made by one or two bullets, it reversed itself the next day and reported that the Dallas doctors claimed Kennedy's wounds were caused by one bullet, entering from the front. Cronkite didn't even try to explain how this was possible given that the supposed sniper's nest was behind Kennedy at the time of the shooting. He just spat out the confusing information, and kept moving. You can't make this stuff up.

Nor should you need to. Yes, truth is truly stranger than fiction.

After finishing with Hoover, President Johnson met with Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, and then President Eisenhower. He then made a **12:35 PM** CST phone call to Wall Street Attorney Edwin Wiesel. According to the transcript of this conversation in Max Holland's book *The Kennedy Assassination Tapes*, Johnson asked for Wiesel's help in keeping the economy stable, and alluded to his earlier conversation with Hoover by warning Wiesel *"This thing on the...this assassin...may have a lot more complications than you know about...it may lay deeper than you think."* What makes this statement especially intriguing is that the transcript of this conversation provided by the LBJ Library and available online has Johnson saying something completely different. The Library's transcript reads: *"I may--have a lot more complications-- you know about them so--it may lead deeper."*

When one considers that the tape of Johnson's earlier conversation with Hoover was inexplicably erased while in the possession of the LBJ Library, and that all that remains of this conversation is a transcript provided by the Library, and that people who've acted out this transcript swear it plays

nowhere near the length of the 14 minute gap on the tape, one can't help but wonder what else Johnson and Hoover talked about in that first phone call on 11-23.

There is another phone call purportedly made by Johnson that is equally intriguing. Long-time Dallas researcher and icon Mary Ferrell reported that in the 1970's one of her friends had lunch with Dallas Police Captain Will Fritz. According to this unidentified source, Fritz confided that on 11-23-63 he received a phone call from President Johnson telling him that "*You've got your man, the investigation is over.*"

If this story is true it helps to explain Fritz's subsequent actions. Despite the fact that the only witnesses claiming to see a sniper in the sixth floor window had failed to identify Oswald, and that the paraffin test for nitrates on Oswald's cheek, which if present would have suggested he'd fired a rifle, had turned up negative, Fritz, who was chief of the Dallas Police Homicide Bureau, told the press at 2:05 PM CST "*that this case is cinched, that this man killed the President. There's no question in my mind about it...We are convinced beyond any doubt that he did the killing.*" Similarly, the 11-24 New York Times quoted Fritz as saying "*We're convinced beyond any doubt that he killed the President.*" The 11-24 Washington Post, the most widely read paper by the nation's movers and shakers, went a little bit further, however. In their account of Fritz's 11-23 statements, he claimed not only that "*This man killed the President,*" but "*There were no accomplices.*"

Well, how could he know that? Consider the damage to Fritz's reputation should Oswald have confessed the next day, and named names. Well, why would Fritz have risked such a thing? And who, for that matter, were the "we" Fritz claimed were already convinced of Oswald's sole guilt?

Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade was obviously one of the "we" mentioned by Fritz. In a morning news conference, when asked by the press to describe Oswald, Wade showed his hand, stating "*I can't describe him any other than--the murderer of the President, is about all the way I put on it, but I don't know anything about the accused--his psychological background or anything.*"

It's cute how Wade calls Oswald "*the accused*" after first describing him as "*the murderer.*" It's also kinda cute how Wade says he doesn't know anything of Oswald's psychological background, but then (according to the next day's Herald-Examiner) admitted he "*expected Oswald to plead insanity,*" and (according to the next day's New York Times) stated "*I think we have enough evidence to convict him (Oswald) now.*" Neither Fritz nor Wade had read the as-yet-unwritten autopsy report, tested Oswald's rifle to see if it was capable of accurately firing the shots, or conducted an interview with anyone in the Presidential limousine or Secret Service back-up car. What few witness statements they had obtained provided conflicting accounts on most every point but one: most of the statements agreed that two of the three shots were fired very close together. As the FBI would soon determine, Oswald's bolt action rifle could not have been fired accurately more than once every 2.3 seconds.

Which isn't to say the FBI was any less closed-minded. An 11-23-63 memo from Cartha DeLoach to J. Edgar Hoover regarding the FBI's acquisition of the Zapruder film, a home-movie of the shooting taken by a bystander, states that the Dallas Special Agent in-Charge, J. Gordon Shanklin, who'd been provided a copy of the film by the Secret Service, "*did not believe the film would be of any evidentiary value; however, he first had to take a look at the film to determine this factor.*" It's almost as if he were apologizing for doing his job.

Others were doing theirs. At **5:10 PM** CST Detective CN Dhority of the Dallas Police Department prepared a homicide report on Kennedy's murder. It read "*The expired was riding in motorcade with wife and Governor John Connally, and his wife. Witnesses heard gun shot and saw the President slump forward. More shots were heard and the expired fell in his wife's lap. Governor Connally was also shot*"

at this time." While the report, based on the statements of the closest eyewitnesses, is somewhat vague, it is clear on one point. Kennedy reacted to the first shot. Months later, after the possibility was raised that Oswald did not have enough time to pull off the shooting as purported by the FBI and Secret Service, the Warren Commission would propose that perhaps the first shot missed. There was no support for such a miss, mind you. It was just speculation, designed to place minor doubts in the minds of those who might be holding major doubts.

On the evening of November 23rd, however, this was President Johnson's tactic. Now, some of those closest to Kennedy, including his secretary Evelyn Lincoln, immediately suspected Johnson's involvement. He was almost certainly aware of this. It only makes sense, then, that he would try to convince them he was sincerely interested in finding Kennedy's true assassins. He would do this, moreover, whether or not he himself was involved. So it comes as not surprise that, as reported in William Manchester's *The Death of a President*, President Johnson cornered President Kennedy's top speechwriter and adviser, Special Counsel Ted Sorensen, on this evening, and asked him if he'd thought a foreign power was responsible for Kennedy's murder. Yes, you read that right. Here was Johnson, hours after the Dallas Police had taken to telling everyone it was Oswald, and that he'd acted alone, and hours after the FBI had embraced this same conclusion, picking Sorensen's brain about a possible conspiracy. While Sorensen, near as can be gathered, never ascribed an ulterior motive to Johnson for doing so, it is nevertheless intriguing that, in his 2008 memoir *Counselor*, Sorensen specified that, as the years passed, his suspicions of conspiracy only grew.

An 11-23 UPI article on Governor Connally's wounds shared the homicide report's account of the shots. It declared: *"The president was shot first. A bullet smashed through his head. Sheriff's deputies who lined the route said there was a pause of several seconds before two quick shots followed the first."* This report hit the streets more than 24 hours after the shooting. And yet it was still claiming Kennedy was hit in the head by the first shot. The "official" solution, of course, is that he was hit in the head by the third shot.

An additional 24 hours only made things worse, however. An 11-24 UPI update of the article on Connally specified: *"The Governor, facing the President in the White House limousine Friday, swiveled in horror when the first two bullets struck Mr. Kennedy. The quick movement probably saved his life. The next bullet struck Connally and sped downward from the collarbone through the right side of his chest."* If the first shot missed, and the second shot hit both Kennedy and Connally, and the third and final shot was fired 5 seconds after the second shot, as most current single-assassin theorists hold, why didn't anyone report this in the days after the shooting?

Still, virtually every early news article reflects some confusion, and that speculation was the rule and not the exception. An 11-23 Canadian Press article found in the Winnipeg Free Press, for example, reports: *"At approximately 12:30 p.m. CST, the slow-moving Kennedy motorcade had rounded a downtown corner to enter a freeway. Three shots-rang out. Detective Ed Hicks said one bullet from a 7.65-millimetre Italian-made rifle, fitted with telescopic sights, hit the back of Kennedy's head and emerged from his throat. 'It made a hole about two inches wide at the back of his head,' he said. Another struck Texas Governor John Connally, Jr., who was riding in the open presidential limousine. Another struck a nearby road manhole."* Apparently, Hicks had figured out that the supposed sniper's nest was behind Kennedy at the time of the shooting, and had simply reversed the trajectory of the bullet presumed to have entered Kennedy's throat and explode from the back of his head suggested by the Parkland press conference.

Apparently, others shared his thinking; an 11-23 UPI article on the similarity of Kennedy's death with Lincoln's found in the St. Joseph News-Press claimed *"President Kennedy also suffered a fatal head wound, the bullet entering the back of his head, then out of his throat."* This description was especially surprising in that the lead story on Kennedy's death, at the top of the page, claimed something quite

different. This story, courtesy the Associated Press, opened with *"Three shots rang out, blood sprang from the President's face. He fell face downward in the back seat of his car."* Well, heck, what were the readers of this paper supposed to believe? That he'd been shot in the back of the head, only to have blood spring from his face, while the bullet exited his throat?

Another UPI article, this one found in the 11-23 Lodi News-Sentinel, was much more careful, and suggests that yes indeed some newsmen were trying to make the president's wounds fit the assumption Kennedy was shot from behind, as opposed to simply reporting what Dr.s Perry and Clark had said at the afternoon press conference. The article relates: *"The fatal shot apparently came from a window of the Texas School Book Depository...Kennedy fell over sideways on his face toward the seat. Doctors said later that one shot apparently had torn through both the back of his head and his throat."* Note the implication that the head wound was an entrance, when Dr. Clark said it had been either an exit or a wound of both entrance and exit. Note also the implication the throat wound was an exit, when Dr. Perry specified that it appeared to be an entrance.

An article in the Boston Globe, fortunately, not only shared UPI's new interpretation of the bullet's trajectory, it confirmed the thinking behind it. It admitted: *"The rather meager medical details attributed to Dr. Malcolm Perry, the attending surgeon, described the bullet as entering just below the Adam's Apple and leaving by the back of the head. Since that statement Friday afternoon it is believed from determining the site of the firing that the bullet entered the back of the head first and came out just under the Adam's Apple."*

Now, it might seem strange that, within a day of the shooting, members of the media would disregard the statements of Kennedy's emergency room doctors, and re-interpret the trajectory of the fatal bullet...so that all the shots came from behind, where, by gosh, the government's chief suspect was employed. But it's really not so strange, once one takes into account the incredible confusion then reigning down upon the country. No one knew what to think, so some with a soapbox took it upon themselves to calm down the masses.

Confusion was so widespread, in fact, that even photo captions were suspect. The caption to an AP photo by James Altgens found in the 11-22 edition of the Benton Harbor, Michigan New Palladium--of Kennedy reacting to the first shot, with his arms at his neck--claimed it depicted President Kennedy *"grasping his chest just seconds after assassin's bullet struck him in head."* Kennedy would not receive his fatal head wound, of course, until seconds after this photo was taken. And the caption to the photo below it was no better. It read *"Moments before vicious killer fired: President and Mrs. Kennedy flash their famous smiles to crowds along Dallas parade route in this picture taken just minutes before a rifle bullet struck the nation's Chief Executive."* And they're smiling alright. There's just one problem: the photo depicts Governor Connally in the back seat of the limo and Mrs. Kennedy in the middle and was not even taken in Dallas.

This photo appeared in the 11-23 Albuquerque Journal as well--only there someone realized that Connally was not in the back seat of the limo at the time of the shooting, but in a jump seat directly in front of Kennedy. And improvised... After claiming *"Moments Before Shooting"* the writer of this caption asserted that this was a photo of President Kennedy and Governor Connally *"moments before a sniper fatally shot the President and wounded Governor Connally (sic)."* He (or she) then did what should never be done--something far worse than repeating inaccurate information, something far worse than inaccurately reporting information--he (or she) made up a story to explain how this photo--which was obviously not from Dallas--could have been taken just moments before the shooting, and could therefore be deemed worthy of its position on the front page. He wrote: *"Connally moved to the car's jump seat before the shooting."*

The caption to a UPI photo found in the 11-23 Holland Evening Sentinel, of the Texas School Book

Depository, was not so dishonest, but even more misleading. Taking its cue from an inaccurate report by UPI's Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Merriman Smith, it crowed *"A German-made rifle was found in the stairway on the fifth floor of the building by Dallas police, with three spent bullets, believed to be the two used to wound Texas Gov. John B. Connally and the one which fatally killed the President."* Beyond the stark and stupid fact that the caption claimed a bullet "fatally killed" the President (I mean, how can a bullet kill someone non-fatally?), the caption misled its readers as to the make of the rifle (it was Italian, not German), the location where it was found (it was found near a stairwell, not in a stairwell), the floor on which it was found (sixth, not fifth), and the respective number of bullets believed to have struck Connally and Kennedy.

And these weren't the only mistakes made by the award-winning Smith. The front page story for the Montana Standard, under Smith's name, reported not only that a German Mauser was found on the fifth floor, but that the school book depository overlooked Main St. (not Elm St.), and that Oswald killed a policeman at the Texas Theater before being taken into custody. Officer Tippit was, in fact, killed blocks away from the theater, by a man matching Oswald's description. No shots were fired at the theater.

Another 11-23 UPI article would prove even more confusing in light of subsequent developments. This article attempted to clarify the president's wounds by announcing *"An authoritative White House source said one bullet entered Kennedy's head and another penetrated the 'neck and chest.' The source said White House officials did not know until this morning about the second wound."* This is more than a bit strange. The wound discovered at the autopsy was a small back wound. The existence of this wound would have been brought to the attention of the White House after the autopsy was completed that morning. While Dr. Humes and his autopsy team had reportedly been unaware of the throat wound described the day before until making a phone call this morning, there is no reason to believe he turned around and called the White House to report his belated knowledge of a wound mentioned in all the morning papers. The neck wound in the story would therefore appear to be a reference to the back wound discovered at the autopsy. Since the Warren Commission would also come to misrepresent this back wound as a "neck" wound, and as this first misrepresentation of the back wound as a neck wound came from an "authoritative White House source" it's not unreasonable to suspect this migration of the wound came under direction of the White House. The use of the word "penetrated," however, implies the bullet did not exit, and since the only entrance mentioned at the press conference the day before was the throat wound, the article implies to its readers, regardless of the White House or FBI's intentions in leaking the story, that the bullet entered Kennedy's throat and continued down into his chest, and that the shot came from the front. Who was this "White House source?"

An 11-24 UPI article (found in the Dallas Times Herald) helps clarify the confusing article from the day before. This article, apparently based on the the same 11-23 conversation, states *"President Kennedy was shot twice yesterday by an assassin, White House sources said yesterday. First reports said the president was killed by one bullet. It was learned today that the information given the White House was that two bullets entered Kennedy's body. Staff doctors at Parkland Hospital in Dallas said only that the sniper's bullet pierced the mid-section of the front part of his neck and emerged from the top of the skull. White House sources said they understood that one bullet hit Kennedy in the neck area. He bent forward, turned his head and was struck in the skull by the second bullet."* This confirms that these "White House sources" knew nothing of the back wound, and were revealing only that the President had been hit twice, and not once, a distinction left open by Dr.s Perry and Clark at the 11-22 Parkland press conference.

These articles are nevertheless interesting in that they suggest the shots came from in front of Kennedy (why else mention that Kennedy turned his head before the head shot other than to explain how a wound on the back of his head could have been caused by someone firing from in front of him?) well

after it was apparent to others that, at the precise moment the shots were fired, Oswald's workplace was behind Kennedy.

Scratch that. The juxtaposition of the Parkland claim the throat wound was an entrance wound with the description of the shooting by "White House sources" created the appearance the "White House sources" also believed the shot came from the front. When they quite possibly did not. An 11-23 penned article in the 11-24 Los Angeles Herald-Examiner by Warren Rogers also presents the views of these "sources." It relates: *"A White House source said it appeared the President was slain by two bullets, instead of one as originally reported. This source said one bullet entered Kennedy's head and, as he turned, the other penetrated his neck and chest."* Well, I'll be. This White House source was claiming the first shot hit Kennedy in the back of the head, while the one talking to UPI had said the first shot hit him in the front of the neck. Hmmm... It seems quite possible from this that they were in fact the same source, and that this source had no insight on the shot sequence, but was simply stressing to its media contacts that having an entrance wound in Kennedy's throat and entrance wound on the back of his head DID NOT mean there were two shooters.

The cover-up was already in effect, before the investigation had truly begun. Perhaps this "source" meant well and was only trying to calm people down by leaking that the bullet and bullet fragments recovered in Dallas came from Oswald's rifle, and that it seemed clear he'd fired at least two shots from behind. But this was to avoid that the witnesses had heard three shots--and that the bullet and fragments comprised but two of these bullets. What had become of the third? And from where had it been fired?

These articles are also interesting for what they fail to state--that the statements of the sources cited in the article would only have merit if an autopsy had been conducted and its results reported to the White House. I mean, why isn't the "A" word mentioned even once in these articles?

An **11-24** AP article found in the Washington Post supports that something strange was afoot. This article, by Frank Carey, accurately reported the statements of the doctors at the press conference--that there was a wound in the middle of the throat and another at the back of the head, and that the doctors didn't know whether these wounds were caused by one or two bullets. It then claimed that pathologists consulted for the article believed the bullet creating the throat wound would *"probably"* strike the spinal cord. One anonymous pathologist then asserts that that the president's having taken a breath at the hospital proved the spinal cord had not been severed, but that, nonetheless, the fact Kennedy was having so much trouble breathing suggested *"the cord was probably badly damaged."* The article then asserted that, due to this difficulty, the doctors consulted concurred *"that the fatal bullet or bullets most probably affected vital areas near the brain stem."*

Well, this speculation is really not so strange. In fact, it's exactly what one would expect doctors to say, based upon the evidence provided. No, what's strange is that here, two days after the shooting, so little evidence had been provided. The article notes *"Doctors who attended the slain president at Dallas and those who later--at the Naval Hospital in Bethesda--prepared his body for burial have not given out the specific cause of death. And it has not yet been announced whether an autopsy involving a post-mortem examination of vital organs was performed at the Naval Hospital."*

The story then took another turn. On 11-24 The Dallas Morning News reported:

Photographer Sells Pictures Of Assassination for \$25,000

President Kennedy flinches as the first shot strikes him.

Mrs. Kennedy takes her husband in her arms.

The second shot strikes the President in the side of his head, toward the back.

His head becomes a blur.

Mrs. Kennedy crawls out over the trunk compartment in the rear of the car trying to escape the line of fire.

Her husband slumps to the floor.

A Secret Service agent runs to aid Mrs. Kennedy.

This historic picture of the assassination of President Kennedy is recorded on 8-millimeter color movie film shot by Abraham Zapruder; dress manufacturer of 3909 Marquette. Perched on a concrete pillar in a plaza a few feet away, Zapruder took perfect pictures of a terrible tragedy.

Saturday, Dick Strobel of the Associated Press, Los Angeles; Jack Klinge of United Press International, Dallas, and Dick Strolle, Los Angeles representative of Life Magazine, negotiated with Zapruder for still picture rights to his film. Rights finally were sold to Life for more than \$25,000, Zapruder told one of the other men who were bidding for the film.

This article, with its reference to a shot striking Kennedy on the side of his head (at the site of the large head wound)--reveals that the press was entirely clueless about the autopsy results. This was now two days after the autopsy, and no one in America had been told there was 1) a small bullet hole on the back of Kennedy's head, and 2) a small bullet hole on his upper back. These two wounds were the best evidence Kennedy had been shot from behind. Instead, the public had been told of a throat wound and a head wound, both of which could have been created by someone firing from in front of the President.

But forget about the public. What about the Dallas Police, who were still, as of this morning, charged with investigating the crime? Amazingly, even though they could be wasting valuable man hours looking for a second shooter--someone firing from the front--there is no evidence that anyone from Washington ever called them to tell them of the two previously unnoticed wounds discovered at autopsy. This suggests, if nothing else, that someone at the federal level had already decided to cut them out of the loop.

Even so, on the morning of 11-24, the papers were filled with quotes from Fritz and Wade on Oswald's obvious guilt. And it's not as if the press were unwitting bystanders. Some of the newspapermen have misrepresented the evidence against Oswald in a manner that suggests they were far from impartial. A nationally syndicated article for UPI by John V. Young described Oswald in the following manner: "Oswald, a Marine Corps misfit, expert rifleman, and former head of a 'Fair Play for Cuba' committee who defected to Russia for three years, refused to take a lie detector test after police said paraffin tests for gun powder on both his hands were positive. The U.S. Navy disclosed that after Oswald's undesirable discharge from the Marine Corps he wrote a letter to former Secretary of the Navy John B. Connally that he would 'employ all means' to get even for the wrong he felt was done him by the Corps."

The bias in Young's reporting is blinding. First, he describes Oswald as a "misfit" without any citation, with the obvious implication that "misfits" are not to be trusted. Second he describes Oswald as an "expert" rifleman, when in fact Oswald barely qualified as a "marksman" the last time he was tested. "Expert" is the highest level for a Marine Corps rifleman, while "marksman" is the lowest. Third, he describes Oswald as the head of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans, without mentioning that Oswald was its only member. But it gets worse.

Young next states that Oswald "defected to Russia." Oswald, in fact, never officially renounced his U.S. citizenship. He technically, therefore, having announced an intention to defect to Russia, only visited Russia. Young is also unfair in citing Oswald's refusal to take a lie detector test as evidence of his guilt. Oswald had not yet acquired a lawyer, so his taking a lie detector test at this time would have been stupid, to say the least.

Young's ignorance or bias reaches new heights, however, when he says the paraffin tests were for "gunpowder" and implies that the results of these tests indicated Oswald killed the President. Paraffin tests show positive results for many chemicals, including the components of gunpowder, but are not specific to gunpowder. As a result, the fact that Oswald tested positive on both hands, could simply indicate that he'd handled such a chemical. More likely, however, they reflected that Oswald had handled a pistol, which he had, by his own admission. Young's failure to state that the one test performed which could have indicated Oswald had fired a rifle, the paraffin test of his cheek, had obviously come up negative (or else Curry, Fritz and Wade would have cited it as evidence for his guilt), is further indicative of his bias and/or lack of curiosity.

His next few sentences confirm this bias. He correctly states that Oswald wrote John Connally after he received an "undesirable discharge." He leaves out, however, that Oswald wrote Connally after his "honorable discharge" from the Marines was blemished by an "undesirable discharge" from the Marine Corps reserves after he moved to Russia. Far worse, while Oswald indeed wrote Connally requesting that his "honorable" status be restored upon his return, and said that he would "employ all means to right this gross mistake or injustice to a bona-fied U.S. citizen and ex-service man", Young offers no reason to believe Oswald's view of righting a mistake or injustice meant killing Connally and/or Kennedy. Young's twisting of Oswald's words into a threat to "get even for the wrong he felt was done him by the Corps" is therefore thoroughly without foundation, and his depiction of Oswald as a "Marine Corps misfit" who sought to "get even" with "the Corps" incredibly unfair. One wonders if a spokesman for the Navy presented the evidence to Young in such a manner. If so, this might be taken as an indication that someone in the military chain-of-command had already made the decision to lynch Oswald in the public eye.

Another newspaper story in the 11-24 New York Times gives us more cause for pause. An article on the plans for Kennedy's funeral noted "The body of Mr. Kennedy which had been flown to Washington from Dallas yesterday (sic), was carried into the White House at 4:28 A.M. after being prepared by morticians at the Naval Hospital at Bethesda, MD." What's intriguing about this article is that it stated the exact time the body was brought into the White House but omitted that an autopsy had been conducted on the body at Bethesda. One can only assume the reporters knew an autopsy had been conducted. Certainly they should have suspected as much. So why didn't they say so? The public had a right to know. When President Warren G. Harding died suddenly in 1923 his widow would not allow an autopsy to be performed. Years later a best seller suggested she'd murdered her husband for infidelity. The New York Times should have reported that an autopsy had been performed or, if they really were unaware that one had been performed, demanded to know if one had been performed. The government's initial silence on these matters and the media's apparent lack of interest only fueled suspicion later when it was revealed that the descriptions of the President's wounds in the autopsy report written by military doctors differed greatly from the descriptions of his wounds given by the civilian doctors in Dallas.

Three items in that Sunday's Times demonstrate the need for clarity on these issues. The first article was the 11-23 AP dispatch attempting to correct the accounts of Kennedy's wounds given at the 11-22 Parkland press conference. As we've seen, this dispatch, while stressing that Kennedy was hit by two bullets, reported: *"White House sources said they understood that one bullet hit Mr. Kennedy in the neck. He bent forward, turned his head and was struck in the skull by the second bullet."* A turn of the page, however, brought one face to face with a more substantive article by Dr. Howard Rusk discussing the President's wounds. Rusk wrote *"The high-velocity bullet that entered through the neck and exited through the base of the skull tore away the bone and brain tissue, striking the vital areas of the brain."* As if that wasn't confusing enough, a Polaroid photograph snapped by Mary Moorman *"just as President Kennedy slumped after shot,"* was published alongside Rusk's article. This photo showed the

grassy knoll in front of Kennedy. As the Times had already published a number of photos showing their readers that the school book depository where Oswald worked was behind Kennedy, the undeniable message communicated by the proximity of this story and photo was that Kennedy was shot from in front and that the front page stories proclaiming Oswald's guilt were a lie.

Unanswered Questions



At left: Dallas Times-Herald photographer Robert Jackson's Pulitzer prize-winning photograph of Jack Ruby shooting Lee Harvey Oswald.



Above: Jackson's photo as normally published. Note that the man at left in the full photo has been cropped off. He is no longer part of the story. This was Capt. Will Fritz, head of the DPD's investigation of the killing of President Kennedy.



As Fritz was supposed to be protecting Oswald, his walking far ahead of Oswald just before the shooting, and his failing to even glance at Ruby till seconds after he fired, (as shown in the TV footage at left), seems a tad suspicious.

Was Fritz opening the door for Oswald, or Ruby? Was his worried face removed for photographic reasons, or political?

Unanswered Questions

If those articles had led some to suspect there was something not right about the assassination, moreover, what happened at **11:20 AM CST** that morning would most certainly have convinced them there was something absolutely positively wrong. While being transferred to the custody of the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, Oswald was shot in the guts by Jack Ruby, a local nightclub owner with ties to both the Dallas Police Department and the Chicago Underworld. Ruby, who had no business being in the garage where Oswald was shot, would later claim to have just walked down a ramp to get there. And yet, none of the press or Dallas police observing Oswald's transfer saw him walk down this ramp. And if that wasn't bad enough, it would soon be revealed (in, amongst other places, a New York Times article by Gladwyn Hill) that the original plan had been for the Dallas County Sheriffs to handle

Oswald's transfer, and that this plan had not been changed until late the night before. Oswald was taken to Parkland Hospital. He was treated by many of the same doctors and nurses who'd treated Kennedy two days before. He died at **1:07 PM CST**.

At **4:00 PM EST**, LBJ aide Walter Jenkins created a memo for the record, quoting J. Edgar Hoover on the shooting. It reads, in part: *"Last night we received a call in our Dallas office from a man talking in a calm voice saying he was a member of a committee organized to kill Oswald. We at once notified the Chief of Police and he assured us Oswald would be given sufficient protection...However, this was not done...Ruby says no one was associated with him and denies having made the telephone call to our Dallas office last night...he guessed his grief over the killing of his President made him insane. That was a pretty smart move on his part because it might lay the foundation for a plea of insanity later. I dispatched to Dallas one of my top assistants in hope he might stop the Chief of Police and his staff from doing so damned much talking on television. They really did not have a case against Oswald until we gave them our information... Oswald had been saying he wanted John Abt as his lawyer and Abt, with only that kind of evidence, could have turned the case around, I'm afraid. All the talking down there might have required a change of venue...The thing I am most concerned about, and so is Mr. Katzenbach, is having something issued so we can convince the public that Oswald is the real assassin ...We have no information on Ruby that is firm, although there are some rumors of underworld activity in Chicago."* The Katzenbach mentioned by Hoover is Nicholas Katzenbach. Since Robert Kennedy had stepped aside to take care of his family, Katzenbach had assumed his duties as Attorney General.

And was apparently very concerned about the public's attitude towards Oswald. An 11-24-63 internal memo from Alan Belmont to Clyde Tolson of the FBI reflects that "At **4:15 PM** Mr. DeLoach advised that Katzenbach wanted to put out a statement, *'We are now persuaded that Oswald killed the President, however, the investigation by the Department of Justice and the FBI is continuing.'*" According to Belmont, DeLoach was opposed to the idea. In any event, no such statement was issued.

Let's refresh. At the time of his death, Oswald had never confessed. In fact, he'd declared himself a patsy. No one could identify him as the shooter. The paraffin test of his cheek had come up negative. Several witnesses had stated that either shots were fired from someplace other than the school book depository where he worked or that men had raced out of the back of the depository building after the shots had been fired. The films of the assassination had not been studied. The First Lady, the Connallys, and some of the closest witnesses in the motorcade had not been interviewed. No motive for his purported act had been established. And there was something odd about his trip to Mexico...

Even so, some of those tasked with investigating Kennedy's killing thought it time to call it quits. Captain Fritz was quoted as saying that, with Oswald's death *"the case is cleared."* An AP dispatch from this day found in the Weisberg Archives is even more problematic. It reads: *"DIST. ATTY. HENRY WADE SAID TODAY THAT HE WILL NOT DIVULGE ANY MORE OF THE EVIDENCE OFFICERS HAVE AGAINST LEE HARVEY OSWALD. OSWALD WAS ACCUSED OF KILLING PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND WAS HIMSELF SLAIN TODAY. POLICE REFERRED ALL SUCH INQUIRIES FOR RELEASE OF EVIDENCE TO WADE. ASKED IF HE WOULD MAKE THE COMPLETE EVIDENCE PUBLIC, WADE SAID: 'NO. WE HAD PLENTY OF EVIDENCE TO CONVICT OSWALD. FINGERPRINTS AND EVERYTHING. BUT I'VE TOLD THE POLICE, AND THE POLICE HAVE COOPERATED VERY WELL, THAT THE OSWALD CASE IS MOOT NOW AND WE HAVE TO GET ON WITH THE RUBY CASE.'"*

Wade's refusal to go through the evidence, and pile even more dirt on the not-yet buried Oswald's corpse, however, was not appreciated by everyone. An 11-24 article by Anthony Lewis, found in the next day's New York Times, headlined *"OFFICIALS DISTURBED,"* and reported *"Federal officials, convinced that Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin of President Kennedy, were considering tonight*

appropriate ways to let the public see the evidence."

Apparently, one of the ways deemed "appropriate" was to have the Dallas FBI go through the evidence against Oswald for the press, and misrepresent a fact or two. An 11-25 New York Times article recounting the evidence against Oswald reported that the paraffin tests showed *"particles of gunpowder from a weapon, probably a rifle, on Oswald's cheek and hands."* This, of course, was untrue. The results were negative for Oswald's cheek. Disturbingly, the Times article said this information came from Gordon Shanklin, Special Agent in Charge of the Dallas FBI.

Meanwhile, at Bethesda Naval Hospital, at **5:00 PM** EST, Dr. James J. Humes turned in the final draft of the President's autopsy report. He'd concluded, after conferring with Dr. Perry the day before and discovering that a small throat wound had been obliterated by a tracheotomy incision, that one bullet entered the President's back and exited his throat, and that a second bullet entered low on the back of the President's skull, broke into pieces, and exited from the top of the right side of his skull.

A short time later, during a **5:55 PM** EST phone call with Whitney Young, Director of the National Urban League, President Johnson hatched a plan. After Johnson complained *"Well, I've got to get this funeral behind me and I've got all these heads of state coming,"* Young suggested that in his upcoming statements Johnson should *"point out that...with the death of President Kennedy...that hate anywhere that goes unchecked doesn't stop just for the week."* This got Johnson thinking on ways he could exploit Kennedy's death. He told Young *"Dedicate a whole page on Hate... hate international... hate domestic...and just say that this hate that produces inequality, this hate that produces poverty... that's why we've got to have a tax bill... the hate that produces injustice... that's why we've got to have civil rights... it's a cancer that just eats at our national existence."* Apparently, the only conspirator Johnson seemed interested in pursuing was hate.

Not everyone shared his disinterest. Oswald's brother Robert, who'd been taken into protective custody by the Secret Service, along with Oswald's wife, mother, and children, would later relate in his book Oswald, *"I began to realize there was some difficulty between the Secret Service and the FBI...Gradually the reports and rumors from various sources seemed to fit together. As early as Friday night, I had heard some speculation about the possibility of a conspiracy behind the assassination of the President...On Saturday and Sunday there were rumors in Dallas that the "conspiracy" might involve some Government agency. By Sunday night, I realized that the agency under greatest suspicion was the FBI."*

Hmmm... Perhaps this suspicion had something to do with Johnson's decision to use the FBI as his private police department. A note from aide Clifton Carter to Johnson on this evening reflects that he'd just spoken to Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr, and that Carr had expressed a willingness to create a court of inquiry that "could be used to clear up any question about the Oswald case in Dallas. He said the FBI could conduct this hearing through him in any manner they cared to complete the record on Oswald." To this Johnson added: *"Good idea, but purely a state matter. Can't say President asked for it."* Well, this reveals both Johnson's desire to personally oversee the investigation of Kennedy's death, through the FBI, and his even greater desire to hide this desire from the public. Feel free to get suspicious at this point...

And stay suspicious... In a filmed press conference from earlier in the evening (presumably around 9:20 EST) broadcast on NBC at **10:39 PM** EST, Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade gave in to pressure, presumably from the "Federal officials" mentioned in the article by Anthony Lewis, and recited the evidence against Oswald. According to a transcript in a book put out by NBC News, Seventy Hours and Thirty Minutes, he told the press *"His fingerprints were found on the rifle. Paraffin tests showed that he had fired a rifle recently."* Both statements are, of course, untrue. Oswald's fingerprints were not found on the rifle. Both the Dallas PD and the FBI crime lab found the prints around the trigger guard

inadequate to make a match. While it's purported that Oswald's palm print was lifted from the rifle barrel on the 22nd, the FBI would not even know of this print for days and it would not be matched to Oswald's palm print until the 29th. Even worse, the paraffin tests for Oswald's cheek were negative and suggested, if anything, that he had NOT fired a rifle.

Now, to be fair, it seems probable Wade was "innocent" in this matter. The 11/24/63 Wade press conference available on myfoxdfw.com has Wade saying *"His fingerprints were found on the gun--I've said that--"(then clarifying for the journalists) "on the rifle."* (Someone then asks about the paraffin tests) and Wade replies *"Yes, I haven't gotten into that. The paraffin tests showed that he'd recently fired a gun. It was on both hands. Both hands."* (And then clarifying, when asked if this meant a rifle) *"A gun."* Wade then corrects himself from moments earlier: *"It's a palm print rather than a finger print."* (Then clarifies) *"Yes on the gun also."* He is then asked on what part of a gun the palm print was found, and replies *"Under the--on part of the metal, under the gun."*

Hmmm. While Wade does say that fingerprints were found on the rifle, as quoted, NBC failed to note that he later corrected himself. Far worse, he NEVER said the tests indicated Oswald had fired a rifle. Never. Since this is most certainly the Wade press conference quoted by NBC, then, it seems likely this last quote was simply made up by NBC for its book, which just so happened to come out in 1966, just as books by writers Edward Epstein, Mark Lane, and Harold Weisberg were beginning to receive attention, and give people real reasons to doubt Oswald's guilt. Hmmm.

In any event, although Wade succumbed to pressure demanding he run down the evidence against Oswald one last time before the media, he stood by his guns on another point--by re-iterating his belief the case against Oswald was closed. An Associated Press transcript of the press conference, found in the Weisberg Archives, concludes:

REPORTER: "HAS YOUR OFFICE CLOSED THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY?"

WADE: "NO SIR. THE INVESTIGATION WILL CONTINUE ON THAT, WITH THE BASIS, OF COURSE, THAT WE HAVE NO CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT ANYONE ASSISTED HIM IN THIS. THE INVESTIGATION, I'M SURE, WILL GO ON WITH REFERENCE TO ANY POSSIBLE ACCOMPLICE OR PERSON THAT ASSISTED HIM IN IT."

REPORTER: "DO YOU HAVE ANY SUSPICIONS NOW THAT THERE WERE?"

WADE: "I HAVE NO CONCRETE EVIDENCE OR SUSPICIONS AT PRESENT."

REPORTER: "THANK YOU."

REPORTER: "WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SAY, IN VIEW OF ALL THIS EVIDENCE, THAT IT IS NOW BEYOND A REASONABLE DOUBT AT ALL THAT OSWALD WAS THE KILLER OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY?" **WADE:** "I WOULD SAY THAT WITHOUT ANY DOUBT HE IS THE KILLER--THE LAW SAYS BEYOND A REASONABLE DOUBT, TO A MORAL CERTAINTY, WHICH I HAVE--THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE WAS THE KILLER OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY."

REPORTER: "THAT CASE IS CLOSED IN YOUR MIND?"

WADE: "AS FAR AS OSWALD'S CONCERNED."

While it's also suspicious that Wade cited a palm print found on the rifle as evidence, even though the lone palm print found on the rifle had not yet been thoroughly compared to Oswald's palm print, this may also have an "innocent" explanation. As Lt. Day, the Dallas crime lab employee purported to have lifted the palm print from the rifle on the 22nd, would later admit that "at a quick glance" he'd believed the palm print matched Oswald's, and that he'd told this to Police Chief Jesse Curry and Capt. Will Fritz, it seems reasonable to assume that one of these men passed this information on to Wade. If so, it seems reasonable to believe Wade said the palm print matched Oswald's without realizing that Day had

taken but a cursory look at this print, and that the FBI crime lab did not even know of its existence.

If so, however, this reflects badly on Wade's competence. Here he was, hours after the Dallas Police had received a report from the FBI's crime lab in which it was declared no identifiable prints were found on the rifle, giving a press conference on the evidence against Oswald, and repeating second-hand stuff he'd heard about a palm print being found on the rifle. There's just no getting around it. He either failed to read the FBI's report on the evidence before going before the cameras to talk about the evidence, or had accidentally misrepresented the case against Oswald by telling the nation something he should have believed untrue.

On **11-25**, the next morning, President Johnson met with Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr, who'd flown in for Kennedy's funeral. In his book, *Texas Politics in my Rearview Mirror*, Carr describes this meeting as follows (points of interest in italics): "Before going to the cathedral for the funeral, I talked with a White House staff member and explained that Texas laws authorized a Court of Inquiry--which I could convene as the Attorney General--to establish the facts surrounding the assassination through a public hearing. After talking with the President, and getting *his approval*, the staff member *instructed* me to call a press conference, and say only that I would hold a Court of Inquiry on the assassination as soon as I returned to Texas. He *emphasized* that I should limit my remarks to those simple facts and *not reveal, under any circumstances, that I had discussed this with the White House or had White House approval*. I agreed and called to make arrangements for what I thought would be a very short speech to a small group of Texas reporters." Carr's words confirm what should already be clear--that Johnson was anxious to avoid any suspicion he was supervising the investigation of Kennedy's murder. They also reveal a related, but less obvious point--that most everyone was looking to him to take charge of the investigation, even though his doing so represented a clear conflict of interest.

After Carr left the White House, at **10:30 AM EST** President Johnson spoke to J. Edgar Hoover about the mounting pressure to create a Presidential Commission. He assured Hoover: "*Now we can't be checking up on every shooting scrape in the country*, but they've gone to the Post now to get them an editorial, and the Post is calling up and saying they're going to run an editorial if we don't do things. Now we're going to do two things and I wanted you to know about it. One: we believe that the way to handle this as we said yesterday--your suggestion--that you put every facility at your command, making a full report to the Attorney General and then they make it available to the country in whatever form may seem desirable. Second: It's a state matter, too, and this State Attorney General is young and able and prudent and very cooperative with you--he's going to run a court of inquiry which is provided for by a state law and he's going to have associated with him the most outstanding jurists in the country..." Johnson then proposed to Hoover that "any influence you got with the Post, have them point to them that you don't want too many things...and sometimes a Commission that's not trained hurts more than it helps," to which Hoover responded "I don't have much influence with the Post because frankly I don't read it. I view it like The Daily Worker." (The newspaper of the American Communist Party.)

Immediately after talking to Hoover, Johnson talked to influential newspaper columnist Joe Alsop. Johnson tried to build support for his plan. When Alsop questioned Johnson if somebody outside of Texas was gonna look into the shooting, Johnson slapped him down, telling Alsop "this is under Texas law and they take all the involvements and we don't send in a bunch of carpet-baggers. That's the worst thing you could do right now." (Of course, Johnson was not nearly as concerned about Texas law when it required that he allow Texas authorities an inspection of the President's corpse and limousine.) When Alsop began to explain that nobody was lobbying him to create a Presidential Commission, Johnson snapped "They're not lobbying you, they're lobbying me...last night. I spent the day on it...I had to leave Mrs. Kennedy's side at the White House and call and ask the Secret Service and FBI to proceed

immediately...I spent most of my day on this thing, yesterday. I had the Attorney General from Texas fly in here. I spent an hour and a half with him yesterday evening. I talked to the Justice Dept. lawyers and to the FBI and the FBI is of the opinion that the wisest, quickest, ablest, most effective way to go about it is for them to thoroughly study it and bring in a written report to the Attorney General at the earliest possible date which they've been working on since 12:30 yesterday." When Alsop proceeded to point out that there were many others demanding some sort of oversight of the investigation, Johnson insisted "My lawyers, though, Joe, tell me that the White House must not ...*the President...must not inject himself into local killings.*" Alsop responded "I'm not talking about an investigative body, I am talking about a body which will take all the evidence the FBI has amassed when they have completed their inquiry and produce a public report on the death of the President." When asked why the FBI couldn't do this itself, Alsop explained "on the left they won't believe the FBI...and the FBI doesn't write very well." Johnson then asked if he meant that Katzenbach should oversee it, and Alsop responded "I just wouldn't put it on Bobby and Nick Katzenbach...I'd have it outside...I think it's unfair to put it on Bobby...it is his own brother's death." To which Johnson agreed: "Not going to touch it on Bobby." From this sprang the Warren Commission. Thus, the Warren Commission was born just as Kennedy's body was buried. The eternal flame by Kennedy's grave was lit at **3:13 PM EST**.

After the flame was lit and the funeral was over, however, President Johnson was still so firmly in the dark that he told a crowd of Governors that Texas Governor John Connally, who'd been sitting in front of Kennedy in the limousine and had been wounded in his chest, right wrist, and thigh, had had his left hand blown off by the impact of Oswald's rifle. Even so, the situation was clear enough to Assistant Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach that he wrote a memo to press secretary Bill Moyers informing him that "*The public must be satisfied that Oswald was the assassin, that he did not have confederates who are still at large, and that the evidence was such that he would have been convicted at trial*" and, stunningly, "*Speculation about Oswald's motivation ought to be cut off.*" The investigation into whether or not the man who murdered Oswald in front of a basement full of cops and cameras, Jack Ruby, was trying to silence Oswald was only beginning, and yet Katzenbach wanted the press to tell the American people Oswald had no confederates! Elsewhere in the memo, Katzenbach mentions the possibility of the President creating a Commission to look into the killings and concludes "*We need something to head off public speculation or Congressional hearings of the wrong sort.*" One can only conclude from this that Johnson at least initially viewed the assassination as a political situation that needed to be controlled, and not as a crime that needed to be solved, and that the Warren Commission was a vehicle to implement this desire. How else could he be certain that the Commission would not conduct hearings of the "wrong sort?"

To be fair, it should be noted that the "speculation of the wrong sort" so feared by Katzenbach had already begun. An 11-25 newspaper column in the St. Louis Democrat by former Major General Thomas Lane, an outspoken right-wing critic of the Kennedy Administration, surmises that, as "the assassination of President Kennedy would jeopardize larger communist interests", "the assassin had orders to shoot Gov. Connally and that he continued to fire until he did so." It then concludes: "In summary, the available information suggests that the communist underground directed the assassination of Gov. Connally; that Lee Harvey Oswald bungled the job and killed President Kennedy by mistake; and that Jack Ruby murdered Oswald to protect himself and the communist underground." (This column is notable not only because it undermines the oft-repeated factoid that the earliest conspiracy theorists were leftists, but because it undermines the oft-repeated argument among leftists that no one on the right would want to kill Kennedy because Kennedy was, at his core, an anti-communist and a hawk. Perhaps Noam Chomsky and others holding this view and believing that, in essence, no one on the right would want to kill Kennedy because he wasn't worth killing, should have ran their "pet theory" anti-theory past the likes of Major General Lane, who so adamantly believed Kennedy was so

far to the left that no *leftist* would want to kill him.)

In any event, that someone, for some reason, was determined to make sure the story dried up is suggested by this morning's New York Times headlines, which both convicted Oswald without a trial by declaring "PRESIDENT'S ASSASSIN SHOT TO DEATH" and cut off speculation about Ruby's motivation by describing him as a "Dallas Citizen" "who admired Kennedy."

An 11-25 memo about the Katzenbach memo is also quite revealing. This memo, from the FBI's Courtney Evans to his boss Alan Belmont, notes that Katzenbach said it was prepared "after his discussions with the Director (Hoover) yesterday." The memo then goes on to say that Katzenbach felt "that this matter can best be handled by making public the results of the FBI's investigation...he was thinking in terms of the end of the week if at all possible." Belmont, in turn, wrote his own memo to William Sullivan, who was leading the investigation into Oswald's Russian contacts. After referring to the investigation as the "Oswald case" as opposed to the investigation of the murder of the President, Belmont wrote "this report should include everything which may raise a question in the mind of the public or the press...this report is to settle the dust, in so far as Oswald and his activities are concerned, both from the standpoint that he is the man who assassinated the president, and relative to Oswald himself and his activities...the Director desires that it be out as quickly as possible."

And it's not as if this rush to judgment was a secret. In 1999, Russian President Boris Yeltsin supplied President Bill Clinton with a number of previously secret KGB files on the assassination. Included among these files was an 11-25-63 report written by Russian Diplomat Anastas Mikoyan on his trip to Washington for Kennedy's funeral. Mikoyan concluded: "Judging from everything, the U.S. government does not want to involve us in this matter, but neither does it want to get into a fight with the extreme rightists; *it clearly prefers to consign the whole business to oblivion as soon as possible.*"

And the government wasn't alone in its rush to judgment. Oswald's brother Robert would later reveal that he had difficulty even burying his brother because "One cemetery after another refused even to discuss the possibility of accepting Lee's body" and that "I was astonished by the reactions of the ministers I talked to. The first one, the second one, the third one and the fourth one flatly refused even to consider my request." One of them told him that he wouldn't perform even a simple service because "Your brother was a sinner." Ultimately, after "The Lutheran minister who had promised to be there at four had not appeared, and the Secret Service received word that he would not be coming out" the Rev. Louis Saunders, who'd come out just to see if he could be of help to the family, performed the service.

Yep, while only the day before federal officials were anxious to find out as much as they could about Oswald and present the evidence for his guilt to the public, by the time of Oswald's burial the thinking had become that he was dead and buried, and so was the case against him. A New York Times article by Fred Powledge (found in the next day's paper) reports:

Dallas Nov. 25 — Dallas authorities were willing today to make public all their physical evidence connecting Lee H. Oswald with the murder of President Kennedy, but the revelation was postponed at the suggestion of Federal officials here and in Washington.

Two local authorities involved in the case, Chief of Police Jesse Curry and the Dallas County District Attorney Henry Wade said they would like to place the evidence before the public. Both men added, however, that they would not do so if authorities in Washington wished otherwise.

Justice Department sources in Washington said that when they discuss a subject of such grave importance as the Oswald case they must be absolutely correct.

They said no pressure had been brought on officials here. They expressed confidence that all the

evidence would eventually be made public.

Hmmm. Perhaps these "Federal officials" were beginning to believe that the evidence against Oswald was not as convincing as they'd thought...only the day before. Or Perhaps they were simply trying to avoid embarrassment. The FBI, after all, had concluded there were no legible prints on Oswald's rifle. And Wade, in the press conference the night before, had claimed there was a palm print on the underside of the rifle. Placing the evidence before the public, then, might expose either that Wade had lied, or that the FBI had somehow missed the most damning evidence against Oswald. And no one wanted that.

Wrong, Wrong, Rather

Meanwhile, in radio and TV land, a whole new reign of error was beginning. CBS newsman Dan Rather, after viewing the home movie of the assassination taken by Abraham Zapruder, rushed back to the studio to describe the film for CBS News' radio and television audience. His description was to have many unfortunate consequences. (This first transcript was published by Richard Trask in *Pictures of the Pain*.)

Dan Rather (Radio Take 1): *"Well, let me tell you then, give you a word picture of the motion picture we have just seen. The President's automobile which was preceded by only one other car containing Secret Service Agents...the President's open black Lincoln automobile made a turn, a left turn off of Houston Street in Dallas onto Elm Street, this was right on the fringe area of the downtown area. This left turn was made right below the window from which the shot was fired...as the car made the turn, completed the turn--went below the window from which this shot was fired...went on past the building--keep in mind the window was on the sixth floor...it got about 35 yards from the base of the building...that is if you had dropped a plumb line from the window to the sidewalk to...the President's car was around 35 yards from that spot...President Kennedy had just put his right hand up to the side of his right eye. It appeared that he was perhaps brushing back his hair or rubbing his eyebrow. Mrs. Kennedy was not looking in his direction. In front of them in the jump seat of the Lincoln...were Governor and Mrs. Connally. The Governor, as was the President, was on the side of the car of the building in which the assassin was located. Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Connally were on the opposite side. Two Secret Service men on the front seat...At almost the instant the President put his hand up to his eyebrow...on the right side of his face, with Mrs. Kennedy looking away, the President lurched forward just a bit. Uh, it was obvious he had been hit in the movie but you had to be looking very closely in order to see it. Mrs. Kennedy did not appear to be aware that he was hit but Governor Connally in the seat just in front of the President, seemingly heard the shot...or sensed that something was wrong...Governor Connally, whose coat button was open, turned in such a way to extend his right hand out towards the President and the Governor seemed to have a look on his face that might say "What is it? What happened?" And as he turned he exposed his entire shirt front and chest because his coat was unbuttoned...at that moment a shot very clearly hit that part of the Governor. He was wounded once with a chest shot, this we now know...Uh, the Governor fell back in his seat...Mrs. Connally immediately fell over the Governor. Uh, I say fell, she threw herself over the Governor and **at that instant the second shot the third shot total but the second shot hit President Kennedy and there was no doubt there, his head...went forward with considerable violence.**"*

(Note: Rather's description here is quite controversial. As Kennedy's head actually goes slightly forward, and then back and to the left with considerable violence, many see his saying that Kennedy went forward with considerable violence as a deliberate lie designed to sell the American people that

the fatal shot came from behind. If it is true that Rather was trying to sell the American people the single-assassin scenario, however, it back-fired, as he also claimed the film showed Connally being hit well after Kennedy had first been hit, which is in conflict with the single-bullet theory so central to the single-assassin conclusion.)

Rather then described the aftermath of the shooting: *"Mrs. Kennedy stood up immediately her mouth wide open...The President slumped over against Mrs. Kennedy almost toppling her over as she was standing...Mrs. Kennedy then threw herself out of the back seat of the car onto the trunk of the car almost on all fours...stretched out over the trunk of the car...There was a Secret Service man standing on the back bumper. **It would appear that Mrs. Kennedy was either trying to get herself out of what she knew instinctively was danger or perhaps was trying to grab the Secret Service man and pull him into the back seat of the car for help.** At any rate Mrs. Kennedy was prone, uh face down on the back of the car on the trunk...The Secret Service man leaned over put his hands on her shoulders and shoved her back into the car. He seemed to be in danger of perhaps rolling or falling off the back. A Secret Service man in the front seat of the car uh was already on the telephone perhaps he had been on the phone all along it was not clear and the car sped away."*

Rather then answered a few questions from his fellow newsmen Richard Hotelett and Hughes Rudd. When asked if the limo ever stopped, he replied *"The car never stopped, it never paused."* When asked the length of the film, he replied *"Well, the complete scene that I just described to you covers exactly 20 seconds--that is from the time the car made the turn until the car disappeared onto an underpass."* When asked if the President was hit twice, he then added: *"It was very clear that the President was hit twice. He was hit, Governor Connally was hit and the Gov...uh the President was hit again."* When asked the length of the shooting sequence itself, he then offered: *"No more than five seconds and I...am inclined to think slightly less than that perhaps."*

(Note: when all is said and done, this was perhaps Rather's biggest mistake. By assuming that the fatal head shot was the third shot, and timing the shooting sequence from the first hit to the final hit, without accepting that there could have been a miss--without studying the eyewitness testimony, moreover, to see that there very likely was a miss--Rather thoroughly misled the public.)

Rather was then rushed onto television to describe the film to Walter Cronkite during CBS News' ongoing coverage of the assassination and aftermath. (Transcript as posted by Paul Rigby on the Education Forum, 11-15-12)

Dan Rather (TV Take 1): *"We have just returned from seeing a complete motion picture of the moments preceding, and the moments of, President Kennedy's assassination and the shooting of Texas Governor John Connally. Here is what the motion picture shows. The automobile, the black Lincoln convertible, with the top down - carrying, in the front seat, two secret service agents; in the middle, or jump seat, the Governor and Mrs. Connally; and, in the rear seat, President and Mrs. Kennedy - made a turn off of Houston Street, on to Elm Street. This was a left turn and was made right in front of the building from which the assassin's bullet was fired. After making the turn, and going about 35 yards from the corner of the building - six stories up in which the assassin had a window open - and keep in mind here that President Kennedy and Governor Connally are seated on, both on the same side of the car, on the side facing the building: Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Connally are on the side of the car away from the assassin. About 35 yards from the base of the building, President Kennedy, in the film, put his hand up to the right side of his face, the side facing the assassin. He seemingly wanted to brush back his hair, or perhaps rub his eyebrow. Mrs. Kennedy at this moment was looking away, or looking straight ahead. She was not looking at her husband. At that moment, when the President had his right hand up to this side of his face (gestures), he lurched just a bit forward. It was obvious that the shot had hit him. Mrs. Kennedy was not looking at him, nor did she appear to know at that instant that her husband had been hit. Governor Connally, in the seat immediately in front of the President, apparently*

either heard the shot or sensed that something was wrong because, Governor Connally, with his coat open, his button was undone, turned in this manner (turns back to his right with right arm extended), his hand outstretched, back toward the President; and the Governor had a look on his face that would indicate he perhaps was saying "What's wrong?" or "What happened?" or "Can I help?" or something. But as Governor Connally was turned this way, his white shirt front exposed well to the view of the assassin, the Governor was obviously hit by a bullet, and he fell over to the side. Governor Connally's wife, immediately, seemingly instantaneously, placed herself over her husband in a protective position, it appeared; and as Governor Connally fell back, President Kennedy was still leaned over. At that moment another bullet obviously hit the head of the President. **The President's head went forward, violently, in this manner (gestures).** Mrs. Kennedy, at that instant, seemed to be looking right-square at her husband. She stood up. The President slumped over to the side and, I believe, brushed against Mrs. Kennedy's dress. Mrs. Kennedy immediately turned and flung herself on the trunk of the automobile, face-down on the trunk, almost on all-fours. **The First Lady appeared to be either frantically trying to get the secret service man who was riding on the bumper of the car - the single secret service man riding on that bumper - to come into the car or to tell him what had happened; or perhaps, from the picture, it appeared she might have been trying to get out of the car some way.** The car never stopped. The secret service man in the front seat had a telephone in his hand. The car...its acceleration increased rapidly and it disappeared under an underpass. Three shots - the first one hitting President Kennedy, the second one hitting Governor Connally, the third one hitting the President - consume, possibly, five seconds. Not much more than that, if any. That is the scene shown in about twenty seconds of film that the FBI has in its possession. The film was taken by an amateur photographer who was in a very advantageous position, and who had his camera trained on the President's car from the time it made the turn in front of the assassin until it disappeared on its way to the hospital. This is Dan Rather in Dallas."

A short time later, he once again described the film to Cronkite. (Transcript as posted by Paul Rigby on the Education Forum, 11-15-12).

Dan Rather (TV Take 2): "We have just returned from seeing a complete motion picture of the moments immediately preceding, and the moments of, President Kennedy's assassination. The motion picture shows the limousine carrying: in the front seat, two secret service men; in the middle, or jump seat, Governor and Mrs. Connally; and, in the rear seat, President and Mrs. Kennedy; a single secret service man standing on the back bumper; the top of the black Lincoln convertible down. The car made a turn, a left turn, off of Houston Street, on to Elm Street, on the fringe of Dallas' down-town area; that turn made directly below the sixth floor window from which the assassin's bullets came. After the left turn was completed, the automobile, with only one car in front of it - a secret service car immediately in front - the President's car proceeded about 35 yards from the base of the building in which the assassin was. President Kennedy and Governor Connally were seated on the same side of the open car, the side facing the building: Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Connally on the side of the car opposite the assassin. President Kennedy is clearly shown to put his right hand up to the side of his face as if to either brush back his hair, or perhaps rub his eyebrow. Mrs. Kennedy at that instant is looking away, and is not looking at the President. At almost that instant, when the President has his hand up to this side of his face (gestures), he lurches forward something in this manner (gestures): The first shot had hit him. Mrs. Kennedy appeared not to notice. Governor Connally, in the seat right in front of the President - by the way, the Governor had his suit coat open, his suit was not buttoned - perhaps either heard the shot or somehow he knew something was wrong because the picture shows just after that first shot hit the President, the Governor turned in something this manner, with his right arm stretched back toward the President, as if to say "What's wrong?" or "What happened?" or say something. It exposed the entire white front shirt of the Governor to the full view of the assassin's window; and as the Governor was in this position, and President Kennedy behind him was slumped slightly over, a shot

clearly hit the front of Governor Connally; and the Governor fell back over towards his wife. Mrs. Connally immediately put herself over her husband in a protective position, and as she did so, in the back seat, this time with Mrs. Kennedy's eyes apparently right on her husband, the second shot – the third shot in all – the second shot hit the President's head. **His head went forward, in a violent motion, pushing it down like this (leans forward, lowering his head as he does so).** Mrs. Kennedy was on her feet immediately. The President fell over in this direction (leans to his left). It appeared his head probably brushed or hit against Mrs. Kennedy's legs. The First Lady almost immediately tried to crawl on – did crawl on - to the trunk of the car, face-down, her whole body almost was on that trunk, in something of an all-fours position. **She appeared to be either trying to desperately get the attention of the secret service man on the back bumper, or perhaps she was stretching out toward him to grab him to try get him in. Perhaps even trying to get herself out of the car.** The car was moving all the time, the car never stopped. The secret service man on the back bumper leaned way over and put his hands on Mrs. Kennedy's shoulders – she appeared to be in some danger of falling or rolling off that trunk lid. He pushed her back into the back seat of the car. In the front seat, a secret service man with a phone in his hand. The car speeded up and sped away. It never stopped, the car never paused. That's what the film of the assassination showed. The film was taken by an amateur photographer who had placed himself in an advantageous position: eight millimeter color film. This is Dan Rather in Dallas."

And that wasn't the last of it. Several hours later (one source claims at 8:26 EST) Rather described the film to Cronkite for a third and final time, and compounded his mistakes. (Transcript as published by Richard Trask in Pictures of the Pain.)

Dan Rather (TV Take 3): "The films we saw were taken by an amateur photographer, who had a particularly good vantage point, just past the building from which the fatal shot was fired. The films show President Kennedy's open, black limousine, making a left turn, off Houston Street on to Elm Street on the fringe of downtown Dallas, a left turn made just below the window in which the assassin was waiting. About 35 yards past the very base of the building, just below the window, President Kennedy could be seen to, to put his right hand, up to the side of his head to, either brush back his hair or cover up his eyebrow. President Kennedy was sitting on the same side of the car, as the building from which the shot came. Mrs. Kennedy was by his side. In the jump seat in front of him, Mrs. Connally, and Governor Connally, Governor Connally on the same side of the car as the president. And in the front seat, two Secret Service men. Just as the president put that right hand up to the side of his head, he, you could see him, lurch forward. The first shot had hit him. Mrs. Kennedy was looking in another direction, apparently didn't see, or sense the first shot, or didn't hear it. But Governor Connally, in the seat in front, appeared to have heard it, or at least sensed that something was wrong. The Governor's coat was open. He, he reached back in this fashion, back as if to, to offer aid or ask the president something. At that moment, a shot clearly hit the governor, in the front, and he fell back in his seat. Mrs. Connally immediately threw herself over him in a protective position. In the next instant, with this time Mrs. Kennedy apparently looking on, a second shot, the third total shot, hit the president's head. He, **his head can be seen to move violently forward.** And, Mrs. Kennedy stood up immediately, the president leaned over her way. It appeared that he might have brushed her legs. Mrs. Kennedy then, literally went to the top of the trunk, of the Lincoln car, p-put practically her whole body on the trunk. **It, it appeared she might have been on all fours, there, reaching out for the Secret Service man,** the lone Secret Service man who was riding on the bumper of the car, the back bumper on Mrs. Kennedy's side. Uh, the Secret Service man leaned forward and put his hands on Mrs. Kennedy's shoulder to, push her back into the car. She was in some danger, it appeared, of rolling off or falling off. And **when we described this before, there was some question about what we meant by Mrs. Kennedy being on the trunk of the car. Only she knows, but it appeared that she was trying desperately to, to get the Secret Service man's attention perhaps to help pull him into the car.** The car never stopped, it never paused. In the front seat, a Secret Service man was, was on the telephone. The

car picked up speed, and disappeared beneath an underpass. This is Dan Rather in Dallas."

(Note: in this, his fourth and final description of the Zapruder film, Rather repeated his inaccurate claim Kennedy's head went forward in response to the fatal head shot, but retreated from his speculation Mrs. Kennedy climbed onto the back of the limo while instinctively running from danger. In his 1977 book, *The Camera Never Blinks*, in which he acknowledged his mistake about the movement of Kennedy's head, but mistakenly claimed that he viewed the film on Saturday the 23rd, Rather did shed some light on something of interest: the reasons for his retreat. He admitted that "an editor" in New York told him to "leave out the part about her trying to flee." And that he did.)

But Rather was not the only one making false assumptions and compromises. An 11-25 AP Dispatch (found in the 11-26 Milwaukee Journal) proves that Rather was not even the only one claiming Kennedy's head jerked forward upon impact long before anyone could possibly have concluded it had indeed jerked slightly forward. It read:

"Dallas, Tex.-AP - A strip of movie film graphically depicting the assassination of President Kennedy was made by a Dallas clothing manufacturer with an 8 millimeter camera.

*Several persons in Dallas who have seen the film which lasts about **15 seconds**, say it clearly shows how the president was hit in the head with shattering force by the second of two bullets fired by the assassin.*

Life magazine reportedly purchased still picture rights to the material for about \$40,000.

This is what the film by Abe Zapruder is reported to show:

*First the presidential limousine is coming toward the camera. **As it comes abreast of the photographer**, Mr. Kennedy is hit by the first bullet, apparently in the neck. **He turns toward his wife Jacqueline, seated at his left, and she quickly begins to put her hands around his head.***

At the same time, Texas Gov. John Connally, riding directly in front of the president, turns around to see what has happened.

*Then Mr. Kennedy is hit on the upper right side of the back of his head with violent force. **His head goes forward and then snaps back**, and he slumps down on the seat.*

***At this time, Gov. Connolly is wounded** and he drops forward on his seat.*

Mrs. Kennedy then jumps up and crawls across the back deck of the limousine, apparently seeking the aid of a secret service man who has been trotting behind the slowly moving vehicle. He jumps onto the car and shoves Mrs. Kennedy back into the seat. Then he orders the driver to speed to the hospital where the president died.

The elapsed time from the moment when Mr. Kennedy is first struck until the car disappears in an underpass is about five seconds."

An 11-26 article by John Herbers, published in the 11-27 New York Times, moreover, repeats this same mistake. Herbers writes:

"The known facts about the bullets, and the position of the assassin, suggested that he started shooting as the President's car was coming toward him, swung his rifle in an arc of almost 180 degrees and fired at least twice more.

A rifle like the one that killed President Kennedy might be able to fire three shots in two seconds, a gun expert indicated after tests. (Note: this line is found in online versions of this article, but is not in a clipping of the article found in the Weisberg Archives. Perhaps it was only added for evening editions of the paper.)

A strip of color movie film taken by a Dallas clothing manufacturer with an 8-mm camera tends to support this sequence of events.

*The film covers about a 15-second period. As the President's car come abreast of the photographer, the President was struck in the front of the neck. **The President turned toward Mrs. Kennedy as she began to put her hands around his head.***

Connally Turns Around

*At the same time, Governor Connally, riding in front of the President, turned round to see what had happened. Then the President was struck on the head. **His head went forward, then snapped back,** as he slumped in his seat. **At that time, Governor Connally was wounded.***

The elapsed time from the moment Mr. Kennedy was first struck until the car disappeared in an underpass was five seconds."

Now this is interesting. Note that the AP article and the New York Times article make the same mistakes and repeat the same non-fact facts (which I have highlighted). Note that they both claim Connally was wounded by the third shot, for example. This suggests that the AP writer and Herbers were either sharing information or being fed some of the same questionable facts from an outside source, most probably the FBI. Well, then, was their main mistake--that Kennedy's head went forward--something told them by the FBI, and, if so, should we then assume Dan Rather was also told to say this? I mean, really, is it just a coincidence that CBS News, the Associated Press, and The New York Times, in short order, all incorrectly reported that the Zapruder film showed Kennedy's head going forward? That's pretty hard to believe.

Which brings us to UPI's article on the film. Here it is, as found in the 11-26 Philadelphia Daily News (4 star edition).

The headline on the front page reads: "*Man Who Came to See JFK Makes Tragic Movie*". Beneath this, there is the following explanation: "*These dramatic pictures are from an 8mm 'home movie' reel, shot by Dallas dressmaker Abraham Zapruder who went to see President Kennedy ride through cheering throngs in Texas city. His camera recorded one of the most tragic moments in American history. Story page 3*". Beneath this, are four frames from a home movie of the assassination.

On page 3, the following story is presented:

Movie Film Shows Murder of President

Dallas (UPI)

An amateur photographer shot an 8-MM movie film that clearly shows, step-by-step, the assassination of President Kennedy.

The film was made by Abraham Zapruder, a Dallas dress manufacturer. He is selling rights to the film privately. It has been seen by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service and representatives of the news media.

It is seven feet long, 35 seconds in colour, a bit jumpy but clear.

It opens as the Kennedy motorcade rounds the corner from Houston Street and turns into Elm Street.

Then it picks up the President's car and follows it down toward the underpass. Suddenly, in the film, Kennedy is seen to jerk. It is the first shot.

*Mrs. Kennedy turns, puts her arms around him. A second later, the second shot. **The President's head becomes a blur on the film, lunged forward and up.** The second bullet has torn into the back of his head.*

He rolls towards Mrs. Kennedy and disappears from sight. Mrs. Kennedy lurches onto the flat trunk deck of the Presidential car as a Secret Service man races to their aid. She is on her hands and knees. She reaches for him. He leaps up on the bumper. She pulls him up on the bumper or he pushes her back as the film ends.

Other films show the car never stopped, but raced to the Parkland Memorial Hospital with Mrs. Kennedy cradling the President.

Well, hell. This article was clearly *not* written by someone using the information provided the other writers. The film here is reported to be 35 seconds long, not 15. There is no mention of Connally at all, let alone a claim he was hit by the third shot. And yet the ONE mistake the three articles have in common is the same mistake the AP and Times article had in common with Dan Rather's earlier description of the film--the strange claim Kennedy's head went forward in response to the head shot... Hmmm...

And there's something even stranger about this article. The next day's San Francisco Chronicle re-printed three of the frames found on the front page of the Philadelphia paper, and similarly specified, in a caption beneath the second frame, *"In this photo from the 8mm movie strip taken by the amateur photographer, Abe Zapruder, motorcycle police are seen rushing to the car after the shots."* Well, this was actually misleading on two counts. For one, neither of the two motorcycle police in the frame are rushing to the car; one of them, in fact, is slamming on his brakes. For two, all the frames presented in the article were taken from the south side of Elm Street, with the grassy knoll in the background. Zapruder's film, of course, was taken from the north side. Yes, incredibly, the film frames featured in both the 11-26 Philadelphia Daily News and 11-27 San Francisco Chronicle articles on the Zapruder film were not actually taken from Zapruder's film, but from the film of another eyewitness, Marie Muchmore. Her film had been purchased by UPI on the 25th, and shown on WNEW-TV on the 26th. The sale and broadcast of her film had even been the subject of a UPI article found in some papers, such as The Valley Independent, on the 26th, and others, such as The Eugene Register-Guardian, on the 27th.

And yet no one in the government seemed to notice. Incredibly, neither Mrs. Muchmore nor UPI thought it their duty to share her film with the Secret Service or FBI. This was especially ironic, or disturbing, take your pick, given that UPI's article specified that Zapruder had made his film available to the authorities. In any event, Mrs. Muchmore's and UPI's deceptiveness regarding her film enabled it to pass under the government's apparently defective radar for a lot longer than one might think possible. It would be, amazingly, nearly three months before those investigating the assassination of President Kennedy even learned of its existence.

Something odd was in the air. Even the noted leftist Walter Lippman over-stepped the bounds of

responsible journalism and assumed not only that Oswald had acted alone, but that he knew *why* Oswald had acted. While Lippman's column entitled Murder Most Foul angered right-wingers across the country by blaming Oswald's left-wing extremism on the climate created by Dallas' right-wing extremists, the column is just as notable for its bold closure of the case. Lippman asserted that Oswald was *"addicted to the fascination of violence in his futile and lonely and brooding existence"* and that *"No human feeling stayed his hand...For him the government in Washington is a hated foreign power and the President in Washington is an invading conqueror."* Lippman concluded, not surprisingly, by telling his readers *"I do have much hope in the healing art of Lyndon Johnson"* and assured them that *"We can turn to him with confidence."*

And Johnson had decided to justify this confidence, or at least create the appearance of doing so. After Dan Rather described the Zapruder film on his nightly newscast, Walter Cronkite told the nation: *"The White House announced a full investigation into the assassination of President Kennedy under orders from President Johnson. All Federal agencies have been advised to cooperate with the FBI."* An 11-26 article found in the San Francisco Chronicle similarly reported: *"The case of the murder of the President did not end after all with the slaying of his suspected assassin, it became clear here yesterday. President Johnson himself said: 'The people of the nation may be sure that all of the facts will be made public.' He directed a 'prompt and thorough' investigation by the Justice Department and its investigative arm, the FBI."* The murder of president Kennedy had led to Johnson's becoming President, and now the murder of Kennedy's presumed assassin had led to his assuming total control of the investigation.

Meanwhile, over in Europe, the international media had done such a good job of selling that Oswald was a lone-assassin that the Nazi war criminal Albert Speer (no relation) wrote about it in his prison diary. He noted the irony that *"here only one confused loner was at work, so it seems; he conceived the plan and the assassination was successful. But the attempts on Hitler's life...planned with the precision of a General Staff operation by circumspect, cool-headed people...never did they succeed...."*

On 11-26, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and CIA Director John McCone share a friendly phone call. They discuss the fact it was not Oswald in the CIA's photos purportedly showing Oswald in Mexico. Hoover indicates he's not worried about this, however, because *"We do find from our informant down there that Oswald did call at the Embassy that day and the informant has given us the conversation that he had."* They mostly discuss the FBI's upcoming report. Hoover tells McCone *"We are trying to do it as fast as we can so we can dispel various wild rumors that have been circulating as to whether this man was the right man etc. that fired the gun. But there is no question that he is the right man."* He later offers *"Mr. Katzenbach, who is handling it for the Department...he will of course go over it very carefully because it will be a report that will be released to the public, probably through the White House...It is his intention to check with the agencies, Secret Service, etc., to be sure that whatever is said in the report is conferred in and it is agreed to by the various agencies mentioned."* He then concludes *"So you will have the opportunity to go over it and see exactly what is said and I know he will welcome any suggestion that you care to make."* Well, how about that... The agencies whose actions and failures to act were indirectly being investigated were given approval rights to the FBI's report--with the full knowledge of acting attorney general Nicholas Katzenbach.

And that's not the only sign a whitewash is afoot, run by Katzenbach. On 11-26, another memo from Evans to Belmont quoted acting attorney general Katzenbach as saying *"a tremendous responsibility had been placed on the FBI in this instance by President Johnson because this report, which is to be publicized, is for the purpose of assuring the American public and the world as to what the facts are in Kennedy's assassination and setting to rest the many, many rumors that have been circulating."* It continued: *"Katzenbach noted that it is, of course, more difficult to prove that something did not occur than to prove what actually happened. As a consequence, it is his belief there might have to be some*

so-called editorial interpretation." Evans concluded with the observation that *"a matter of this magnitude cannot be fully investigated in a week's time,"* to which his boss, J. Edgar Hoover, responded *"just how long do you estimate it will take...it seems to me we have the basic facts now."*

Not surprisingly, given Hoover's reputation for pettiness, Evans' involvement in the case was thereafter kept to a minimum. His organized crime division should have been the division tasked with investigating Jack Ruby and his contacts with organized crime. Instead, the FBI treated Ruby's murder of Oswald as a civil rights violation, and gave much of the investigation over to men who expressed little interest in Ruby's long-time connections to Mafia enforcers Dave Yarras and Lenny Patrick, his frequent phone calls to Teamster enforcer Barney Baker, and his frequent visits with Lewis McWillie, a man described as a *"gambler and murderer"* in the FBI's files, whom Ruby would freely admit, in his subsequent testimony before the Warren Commission, he *"sort of idolized."*

Elsewhere, as Hoover was boasting about having the basic facts, a memo was sent from Al Rosen, who was to oversee the FBI examination of the physical evidence, to his superior Alan Belmont. Rosen stated *"The Secret Service has advised our Baltimore Office that the photographs of the autopsy and x-rays of the President's body would be available to us...It is not recommended that we request these photographs and x-rays through the Secret Service Headquarters at this time as it does not appear we shall have need for this material."* When one takes into account that on 11-26 Hoover and his FBI had already assumed jurisdiction over the President's murder from the Dallas Police and were lobbying LBJ not to create the Warren Commission, their refusal to look at the autopsy photos can't help but make one doubt their concern for the truth.

Other investigative bodies were even less concerned. While the morning's papers touted *"Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr announced in Washington last night that his top aids, prominent jurists and enforcement organizations would conduct a court of inquiry to examine in detail the assassination of the President and the killing of the accused murderer"* this court of inquiry was in fact little more than a charade designed to convince Texans that their state laws were being observed whilst simultaneously rubber-stamping the FBI's investigation. A memo from Carr to Johnson aid Walter Jenkins found in the Texas Court of Inquiry's files and printed in Barr McClellan's *Blood, Money, and Power* implores *"I want to conduct myself strictly in accordance with your organization. Am I to restrict my calls to Mr. Fortas (i.e., Abe Fortas, Johnson's most trusted adviser) even when I need an opinion from the White House itself, such as now? I will be happy to abide by your desires once I understand them. Although we are working diligently to reach decisions on such matters as this, we are publicly only cooperating with the FBI whenever needed in the making of the Presidential Report and after the report is made we will then proceed to announce details of the Court of Inquiry. Walter, I do hope that the FBI Report can be sent to us directly from either the White House or the Department of Justice so that we may continue to demonstrate to the public that the State of Texas and the Federal Government are working as partners..."*

But the FBI and the Attorney General of Texas were not the only ones refusing to do their jobs and actually investigate the assassination of the President. Members of the media, perhaps desperate to communicate an authority on the assassination that they, in fact, were lacking, began making more and more assertions of fact without any factual basis. On 11-26, for example, an article in the New York Times on Governor Connally's improving condition threw in that *"The Texas Governor was wounded by the same sniper who assassinated President Kennedy."* There was, of course, no way for them to know this. The few small bullet fragments recovered from the governor's wrist could not be linked to the rifle found in the depository.

Other articles were even more deceptive. An 11-26 article by Jim G. Lucas of the Scripps-Howard News Service found in the Washington Star detailed *"The Federal Bureau of Investigation has uncovered additional evidence linking Lee Harvey Oswald with the assassination of President Kennedy"*

and the wounding of Texas Gov. John B. Connally...The FBI's additional evidence included: Minute particles of the clothing that Oswald was wearing when arrested 35 minutes after the shooting were found on an Italian-made rifle abandoned on the sixth floor of the Texas school book depository where Oswald was employed. Ballistic tests confirm President Kennedy was killed and Gov. Connally wounded by bullets from that rifle. Oswald's fingerprints--smudged but still identifiable--were on that rifle."

These claims, of course, were not exactly true. While the FBI had determined that the nearly-pristine bullet found on a hospital stretcher and the bullet fragments found in the front section of the limo had been fired from the rifle, these specimens were at this time linked to Kennedy's wounds, not Connally's, and there was nothing to link Connally's wounds to the rifle. The specificity of the fiber evidence was also exaggerated; while the fibers of Oswald's shirt reportedly matched the fibers found on the rifle, the FBI refused to make a positive determination that it was Oswald's clothing on the rifle. And last, but not least, not only had the FBI not identified the smudged fingerprints on the rifle as Oswald's, neither had the DPD. The palm print purportedly removed from the rifle by the DPD and later identified as Oswald's by the FBI, furthermore, was at this point unidentified by the DPD and entirely unknown to the FBI. This suggests 1 of 2 scenarios: either Lucas was getting his info secondhand from someone in Dallas not completely in the know, or he was being used as a dupe to spread deliberate falsehoods.

Meanwhile, on Wall Street, in what was considered to be a vote of confidence for Johnson, the stock market rallied for its biggest day ever.

That night, in his private home, President Johnson had a few close aides and confidants over for dinner. Among the guests were his future choice for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Abe Fortas, and his future choice for Vice-President, Hubert Humphrey. Humphrey's memoirs recount an unusual incident. As Johnson walked past a photograph of Vietnam's recently-assassinated President, Ngo Dinh Diem, he reportedly offered *"We had a hand in killing him. Now it's happening here."* Humphrey did not know what Johnson meant by this. White House special assistant Ralph Dungan, however, would be more specific. He told writer Richard Mahoney that within a day or two of Johnson's statements to Humphrey, Johnson told him *"I want to tell you why Kennedy died. Divine retribution... divine retribution. He murdered Diem and then he got it himself."*

It seems likely, moreover, that Johnson was saying this kind of thing to most anyone who would listen. A 7-23-64 in historian Arthur Schlesinger's Journal notes that he'd had dinner with Robert Kennedy, and that, after discussing Johnson's behavior on the day of the assassination, Kennedy had told him *"You know the worst thing Johnson has said? ... Once he told (Press Secretary) Pierre Salinger, 'When I was young in Texas, I used to know a cross-eyed boy. His eyes were crossed, and so was his character. Sometimes I think that, when you remember the assassination of Trujillo and the assassination of Diem, what happened to Kennedy may have been divine retribution.'"*

Other mouths were more controlled than Johnson's, perhaps because they were more controllable. On 11-26, while Johnson was musing about Kennedy getting what was coming to him, Admiral Kenney, the Surgeon General of the Navy, figured out a way to keep whatever it was that, according to Johnson, Kennedy "got" from being told to the public. He had Capt. John Stover, the Commanding Officer of the U.S. Naval Medical School, where Kennedy's autopsy had been performed, draw up "Letters of Silence" for his subordinates, including Dr.s Humes and Boswell, and made them promise not to talk to the media, or anyone, under penalty of Court Martial. The letters read: *"You are reminded that you are under verbal orders of the Surgeon General, United States Navy, to discuss with no one events connected with your official duties on the evening of 22 November-23 November, 1963. This letter constitutes official notification and reiteration of these verbal orders. You are warned that infraction of these orders makes you liable to Court Martial proceedings under appropriate articles of the Uniform Code of Military Justice."* (These orders were not rescinded until 1978.)

Perhaps one or more of the recipients of this letter took umbrage, and called someone at the Associated Press to report on this "order of silence". It does seem a coincidence that the very next day, **11-27**, the Associated Press reported that the White House was declining to say whether President Kennedy had even received an autopsy. It went on to state *"One Washington source said, 'There is some doubt whether the fatal bullet was the second shot or third shot. The first shot is believed to have hit the President, but we're not sure about the second and third.'"*

A more extensive AP article published in the London Free Press added "Several persons here (Dallas) who have seen a strip of color movie taken by a Dallas clothing manufacturer during the assassination say the 15 seconds of film shows how the president was hit in the head by the second of three bullets fired by the assassin." While there may have been professional reasons not to release the autopsy report at this time, particularly since the brain had not yet been examined, it makes no sense that an administration anxious to head off public speculation would fail to acknowledge that an autopsy had even been performed. By way of comparison, the New York Times mentioned that an autopsy had been performed in its first article on Lincoln's death in 1865 (the actual results of this autopsy were discussed in an article by one of the doctors a week later); and discussed President Garfield's upcoming autopsy in its first article after his death in 1881, and the performance of this autopsy the next day. Even more telling, the preliminary results of President McKinley's autopsy were mentioned in articles on the very day of his death in 1901. In none of these prior assassinations was the president's autopsy considered strictly a military matter. In none of these prior assassinations was the president's autopsy--the fact that it occurred and the names of the autopsy surgeons--kept from the public. Perhaps just as telling, in none of these prior assassinations did the media sit around and wait for "official word" that an autopsy had been performed. They checked with their sources and reported what they found.

Apparently, someone in the White House saw how bad this all looked, and decided to end the speculation. The evening papers from 11-27 reported that "the White House disclosed today that a post-mortem examination had been performed on the President's body in Bethesda Naval Hospital." This news came in an AP article written with the help of Dr. James Beyer. Beyer stated that the large head wound reported by the doctors at the Parkland press conference could not have been inflicted by the standard ammunition for Oswald's rifle, and that Dum Dum bullets or hunting ammunition would appear to have been used.

And this wasn't the only article planting seeds of doubt about what would later be portrayed as the official story. An 11-27 New York Times article by John Herbers claimed: *"Three shots are known to have been fired. Two hit the President. One did not emerge. Dr. Kemp Clark, who pronounced Mr. Kennedy dead, said one struck him at about the necktie knot. 'It ranged downward in his chest and did not exit,' the surgeon said. The second he called a 'tangential wound' caused by a bullet that struck the 'right back of his head.' 'This was the fatal wound, we feel, although it is possible that either one could have been fatal,' Dr. Clark said. Since one bullet did not exit, it is presumed that the bullet that struck the President's head was the one recovered from the stretcher that bore the President into the hospital. A third bullet was found in fragments in the car and is presumed by official sources to be the one that coursed through the body of Governor John B. Connally Jr. Connally is recovering. The bullet that did not exit from the President's body may have been recovered in an autopsy, but the Parkland Hospital said no autopsy was performed in Dallas. "* Statements such as these, when magnified by Herbers' recounting, on this very same day, that the Zapruder film shows Kennedy "struck in the front of the neck," undoubtedly made an impression.

Another Times article expressed doubts about the weapon. It headlined "Tests Show Rifle like Assassin's *Might Be Able*," and then explained that a firearms expert from the National Rifle Assassination took 11 seconds to fire three shots with a rifle like Oswald's on his first try, and 8 seconds on his second try, and was only able to get his time down below 6 seconds--the time span

attributed for the shots that killed the President--when firing without live ammunition. While the subheading reads "Accurate Firing *Might* Be Possible" it's clear that it also might not.

Perhaps it isn't a coincidence then, that on this same day, the Chief of Police for Los Angeles called a press conference to discuss the speed at which the rifle could be fired. An article on this press conference in the next day's L.A. Times reflects: *"Lee Harvey Oswald would have required no more than 3 1/2 seconds to murder President John F. Kennedy and wound Texas Governor John Connally, Police Chief William H. Parker said Wednesday. He based his estimate on tests conducted here by police firearms experts with the same kind of cheap Italian-made rifle used in the presidential assassination. The experts simulated what happened in Dallas on Friday, said Parker, by aiming the weapon from an upper story window into a courtyard at police headquarters. An officer found, said the chief, that he could aim the 6.5 mm rifle, accurately, pull the trigger three times and slam the bolt into place twice within the space of 3 1/2 seconds. Three shots were fired by the president's slayer; two at the chief executive and one at the Texas governor. 'But it was only necessary to use the bolt twice,' Parker pointed out. 'It was already set for action before the first shot was fired.'"* From there the article drifts into a sea of smoke, with Parker inaccurately offering that the sniper's vantage point behind the motorcade made any lateral movement of the limousine during the shooting "imperceptible", and then admitting that the rifle in his test was not actually fired (which would mean the shooter did not have to react to any re-coil), and then finally hitting bottom with the nonsensical claim that *"Experienced big game hunters tell us that this kind of bolt action rifle can be fired faster than automatics."*

Even less coincidental, one might guess, is that the FBI also tested Oswald's rifle on this day, and concluded that a minimum of 4.6 seconds was needed to fire three shots at a stationary target. It concluded further that an extra second or so would likely have been necessary for Oswald to have fired three times because, unlike the target in the LAPD's test, and the FBI's test, Oswald's target was moving. This discrepancy--the LAPD says Oswald could have done it in 3.5 seconds when the FBI says it would be more like 5.6 seconds--suggests that Parker's claim and press conference was a deliberate minimization of the problem, put out for public consumption. At whose bidding, one can only guess. But it is known that Hoover hated Parker, and considered him a competitor for America's top cop, and that he also resented the CIA, and that the LAPD had a relationship with the CIA. From this, one might assume Parker's claims were put out on behalf of the CIA. On the other hand, perhaps Parker was simply jealous of all the attention provided the FBI by the assassination, and was anxious to get some for himself.

If so, his efforts failed. Instead of reporting on Parker's press conference, many newspapers the next day carried an article by Washington insider Les Whitten, on the FBI's tests. Clearly, Hoover wanted this story out. The article reads: *"The FBI has run field tests proving conclusively that a rifle such as the one that killed President Kennedy can be fired accurately three times in five seconds. It could not be learned whether these tests were run on the murder weapon itself, now in FBI hands, or on an exact duplicate. The FBI refused comment pending Director J. Edgar Hoover's report to President Johnson on the case, expected Friday. European newspapers have ballooned speculation that no single man could have done the shooting - that the 6.5mm Carcano bolt-action rifle cannot accurately be fired that fast. A Milan paper said, 'There must have been more than one attacker.' A French journal said a nonautomatic weapon could not have been used alone and an Olympics rifle champion in Vienna said it was 'unlikely' one man with one Carcano could have fired the shots that cut down both Kennedy and Texas Gov. Connally. But the FBI tests showed clearly that a rifle equipped with a four-power scope such as that found at the murder scene could readily have hit the President and Connally. The mail order Carcano reportedly was equipped with a 'pre-sighted' Japanese scope, thus assuring good shot control. As to comment in one report that only a 'true expert' could have done the killing, the Justice*

Department has received from the U.S. Marines - in which presumed killer Lee Harvey Oswald served - material showing him well-trained as a rifleman. During Oswald's 1956 boot training at San Diego, the material showed, he scored 212 out of a possible 259 in marksman's tests at 200 yards, 300 yards and 500 yards. The President was killed at some 75 yards in a slowly moving car. Oswald's rifle training took up most of 14 full days. A score of 250 would require every shot in a bullseye, or in the "critical area" of a man's silhouette (part of a rapid fire test). The 212 score meant Oswald consistently hit in or close to the bullseye. In 1958, Oswald took a refresher course, scoring 191 out of a possible 250. He was classed as a sharpshooter - a high marine rating - in the first test, and as a marksman, the lowest of three qualifying rankings in the second test. Oswald shot with an M-1 rifle which did not require him to work the bolt as was necessary with the Carcano. But with the Carcano Oswald bought a "pre-sighted" four-power scope that brings the target "so close only an idiot could miss" as one military spokesman commented. Additionally, Oswald's vantage point above the President allowed him to brace the rifle on the window sill. The Marine Corps tests required him to fire standing, kneeling, sitting and lying on the ground - and without any artificial brace such as the sill. The FBI probe is expected to show Oswald the sole killer "beyond reasonable doubt." It is understood that it will not accuse any subversive group - Oswald admitted he was a "Marxist" - of directing the killing, but will point to the indirect role played by Oswald's acceptance of the violent aspect of communism."

(The claim by the "military spokesman" that the scope brought the target so close "only an idiot could miss" was, of course, highly deceptive. The use of a scope while firing at a moving target creates its own set of problems--to such a degree that ballistics expert Monty Lutz, charged with investigating the shooting for the House Select Committee in the 1970's, would come to conclude that the assassin firing Oswald's rifle did not use the scope.)

This brings us back to President Johnson... On 11-27, President Johnson began doing what all Presidents do in a time of crisis: he wrapped himself in the flag. In a speech before Congress, he made it clear he would continue in Kennedy's steps and use the public sympathy arising from Kennedy's murder to push for the approval of stalled civil rights legislation. He told them, *"it is our duty, yours and mine, as the Government of the United States, to do away with uncertainty and doubt and delays and to show that we are capable of decisive action...This is our challenge: Not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us...John Kennedy's death commands what his life conveyed--that America must move forward."* While it's probably unfair to assume that one of the doubts Johnson considered everyone's duty to do away with was any lingering doubt they had about him, and his possible role in a coup d'etat, if one harbors such doubts, his words are undoubtedly disturbing. Here was a political figure on the verge of scandal and ruin whose career had been saved by Kennedy's death. (On the day of the shooting, not only were the pages of the most popular magazines in the country, including Life Magazine and the Saturday Evening Post, filled with articles about an investigation into the criminal activities of Johnson's close protegee, Bobby Baker, but an insurance salesman, Don Reynolds, had just begun testifying before a congressional subcommittee on Johnson's own corruption...) And here was this political figure telling Congress and the country that we should not linger over Kennedy's death or, by extension, question the circumstances of his death.

Chapter 1b: Establishing the "Facts"

A look at the weeks of confusion following the assassination, and the failed efforts of the government and news agencies to clear things up



Clearing Things Up

All the secrecy about Kennedy's death led to mucho speculation in the press, much of which would feed into the public's subsequent suspicions. On 11-27, as we've seen, a New York Times article entitled *Kennedy Struck by Two Bullets*, apparently recognizing that the Parkland doctors thought the throat wound was an entrance wound, but that Kennedy was past the school book depository when struck in the head, reported *"The known facts about the bullets and the position of the assassin suggested that he started shooting as the President's car was coming toward him, swung his rifle in an arc of 180 degrees and fired at least twice more."* This was days after the Times had helped the FBI and Police sell that there was but one shooter. And yet, apparently, no one at the Times had bothered to ascertain the whereabouts of Kennedy in relation to the sniper's nest at the moment he was first shot. Apparently, they'd spent so much energy trying to get the "official" word from Washington insiders that they'd failed to note the location of those closest to Kennedy at the time of the shots, or study the photos of the shooting itself. Even a modicum of study should have convinced them that Kennedy was far past the sniper's nest when first hit, and that he could not have received an entrance wound in the neck in such position without turning around in his seat. Astounding.

An article in that evening's Fort-Worth Star Telegram was even more problematic. This article, *The Anatomy of Death in the Afternoon*, written by Arthur J. Snider of the Chicago Daily News, was reportedly written *"with the aid of movies taken by an amateur."* This is clearly a reference to the Zapruder film. Its description of the shooting sequence follows:

(As presented online by Sixth Floor Museum Archivist Gary Mack, with pertinent sections highlighted)

*"As the fateful car rounded the turn and moved into the curving parkway, **the President rolled his head to the right, smiling and waving. At that instant. . .the sniper. . .fired his cheap rifle.** . . the President clutched his throat for a bewildered instant, then began to sag. **A second blast from the high-powered rifle ripped into the right rear of his head at about a 4 o'clock position.***

*"It was a violent wound. As a motorcycle officer described it: 'It just seemed as if his head opened up.' **The President swerved to his left and collapsed into the arms of his wife. Mrs. Kennedy climbed onto the trunk to beseech aid from a Secret Service man. The President slumped against her leg, bloodying her skirt and stocking.***

*"Meanwhile, Gov. John Connally had turned to see what happened. **A third shot rang out. It struck the governor** in the back. The bullet was deflected to his right wrist and lodged in his left thigh. A fragment of rib, fractured by the bullet, punctured a lung."*

Now this article, with its implication that the Zapruder film shows Kennedy turned far enough to his right to receive an entrance wound in his neck from the sniper's nest, would be strange enough. But this isn't the only version of this article. The version in this evening's Chicago Daily News, presumably published after the syndicated version of the article had been wired to Fort Worth, raises even more questions.

"As the fateful car rounded the turn and moved into the curving parkway, the President rolled his head to the right, smiling and waving. At that instant, about 12:30 PM, the sniper, peering through a 4 power telescopic sight, fired his cheap rifle.

The 6.5 millimeter bullet--about .30 caliber--pierced the President's neck, just below the Adam's apple. It took a downward course.

"If you're wearing a bow tie, the position is just about where the knot is," said a Dallas neurosurgeon who saw the wound.

The President clutched his throat for a bewildered instant, then began to sag.

*Meanwhile, Gov. John Connally had turned to see what happened. **A second shot rang out. It struck the governor** in the back. The bullet was deflected to his right wrist and lodged in his left thigh. A fragment of rib, fractured by the bullet, punctured a lung.*

The car rolled on slowly. Onlookers, instinctively startled by the shots, were still unable to grasp their meaning.

Then, in quick order, the third blast. It ripped into the right rear of the President's head at a 4 o'clock position.

It was a violent wound. As a motorcycle officer described it: 'It just seemed as if his head opened up.'

The wound was so vast and ghastly that a pathologist in Arlington, VA, suggests the assassin may have used flattened "dum-dum" bullets."

Yes, you got it. The order of the shots has been changed. It seems doubtful that Snider himself made this change. He had after all, studied the Zapruder film while writing the article. Well, if he didn't change it, who did? And why?

Perhaps we have an answer. At 4:30 PM Governor Connally was interviewed live on television from his hospital bed. He both decried the climate of hatred that led to the assassination and expounded upon the complexities and greatness of his long-time friend Lyndon Johnson. He said of Johnson, *"I think in our dealings with foreign nations I know of no man in my lifetime that I would rather be dealing my hand than him."* Connally also described the shooting to the nation: *"we had just turned the corner, we heard a shot; I turned to my left...Almost simultaneously, as I turned, I was hit...I said, 'My God, they are going to kill us all.'" Then there was a third shot and the President was hit again and we thought then very seriously...."*

From this, one can assume that someone at the Chicago Daily News, in order to make its interpretation of the evidence fit the Governor's widely-watched recollections, re-wrote Snider's article at the last second, after the version printed in the Star-Telegram had already been transmitted. Beyond this possibility, it's difficult to see how two articles written by the same man and published on the same evening could contain such widely divergent conclusions.

On **11-28**, the transcript of Connally's interview was printed in the New York Times. The Times summarized his description of the shots as follows *"Shot one struck the President. Shot two coursed through the Texas Governor's body. Shot three struck the President."*

The shot sequence described by Connally, which was previously described by Dan Rather, was then rubber-stamped by Dr. Robert Shaw, the Parkland Hospital thoracic surgeon who'd presumably saved his life. An article in the 11-28 New York Herald-Tribune (found in the St. Petersburg Times) reflects: *"The Dallas doctor who performed emergency surgery on Texas Gov. John Connally said yesterday that authorities have been able to reconstruct the sequence of shots that killed President Kennedy last Friday. Eyewitness accounts by Gov. and Mrs. Connally, and a crucial Polaroid picture taken by a spectator, reveal that the President was killed by the third shot, the bullet that tore away a piece of his skull."* It then asserted that *"Shaw said that medical authorities here felt the first bullet that hit the President, a bullet in the front of his throat which lodged in his right lung, was not a mortal wound but was one which, with proper care, the President could have survived."*

The article then presented the shot sequence, according to the "authorities" and Dr. Shaw: *"The first*

bullet entered President Kennedy's trachea, in the front of his neck, coursing downward into his right lung. The bullet was removed in Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland, where an autopsy was performed." (Well, this would be news to those performing the autopsy, who not only insisted no bullet was recovered from Kennedy's lung, but anywhere in his body.)

The article continued: *"Gov. Connally states he turned, saw the President slumping, then he felt a terrific blow to his right shoulder which stunned him. That was the second shot. The governor then was conscious of a dull explosion, the shot that struck the President and went through his skull, killing him. We know that the first shot went through his throat because authorities have a Polaroid picture, taken by a spectator right after the first shot. It shows the President slumping. His head is intact, undisturbed. Additionally, Mrs Connally said the third shot struck the President in the head."* (This bit about the Polaroid, of course, is nonsense. The Polaroid photo to which Dr. Shaw made reference is undoubtedly the Moorman photo. While Dr. Shaw had based his conclusion the first shot didn't hit Kennedy in the head on his acceptance that this photo, which he believed shows the head undisturbed, was taken after one shot had been fired, it would later be shown that this photo was not only taken after at least two shots had been fired, but after Kennedy had been struck in the head. Oops.)

But from there the article only got stranger. It then claimed *"Dr. Shaw admitted he was 'a little baffled' by the first shot. 'The assassin was behind him, yet the bullet entered at the front of his neck. Mr. Kennedy must have turned to his left to talk to Mrs. Kennedy or to wave to someone.'"* (This was more nonsense. The supposed sniper's nest was behind Kennedy and to his right. If Kennedy had turned to his left, he would have been facing directly away from the rifle, not towards it. Oops again.)

And yet, although Dr. Shaw was clearly not informed enough to make an accurate conclusion regarding the shot sequence, and the Connallys not competent to do so due to their being too close to the action, and Dan Rather not competent, period, the shooting sequence they'd proposed--that Kennedy had been hit by the first and third shots--became the "official" shot sequence. It was reported in a number of 11-28 articles that on 11-27 the Secret Service had performed a re-enactment of the shooting in Dallas. The results of this re-enactment, subsequently reported by both the Secret Service and FBI, indicate that they'd already assumed the last shot was the shot striking Kennedy in the head. Based upon the mixed information they'd received prior to 11-27, this is impossible to understand. But, when one considers that, by 11-27, they'd received word from both the Connallys and Connally's doctor that the head shot was the final shot, well, it becomes a bit easier...particularly when one considers that Life Magazine, as Dan Rather and CBS before it, had taken from its viewing of the Zapruder film that the first bullet strike observable in the film must have been the first shot, and the last bullet strike observable in the film the last.

The 11-29 issue of Time Magazine, already on the streets, we should reflect, had reported the shots a bit differently than had the Connallys and Shaw. It reported: *"a shot...The President's body slumped to the left; his right leg shot up over the car door. Blood gushed from the President's head as it came to rest in Jackie's lap...John Connally turned...there were two more shots, and a bullet pierced his back..."*

And the 12-2 issue of Newsweek, Time's primary competitor, nearly concurred, claiming: *"'Crack!' A rifle shot split the air. 'Crack!' 'Crack!' Two more followed. The President of the United States--caught apparently by the first--spun in his seat. 'I thought it was a backfire,' said Patrolman James M. Chaney, who was riding a motorcycle 6 feet from the right rear fender of the President's car. 'The President jerked his head around...then (came) the second shot and his head exploded in blood...' Turning to look, Governor Connally took the third bullet just below the right shoulder blade. It ripped out through his chest, pierced his wrist, and lodged in his thigh. But the turn saved his life."*

But Time's sister publication, Life Magazine, had purchased the Zapruder film depicting the shooting,

and had described the shooting in its own 11-29 issue, already on the streets, in the manner pushed by Dan Rather, the Connallys and Shaw.

Here is how Life first described the shooting in its 11-29 article entitled Split Second Sequence As The Bullets Struck: *"Then came the awful moment. In these pictures, which run consecutively from left to right, it begins as the car comes out from behind the sign. The President's wave turns into a clutching movement toward his throat. Governor Connally, who glances around to see what has happened, is himself struck by a bullet and slumps over. As the President's car approaches a lamppost, Mrs. Kennedy suddenly becomes aware of what has happened and reaches over to help while Governor Connally slumps to the floor. The President collapses on his wife's shoulder and in the last two small pictures the First Lady cradles him in her arms."* Tellingly, the horrific head shot, after which Kennedy's head jerks back and to the left, is not described. Apparently, this shot was just too horrid for Life Magazine--which had broken barriers by showing starving American children during the depression and dead American soldiers during World War II--to describe to its readers.

But if Life was doing its part to preserve the dignity of Kennedy, and conceal the possibility of conspiracy from the public, it failed miserably. In a newspaper summary of the Life article on the Zapruder film, the first frame, frame 233, was captioned *"The President's hand moves convulsively as he is shot."* Fair enough. But the second frame, frame 269, was captioned *"Gov. John B. Connally Jr. of Texas, on jump seat, turns toward back and is also hit."* This led the public, which was not allowed to see the Zapruder film for themselves, to conclude Connally was hit seconds after Kennedy, by what could have been a second shot fired from Oswald's rifle. This was true to Life's account of the shooting. In time, Life's article and the newspaper coverage it received would fuel the widespread rejection of the Warren Commission's single-bullet theory, holding that Kennedy and Connally were in fact hit by the same bullet. In attempting to reinforce that Oswald had acted alone, Life Magazine had instead planted the seeds of doubt...

Which grew in harmony with the seeds of confusion planted by the other news sources... Around the same time as the 11-29 issue of Life was hitting the streets and mailboxes in the states, the 11-30 edition of The Illustrated London News--a magazine that had been published for over 120 years, mind you--was hitting the streets and mailboxes in England. This issue featured the magazine's initial article on the assassination. Amazingly, its opening line asserted *"President Kennedy was shot **twice** in the head as he drove through Dallas on November 22..."* Now, one might wish to think this article had been written before any details of the shooting had emerged. But one would be wrong. This 12 page article included photos of Kennedy's funeral, on the 25th.

The incredible confusion wrought by these and other conflicting reports was to have long-term effects. One of the first biographies on Kennedy to come out after the shooting, John F. Kennedy, by Urs Schwarz, was to extrapolate and embellish: *"a shot. It was 12:30 p.m. C.S.T. and in a split second a thousand things happened. The President's body slumped to the left; his right leg shot up over the car door. A woman close by at the curb saw it. "My God!" she screamed. "He's shot!" Blood gushed from the President's head as it came to rest in Jackie's lap. "Jack!" she cried. "Oh, no! No!" John Connally turned--and by turning, probably saved his own life. There were two more shots, and a bullet pierced his back, plowed down through his chest, fractured his right wrist, and lodged in his left thigh."* (This account, as you've probably noticed, not only had the shots impact in what even at that time was thought to be the wrong order, but had a woman bystander yelling out "My God!" and Jackie Kennedy yelling out "Oh, no! No!"--exclamations later attributed to Governor Connally.)

And that's but one example. Another rush release, JFK: A Complete Biography 1917-1963, by William H. A. Carr, was to report *"As the Presidential limousine slowed to make a left turn on to Commerce Street at the Triple Underpass, a well-known Dallas landmark, the Governor's wife, Nellie Connally, turned and said laughingly to the President 'You can't say that Dallas isn't friendly to you today.' Just*

then there was a crack of a rifle shot. Jack Kennedy, who had opened his mouth to answer Mrs. Connally, said 'Oh!' and lifted his right hand to his throat, where a bullet, traveling an almost vertical course, had smashed through the skin just above his necktie, tearing its way down through his chest. Jackie, puzzled by her husband's guttural sound, but unaware that he had been shot, leaned over to him, her face reflecting her concern. Governor Connally turned around to see what was wrong. At that instant, another shot split the air. The bullet struck Connally in the back, ripped through his chest, emerged to break his wrist, and finally lodged in his thigh. Utterly bewildered by the sounds, the driver had slowed his car again now, after making the turn. Then the third and last shot rang out. This slug hit the back of the President's head. In the words of patrolman James M. Chaney, who was on a motorcycle six feet away, 'his head exploded in blood.'" (This account, as you've probably noticed, was wrong or at odds with the currently accepted story on just about every fact: it had the shooting taking place on the wrong street; it had the shooting occur while Mrs. Connally was still talking to President Kennedy, instead of moments after; it had the first bullet hit Kennedy's neck from the front and head into his chest; and it had this bullet enter above his necktie.)

The extent of the media's confusion, moreover, is probably best reflected by the fact that Facts on File, the most trusted source book for newspaper stories, summarized the shooting in its 1963 edition as follows: *"Three shots were fired as the President's car approached an underpass...the first two bullets hit the President, who was sitting with Mrs. Kennedy in the rear seat, and he fell face down in the seat. The third bullet hit Governor Connally, who was sharing the jump seat with his wife...The bullet tore through Connally's back, smashed three ribs, punctured his lung, broke his wrist, and penetrated his left thigh."* When the Warren Commission report came out some months later, of course, it offered that Connally was hit by one of the first two bullets, and that only one rib had been smashed.

(The confusion over the wounds and shot sequence, even among historians, unfortunately, continues. In 1998, Anna K. Nelson, an historian working for the Assassination Records Review Board, wrote a chapter on her work for a book entitled *"A Culture of Secrecy – The Government Versus the People's Right to Know."* Amazingly, however, she revealed that some of those in the position to know just can't be bothered. When discussing the Warren Commission's conclusions, she wrote *"Three shots had been fired; one hit the president but did not kill him, one went astray, and the third killed Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally of Texas..."* Yikes. The Warren Commission, of course, concluded that the first bullet to strike Kennedy wounded Connally, and not the last. Still, her display of ignorance was destined to be outdone. The year 2006 saw the publication of *LBJ: Architect of American Ambition* by Randall B. Woods, a history professor from the University of Arkansas. This was a 1,000 page effort published by Free Press, a division of Simon and Schuster. Amazingly, Woods reported: *"As the motorcade turned onto Elm Street, a shot rang out. Connally remembered being covered with a fine mist of blood and tissue. The president's head had been partially blown off. The second shot hit Connally in the back, passed through his body, through his hand, and into his thigh. A third shot rang out, but by that time pandemonium had broken loose."* Woods, amazingly, had not only presented the fatal head shot as the first shot, but had completely failed to account for Kennedy's back wound and throat wound.)

But I digress. Back in 1963, on the night of the 28th, President Johnson addressed the nation. Once again, he wrapped himself in the flag and asked the country to *"banish rancor from our words and malice from our hearts--to close down the poison springs of hatred and intolerance and fanaticism."* He closed his brief address with an appeal for his fellow Americans to *"remember your country and remember **me** each day in your prayers."*

The next day, **11-29**, at 1:15 P.M., Johnson called his closest adviser, future Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, to discuss the make-up of the Presidential Commission charged with investigating the assassination. Building upon earlier discussions, Fortas suggested that they create a seven man

commission, chaired by the Chief Justice, with two from the Senate, two from congress, one (Allen Dulles) from the intelligence community, and a general from the military. Johnson then decided that having businessman John McCloy on the commission would be better than having a general. Johnson then picked Senators Russell from Georgia and Cooper from Kentucky as his senators. As to his congressmen, Johnson said *"I would think Jerry Ford would be good from the Republicans,"* and Fortas agreed. When Fortas' suggested Hale Boggs from the Democrats, Johnson complained that Boggs was *"talking all the God-damned time."* Even so, when, after some discussion, Fortas offered *"I wonder if we aren't stuck with Hale,"* Johnson agreed. Johnson then dismissed that any of these men should even be consulted beforehand, declaring *"I think we oughta order 'em to do it, and then let 'em bellyache."* Bing. Bang. Boom. Just like that, Johnson had picked the men charged with investigating, among other things, his own involvement in the assassination. By including the Chief Justice, he had dampened the possibility anyone from the Judicial branch would complain. By including members of both the Senate and the House, he had dampened the possibility anyone from the Legislative branch would complain.

Johnson then called Hoover to tell him that he'd made a decision, and that he was creating a Presidential Commission to review the FBI's report on the assassination. An unhappy Hoover warned him *"It'd be a three-ring circus."* Johnson then asked Hoover about the status of the investigation. Four days after closing ranks to convince the American people not only that Oswald did it, but that he acted alone, Johnson finally got around to asking Hoover if Ruby knew Oswald. Amazingly, Hoover told him they were still investigating! Johnson then asked how many shots were fired and if any of them were fired at him personally. For his part, Hoover told Johnson the FBI would wrap up the case by the following Monday. He then shared such incredible details (incredible because they are so out-of-line with the eventual conclusions of the Warren Commission) as: Oswald fired three shots in three seconds (the commission decided it took almost 6), Oswald raced down from the fifth floor (the sniper's nest was on the sixth floor), there were three bullets fired and all were in possession of the FBI (they only recovered one and a half bullets, plus some fragments which may or may not have come from a third bullet), the first shot hit Kennedy, the second Connally, and the third Kennedy (this was the accepted theory before the development of the single-bullet theory months later), the intact bullet found on a hospital stretcher in Dallas rolled out of the President's head after being loosened by heart massage (the temporary theory on the night of the autopsy was that the bullet fell from Kennedy's back after heart massage; no one ever indicated it fell from the head), and that Connally wouldn't have been wounded if he hadn't turned after the first shot and got in the way of the bullet. This last statement indicates that Hoover was under the impression that the school book depository was somewhere in front of the President when the shots were fired. Strangely, Johnson, who was but two cars behind Kennedy in the motorcade and would have to have known there were no buildings in front of Kennedy, failed to correct him. In any case, it's clear by the tape of their conversation that the two men had no grasp of what happened the week before. And yet they had decided to tell everyone that whatever it was that happened Oswald was somehow solely responsible.

Even more surprising than their overall lack of knowledge, however, is Johnson and Hoover's use of the word "they" when describing the assassin during this phone call. Johnson asked *"Was they aimin' at the President?"* to which Hoover responded *"They were aiming directly at the President."* Then, after Hoover explained that the rifle tests indicated that one man could have gotten off all the shots, Johnson let his views on this be known. He responded *"How'd it happen they hit Connally..."* While the "they" in this particular statement might be a reference to the bullets, the tape-recordings of Johnson's conversations available at his Presidential library, the memoirs of his closest associates, and a number of interviews conducted during his lifetime all confirm that Johnson never believed the conclusions of the Warren Commission, and suspected a foreign involvement in the assassination. That Governor Connally privately shared Johnson's conviction there was a "they" has been confirmed, furthermore, by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who in a 1998 interview with Jim Douglass quoted Connally

as swearing *"They were trying to hit me. Don't tell me they weren't trying to hit me."*

Less than three hours after talking to Hoover, President Johnson called Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren into his office and ordered him to chair the commission that would investigate the assassination. Beyond manipulating Warren with his assertions that a war could result from the "wrong sort" of investigation, Johnson told Warren that the other men on the commission, including Senator Richard Russell, had all agreed to serve if Warren chaired the commission. This was a lie.

Johnson then called Speaker of the House John McCormack. He told him, in his crude yet effective manner, that with his presidential commission set to investigate the assassination, he couldn't have a congressional committee conducting its own investigation, and using the investigation for political purposes, blaming it on Khrushchev and whipping up a red scare. He then instructed McCormack to *"take care of the House of Representatives for me,"* which momentarily confused McCormack, and led to his asking *"How am I going to take care of them?"* Johnson then ordered, as if speaking to a servant (as opposed to the leader of the legislative branch of government), *"Just keep them from investigating!"*

Later that evening, Johnson called Senator Richard Russell and ordered him to serve on his presidential commission--a commission on which his membership had already been announced. Russell, who'd spoken to Johnson earlier that day and told him he would not serve on his commission, reinforced this point and stressed that he refused to serve on any commission chaired by Chief Justice Earl Warren. Johnson then bullied Russell by telling him *"You're damn sure gonna be at my command... You're gonna be at my command long as I'm here."* He then cut Russell off by simultaneously playing to Russell's vanity, and bragging about his own new-found power.

LBJ: *Now you just get ready to do this and you're my man on there, and period.*

RR: *Well if you hadn't announced it, I would absolutely be--*

LBJ: *No, you wouldn't. No, you wouldn't.*

RR: *Yes, I would. Yes I would.*

LBJ: *I told Warren, Warren told me he wouldn't do it under any circumstances--didn't think the Supreme Court Justice ought to go on it. He wouldn't have any thing to do with it. He said a man that criticized this fellow that went on the Nuremberg trial, Jackson, he told me what he thought about Goldberg. He thought he was terrible [unintelligible] and I said let me read you one report. And I just picked up one report and read it to him. And I said okay, now, forty million Americans are involved here.*

RR: *I may be wholly wrong, but I think Mr. Warren would serve on anything you'd give him any publicity on.*

LBJ: *Well you want me to tell you the truth? You know what happened? Bobby and them went up to see him today and he turned them down cold and said "no." Two hours later I called him and ordered him down here and he didn't want to come. I insisted he come, he came down here and told me no twice and I just pulled out what Hoover told me about a little incident in Mexico City and I say now, 'I don't want Mr. Khrushchev to be told tomorrow and be testifying before a camera that he killed this fellow and that Castro killed him and all I want you to do is look at the facts and bring in other facts you want in here, and determined who killed the President and I think you'd put on your uniform of World War I, fat as you are, and do anything you could to save one American life. And I'm surprised that you the Chief Justice of the United States would turn me down.' And he started crying and said, well I won't turn you down. I'll just do whatever you say, but he turned the Attorney General down.*

RR: *Well, you ought not to be so persuasive.*

LBJ: *Well, I think I ought to.*

RR: *I think you did wrong in getting Warren and I know damned well you did wrong getting me but I hope to do the best we can.*

LBJ: *I think that's what you'll do. That's the kind of Americans both of you are. Goodnight.*

And so Johnson had his commission of distinguished Americans...

Earlier that day, Johnson called House majority leader Carl Albert and told him of his plans. When Albert voiced Speaker McCormack's concern that it would be unwise to have anyone from the Supreme Court on the commission, as the Justice would then have to pass should any aspect of the case wind up in his court, Johnson shot him down, declaring *"He's not gonna pass on Oswald; he's dead as hell."* That the Warren Commission was hand-picked by Johnson, and was expected to find no international conspiracy, and that President Johnson personally dismissed the possibility they'd uncover a domestic conspiracy, is made clear by his conversations on this date, only a week after the assassination.

While one might think the passage of this week would lead to more accurate articles in the press, moreover, this sadly wasn't true. An article on How the President Was Shot in the 12-9-63 issue of U.S. News and World Report, which is reported to have went to press on 11-29, offers that *"Oswald's gun, a 6.5 mm Carcano Italian carbine, had its telescopic sight aligned for the distance from which the sniper fired at the presidential car--about 250 feet. This meant the gun had presumably been 'zeroed in'--test fired several times from the from the distance the sniper intended to fire from, with crosshairs on the gunsight adjusted accordingly. This, in turn, indicated that the sniper had made careful calculations of the distance between his vantage point in a storage-building window and the parade route."*

Well, this was the worst kind of nonsense. In their study of Oswald's rifle the FBI had found no evidence the telescopic sight on Oswald's rifle had ever been zeroed-in, let alone zeroed-in for the distance in question. This article, then, was undeniably unfair to Oswald. But it quickly changed course. The article continued: *"The sniper, too, almost certainly had carried out target practice to check his calculations. He had been out of the Marine Corps for four years. Without practice he might have been rusty."* Well, oops. The FBI would ultimately find no credible evidence Oswald had practiced with his rifle in the weeks before the shooting.

The 11-29 Chicago Daily News runs a similar article regarding the evidence against Oswald. This article sizzles in its bias. The assassination is now *"the crime of the century--so monstrous as to paralyze humanity."* Oswald is no longer the "prime suspect" for this crime, moreover, or even a "presumed assassin." No, he has now become, officially--because it's in the papers--*"a hate-filled sniper"* and *"lunatic."* This change in tone is really not that surprising. What is surprising, however, is that the evidence against Oswald as recounted by Dallas DA Wade is getting less accurate, not more. Among other things, the article claimed that Wade had *"outlined"* the following items of evidence:

- *"A Federal crime laboratory in Washington found Oswald's fingerprints on the rifle used to murder the President."* (While this is presumably a reference to a palm print lift IDed as Oswald's on the 29th, it seems strange that the writers of the article would be inaccurate on two key points: 1, that it was fingerprints, as opposed to a single palm print; 2, that it was found by a Federal Crime Laboratory, as opposed to the Dallas Police Department. This suggests that perhaps just perhaps Wade was avoiding the embarrassing fact that the FBI had found no trace of this print on the rifle on the morning of the 23rd, and the even more embarrassing

explanation that it had been completely lifted from the rifle by Dallas Police Lt. J.C. Day on the evening of the 22nd, and that he'd failed to take pictures of it before performing the lift, and failed to tell the FBI about it afterward.)

- *"His fingerprints also were found on two cases of books on which the assassin is believed to have propped the rifle. Wade did not indicate which laboratory made the identification."* (This was also inaccurate. Oswald's prints were purported to have been found on only one box believed to have propped up the rifle. They were found on another box, but it was the box on which he was believed to have been sitting.)
- *"A palm print matching Oswald's was found on one of the boxes. Paraffin tests of Oswald's hands showed he recently had fired a gun. These findings were made by the Dallas city-county crime laboratory."* (This was also misleading. The paraffin tests for Oswald's hands were positive, which was consistent with his having fired a gun, but not proof he had fired a gun. As Wade was "outlining" the evidence Oswald shot Kennedy, moreover, it seems a wee bit suspicious that he failed to mention that the test for Oswald's cheek, which would have been consistent with his having fired a rifle, was negative.)
- *"A neighbor who drove Oswald to work on the day of the assassination said the young man carried a long, wrapped package. Oswald said these contained window shades, according to this account. The police believe it was the death rifle."* (This avoided that this "neighbor," Buell Wesley Frazier, described a package much too small to hold the rifle.)
- *"An elevator operator said Oswald carried the package to the deserted fifth floor storeroom from which the shots were fired."* (This, as far as can be determined, was made up from whole cloth. No one saw Oswald with the package in the building. And besides, the shots were fired from the sixth floor.)
- *"Oswald's handwriting, according to the FBI, is on an order for the rifle received by a Chicago firearms firm."* (This was accurate, but avoids the strange circumstance that the rifle found in the depository was a different model than the one Oswald ordered.)
- *"Police have obtained a photo of Oswald holding a rifle that appears to be the same weapon."* (This was accurate, but incomplete. They'd actually obtained three such photos, and had made multiple copies of these photos, to be passed out as souvenirs.)
- *"His blonde wife, Marina, told police she had seen Oswald's rifle at their suburban Irving home the day before the slaying. Police could not find it when they searched the home afterward."* (This was also misleading. Marina told police she'd seen the green blanket which at one time held the rifle, and not the rifle itself. As she discovered when the police came out to see her, however, this blanket was just a shell. As a result, neither she nor anyone else could say when the rifle had last been in the blanket. It could have been taken from the unlocked garage days or even weeks before the assassination.)
- *"Police say that cloth fibers attached to the rifle butt match clothing worn by Oswald on the fatal day."* (This is intriguing for two reasons. The cloth fibers were purported to have been overlooked by the Dallas police, and only discovered by the FBI crime lab in Washington. Were they now trying to make it appear they'd found the fibers? The second reason is far more compelling: the "police" claim Oswald wore the matching clothing on the fatal day, but it does not say he was wearing this clothing at the time of the shooting. This was for good reason; Oswald claimed he'd changed his shirt after leaving work, and, by the time of this article, not one witness had identified the shirt he was wearing when arrested, whose fibers matched those found on the rifle, as the shirt he'd worn to work, and was wearing at the time of the shooting.)
- *"There are witnesses, still unidentified, to corroborate other parts of the story. Some say they saw Oswald leave the warehouse after the shooting. A woman says she remembers him boarding the bus. Three say they saw him shoot officer Tippit."* (This last statement was

inaccurate. While a number of witnesses identified Oswald as the man they saw fleeing the scene of the shooting, only one witness, Helen Markham, said she saw the actual shooting, and identified Oswald as the man pulling the trigger.)

On **11-30**, yet another strange article was published. This article, by Richard Dudman for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, did what earlier articles should have done, and presented a laundry list of unanswered questions. It presented some quotes from Parkland doctor Robert McClelland, confirming that the Parkland doctors thought Kennedy's throat wound was an entrance wound. It then related *"He said the doctors afterward tried to explain how the shot in the neck could have been fired from the book warehouse. 'We postulated that if it was a wound of entry, as we thought it was, the President might have been turned in such a way that it could hit him there,' he said. 'He would have had to have been looking almost completely to the rear.'"* Dudman then reported what other articles evaded: *"The motion pictures, however, showed the President looking forward."*

Dudman then noted *"Uncertainty surrounds the number of shots that were fired. Most witnesses have said they heard three, within a space of about five seconds. Investigators have accounted for them as the one that entered the President's throat, a second that struck Gov. Connally, riding in the front seat, and a third that struck the back of the President's head and caused extensive brain damage. The first bullet is said by the doctors in Dallas to have entered the throat, coursed downward and remained in the President's body. The second was extracted from Gov. Connally's thigh. It had lodged there after entering the right side of his back, passing through his body and through his wrist. A third, which may be the one that struck the back of Mr. Kennedy's head, was recovered from the stretcher on which he was carried into the hospital. A fourth was found in fragments in the car. Still another bullet was found by Dallas police officers after the shooting. It was in the grass opposite the point where the President was hit. They did not know whether it had anything to do with the shooting of the President and Governor."*

Well, heck, that's five bullets. And yet Dudman ultimately concluded *"If there were two snipers, and Mr. Kennedy's car was caught in the crossfire, the rapid-fire shooting would be more easily explained. Tests have shown, however, that a single sniper, using the bolt-action Italian rifle with telescopic sight found in the warehouse, could have fired three shots easily in five seconds. One shell would have been in the chamber, so that the bolt would have had to be moved only twice. The weapon could have been rested on a box, so that it would not have been necessary to aim again for the subsequent shots."* He was thereby telling his readers, hey, guess what, there's reason to suspect Oswald wasn't the only shooter...and no one is telling you about it. A pretty ballsy article, all in all. Especially when one considers that within the article Dudman revealed the source of his suspicions--his own observations... He wrote: *"Another unexplained circumstance is a small hole in the windshield of the presidential limousine. This correspondent and one other man saw the hole, which resembled a bullet hole, as the automobile stood at the hospital emergency entrance while the President was being treated inside the building. The Secret Service kept possession of the automobile and flew it back to Washington. A spokesman for the agency rejected a request to inspect the vehicle here. He declined to discuss any hole there might be in the windshield."*

Well, that makes it clear as day. Dudman suspected a shot came from the front!

The strangest thing about Dudman's story, however, was that it went unreported in the national news. Apparently, the Washington Press Corps thought one of their colleagues' claiming he saw a bullet hole in the President's limousine--and as much as admitting that this had led him to suspect that more than one sniper had fired on Kennedy--unworthy of the public's attention.

Also on 11-30, CIA Director John McCone called Johnson to inform him that Gilberto Alvarado, a Nicaraguan intelligence agent who'd claimed he'd witnessed Oswald get paid off in the Cuban consulate in Mexico, had admitted he'd lied. Upon hearing this news, Johnson is reported to have laughed. Seeing as Hoover and Katzenbach had already agreed to tell the people Oswald had acted alone and had had no confederates, and seeing as Johnson had already pressured Warren into chairing a Commission whose findings would help avert a war with the Soviets, one might assume Johnson was relieved as well as amused.

If he was relieved, however, it was destined not to last. An 11-30 UPI article, found in the Hartford Courant, trumpeted *"Accused assassin Lee Harvey Oswald wrote at least part of a book intimating he went to Russia as a secret agent for the United States."* This article, built around an interview with stenographer Pauline Bates, who'd worked briefly with Oswald on his never-finished book, proceeded to run through a laundry list of Oswald's complaints about the Russian way of life. Unstated but implicit in these complaints was that Oswald preferred the American way of life. This, of course, supported the possibility Oswald was what he'd hinted at: a U.S. intelligence operative.

Even so, the right-wing rumor mill continued to push that Oswald had been part of a left-wing conspiracy. Conservative commentator and former FBI agent Dan Smoot, in his weekly report dated **12-2**, argued that Jack Ruby--whom he pointedly and repeatedly called "*Rubenstein*"--was a confederate of Oswald's, and that he had killed Oswald to ensure his silence. While listing the evidence against Oswald, Smoot repeated the lies told by Dallas DA Henry Wade and FBI Agent Gordon Shanklin. He told his readers that *"Oswald's fingerprints were found on the murder weapon"* and that *"A paraffin test revealed gunpowder flecks on Oswald's cheek, which is presumptive evidence that he had recently fired a rifle. The powder flecks were identical in kind with powder flecks in the empty cartridges and gun found in the book warehouse."* In his description of the shooting, Smoot confused things even more, relating *"The first shot apparently hit President Kennedy in the neck. He clutched himself and partially rose, as the second shot hit him in the head, inflicting the mortal wound. As Governor Connally turned to see what had happened, the third shot from the assassin's gun struck him in the back..."*

And Smoot wasn't the only one stirring up trouble. Drew Pearson, the most notorious muckraker of his day, dished some dirt of his own in his 12-2 column. Pearson, in opposition to President Johnson's wish that the country just move on, reported that members of Kennedy's Secret Service detail had been drinking the night before the shooting, and raised questions about their readiness. These questions have never been adequately addressed. In time, the Warren Commission would reveal that, of the 6 agents in Kennedy's follow-up car tasked with responding to a threat through self-sacrifice or retaliation (that is, not counting the driver, and the radio man) 4 had been out drinking the night before. Clint Hill, on the left running board, was out drinking scotch, returned to his room around 3 in the morning, and reported for duty at 8:05. John Ready, on the right running board, was out drinking beer, returned to his room around 3:30 in the morning, and reported for duty at 7:20. Paul Landis, on the right running board behind Ready, was out drinking scotch, left a club around 5:00 in the morning, and reported for duty at 8:05. (As he failed to say at what time he returned to his room, it seems possible he never actually returned.) And finally, Glen Bennett, one of the two men in the back seat manning the AR-15, an automatic weapon, was out drinking beer, returned to his room around 3:15 in the morning, and reported for duty at 7:20. (Although off-duty drinking was prohibited while traveling with the President, none of these men were reprimanded for their actions.)

And it wasn't as if Pearson had singled out the Secret Service.. No, in the second half of his column, in what he would have to have known was a risky move, he criticized the FBI and Dallas Police. He

criticized the Dallas Police for the obvious: allowing Jack Ruby into the basement where he killed Oswald. But his criticism of the FBI was not so obvious. He reported that although the FBI was well aware that Oswald, who'd recently been televised passing out leaflets in support of Cuba, had subsequently moved to Dallas, it had failed to notify the Dallas Police and Secret Service of this fact. In a move sure to get some attention, he then blamed this failure on *"jealousy"* and *"squabbles over jurisdiction."*

The FBI's response was both well-reasoned and alarming. In his memo reporting on the column, Assistant Director Cartha DeLoach advised that in order to refute Pearson, the charges made by Pearson would have to be rehashed, and that this was *"believed undesirable."* This view was supported by Director Hoover, who added, in his own hand *"Unfortunately, we are not in a position to completely contradict Pearson."*

But if the FBI's response was measured, what lay beneath the surface was monstrous. DeLoach bragged: *"Many of our news media friends have called me and the men in this office today concerning Pearson's unjust and unfounded remarks. These men offered to literally 'tear Pearson apart' if we will just give them the go-ahead. They have volunteered to start an effective campaign against Pearson for his attack on the FBI."* He then noted that such a campaign was *"justified."* Well, this makes it more than clear that DeLoach had at his beck and call a number of media assets ready to smear anyone he or the director wanted to smear, and that Pearson would have been the victim of such abuse had DeLoach and Hoover not been concerned that further discussion of the FBI's failures would backfire.

This raises the related questions, then, of how many writers had received such treatment in the past, and how many revelatory articles and columns might have been written were it not for fear of such treatment.

And it's not as if the FBI worked only as a censor, trying to keep certain facts from the public. Nope, the FBI under Hoover was multi-talented, and could plant certain stories as well...

The Leaking of the Report

On 12-2, the Associated Press started spreading the news... A nationally-syndicated article stated *"the Federal Bureau of Investigation hopes to send to President Johnson this week its report on the assassination... It will be a narrative account in minute detail of the events surrounding the two deaths. If it follows the patterns of others F.B.I. investigative reports, it will stick to positive statements of what happened, dismissing baseless rumors by not mentioning them...It is expected to state that Lee H. Oswald, acting alone, killed Mr. Kennedy, and that Jack Ruby, acting alone, shot Oswald."* The **12-3-63** edition of the Washington Evening Star confirmed *"An exhaustive FBI report now nearly ready for the White House will indicate that...Oswald was the lone and unaided assassin of President Kennedy, Government sources said today."* The reporter was Jerry O'Leary. FBI assistant director and leaker-in-chief Cartha DeLoach was the godfather of one of O'Leary's children.

A 12-4 New York Times article with a 12-3 dateline then jumped on the bandwagon, reporting *"it was learned officially, the report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation 'probably' will say that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in firing the three shots that killed Mr. Kennedy and seriously wounded Gov. John B. Connally Jr. of Texas..."* One notes that these reports call President Kennedy "Mr. Kennedy," an apparent sign of disrespect. If this is any indication of the source, the likely leakers would have to be Hoover and his close cohort, Cartha DeLoach.

Warren Commissioner John McCloy apparently suspected as much. A National Security Administration document (currently available on its website) reports that on 12-4-63 *"In conversation with us, McCloy, a member of the Presidential Commission, stated that he has serious doubts of the credibility of the*

*investigation to date. He does not eliminate the possibility that the attempt on Kennedy was made by two persons. However, in view of Johnson's order that the commission investigate also the circumstances of Oswald's slaying, some of the commission's operations and its report could come after Ruby's trial and perhaps even after the verdict and appeals. In the meantime the trial was postponed until 3 January (sic) and **the FBI released to the press** information that their investigation confirms Oswald's guilt, and that he had no accomplices."*

Another 12-4 article in the Times with a 12-3 dateline is also intriguing. It appears to have been designed to overrule the 11-27 article casting doubt on the ability of one man to fire all the shots. It states *"From motion pictures of the President's assassination taken here on Nov. 22, authorities have concluded that the three shots were fired over a period of five to five and one-half seconds. But that period is calculated from the moment when the first shot is fired...The man starts the interval himself with the first shot. Therefore, if the interval is five seconds, as some people say it was, he has to fire two shots in five seconds, not three shots. It is possible, and it can easily be done. It's no trick at all...The first and third shots, said authorities, struck the President. Either could have killed him. The second bullet missed the President but struck and wounded Gov. John B. Connally, Jr. of Texas, who was riding with Mr. Kennedy."* The frequent reference to "authorities" and the by now familiar "Mr. Kennedy" are indications this article was yet another gift from the FBI.

On 12-4, Theodore Voorhees, Chancellor-elect of the Philadelphia Bar Association, howled into the wilderness. According to a 12-5 New York Times article, Voorhees told a luncheon that Oswald had been *"lynched."* He went on to state *"it is against the legal profession, not television or the press, that the heavy indictment must lie"* and that no member of the legal profession *"protested the publication of the evidence, the 24-hour interrogations, the violation of the prisoner's rights."* The Warren Commission, which had not yet had a meeting, was, naturally, made up almost entirely of lawyers, as was its staff. One of them, Arlen Specter, was an Assistant District Attorney from Philadelphia. One can only wonder what Specter thought of Voorhees' speech.

And what Voorhees thought of the revelations to come... In any event, he was not alone in noting that something was rotten in Dallas...and Washington. On 12-5, an editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle opined that the FBI's leaking its own report to the press was *"highly irregular and objectionable"* and stated for the record that the editors of the Chronicle registered their *"profound objection to this kind of handling of so grave and somber a matter."*

On the other side of the nation, the Warren Commission held its first executive session. Among the topics discussed was, no surprise, the FBI's leaking its conclusions to the press. As reported by Dick Russell (no relation) in *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, notes on this session by Richard Russell, found in his memorial library, reflect that Senator Russell felt *"Something strange is happening. W and Katzenbach know all about F.B.I. and they are apparently through psychiatrists and others planning to show Oswald only one who even considered. This to me is untenable. I must insist on outside Counsel."*

The "W" in Russell's note was Warren. Yes, as incredible as it may seem to those considering Warren a beacon of integrity, Judge Warren was adamantly against conducting an open and independent investigation of the assassination, and told his fellow commissioners: *"I am of the opinion also that we should not conduct our hearings in public; that it is not necessary for us to bring witnesses before us. If it is necessary for us to get the stories of witnesses we can get it through our investigative agencies first, and then if we want to talk to them we can bring them into our conference room and discuss it with them there...Having that view, I do not believe that it is necessary for us to have the power of*

subpoena. I believe that the power of subpoena and holding public meetings where witnesses would be brought in would retard rather than help our investigation...we could hold our meetings and take any evidence or any statements that we want in camera, and eventually make our report without any great fanfare throughout the country. I think any report we would make would carry with it a great deal more influence done in that way than if we attempted to have any public hearings."

He also reminded those in attendance of the commission's *raison d'être*: to shut down other investigations and allay public fears. He advised: *"The President indicated to me that if this commission was set up that in all probability there would be no legislative committees having hearings. I think that would be very helpful, because one investigation should be enough..."* and later added *"I personally would be very happy if the State of Texas would decide not to hold any such hearings until this commission had an opportunity to survey the situation and make its appraisal, because if there should be some irresponsible witnesses come before that commission and give sensational testimony to the public... we would have the job of allaying the public fears that developed from that kind of testimony."*

This last statement reflects that an underlying turf war had bubbled to the surface. While the Texas Court of Inquiry announced after Kennedy's funeral was more than ready to rubber-stamp the FBI's report, Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr was less willing to subordinate his state's investigation to that of the subsequently announced Warren Commission, as he was concerned that any investigation headed by Warren would have an anti-Texas bias. As a result, during the first week of December he was called back to Washington.

In his book *Texas Politics in My Rearview Mirror*, Carr describes this trip as follows: *"The President suggested that I visit with Chief Justice Earl Warren as soon as possible to work out a cooperative effort...the White House had arranged for Assistant Attorney General Katzenbach to set up the meeting with the Chief Justice. To my complete surprise, Mr. Katzenbach reported to us that the Chief Justice refused to see us until we agreed that Texas would drop any plans for an investigation and any thought of participating in the Warren Commission investigation!...It developed into a Warren-Carr two-day standoff, with Katzenbach acting as go-between. Late in the afternoon of the second day, we sat in the Attorney General's office awaiting Katzenbach's return from another visit with Warren. When he came back, he told us that Warren remained adamant not to see us until we complied with his terms. Completely frustrated and with little patience remaining, I advised Mr. Katzenbach that we were leaving for Texas on the next plane and when we arrived there I would convene the Court of Inquiry. I added that this would be a public hearing, as opposed to Warren's closed-door investigations, and we would let the world determine which one it liked best. We immediately departed for our hotel to check out, but by the time I reached my room, Mr. Katzenbach called to say the Chief Justice had agreed to meet."*

Carr and Warren then worked out the terms of their cooperation. In Carr's book, he lays out these terms. In exchange for the Court of Inquiry's being allowed to have representatives present at the Commission's closed hearings, direct questions to witnesses, and have access to depositions, Carr agreed *"That when the investigation was completed, if we felt a. It had been fair to Texas, b. It had been thorough, and c. No evidence was withheld from the public, then I would report this to Governor Connally and the people of Texas and publicly agree with the Commission's conclusions."* Note that Carr's concern is that the investigation *"be fair to Texas"* and not *"be fair to Oswald,"* a resident of Texas whose rights he was charged with protecting. Note also that Carr agreed to publicly agree with the Commission's conclusions provided only that their investigation be thorough and that all the evidence be made public; and that they need not come to a correct conclusion in order for him to agree.

From this one can only conclude that Carr had sold out his responsibility to see that justice was served in exchange for the protection of his beloved state of Texas, and that Warren had agreed to be kind to Texas in exchange for his conclusions not being publicly second-guessed. A political solution to a legal question. In other words, politics as usual.

(On October 5, 1964, less than 2 weeks after the Warren Commission published its 888-page report, the Texas Court of Inquiry issued a 20-page report, confirming its findings.)

Life's Cavalcade of Errors

While one might think that a little distance and perspective would help the media, and that its December stories would be more accurate than those written just after the assassination, this was hardly the case. The 12-6 issue of Life Magazine, for example, contained even more biased reporting and misinformation than its previous issue. One editorial proclaimed that *"Oswald was a misfit Marxist with a life-long persecution complex; a resentful loner who found an evil chance to employ his single skill--marksmanship--against the world's most valuable target."* Far worse, Life writer Paul Mandel, in an article entitled "End to Nagging Rumors," listed so many non-facts that one can only assume the whole article was a deliberate attempt to squelch said rumors, even at the expense of the truth.

It started out well enough, noting that the killing of Kennedy and Oswald had led to *"breathless rumors: that Oswald had been a hired killer; that Oswald had used an accomplice; that Oswald had not killed the President at all; that Oswald had been framed and then shot to silence him."* But from there it stopped reporting and started blowing bubbles.

Mandel claimed: *"Three shots were fired. Two struck the President, one Governor Connally. All three bullets have been recovered--one, deformed, from the floor of the limousine; one from the stretcher that carried the President; one that entered the President's body."* Well, this was untrue. Only one and a half bullets were recovered. No bullet was removed from the President. As a result, the third shot heard by most witnesses could have come from almost anywhere, and been fired by almost anyone. Apparently this fact, even though it was true, was not to be considered by the American public.

Mandel then continued: *"The murder weapon, although subsequently manhandled for the benefit of TV, still showed Oswald's palm print."* This was also untrue. The rifle was paraded before the cameras BEFORE a palm print was, reportedly, found and lifted by the Dallas Police. The article also fails to note that the FBI was unable to find ANY trace of this print when they inspected the rifle but a few hours later. Now why wasn't this mentioned? Oh, that's right--the article is entitled "END to nagging rumors", not "telling the truth even if it will lead to more rumors."

Mandel then continued: *"His own carbine was missing from its usual place. A witness had seen him bring a long gun-sized package to work."* Ouch. This is an outright lie. The witness in question, Buell Wesley Frazier, had passed a polygraph test while claiming that the "gun-sized package" supposedly found in the building and reportedly shown to him was approximately twice as large as the package he'd seen Oswald carry to work. In Frazier's opinion, moreover, the size of the package Oswald was carrying was far too small to carry the assassination rifle.

This paragraph then came to a merciful end: *"And threads from Oswald's clothing were found in the warehouse sniper's nest."* Now, really. This bit about the threads is made up of whole cloth. True, the FBI claimed there were threads on the rifle that matched Oswald's shirt, but even this "fact" couldn't

end the nagging rumor that Oswald had been framed, as Oswald had insisted that he'd only put this shirt on after returning to his rented room from work, and NONE of his co-workers could recall his wearing the shirt to work that day.

Mandel then proceeded to discuss the Zapruder film, and its help in establishing that Oswald had enough time to fire three well-aimed shots. He reported: *"from the movie camera's known speed of 18 frames a second--two frames a second faster than it should have run--it is possible to reconstruct the precise timing and placing and feasibility of the shots."* Well, this is very interesting. Because it's reasonably accurate. The FBI's report on Zapruder's camera notes that Zapruder gave his camera to the FBI on 12-6, and that the camera was subsequently determined to have run 18.3 frames per second. Mandel's article is dated 12-6, but was actually written days earlier. Well, then, how the heck did Life Magazine know the results of the tests performed on Zapruder's camera before these tests were even performed? Had Life, which had purchased the Zapruder film, performed its own tests on the camera? If so, did it provide this info to the FBI? And, if so, should we take from this that the FBI had no plans to test the speed of Zapruder's camera, and only did so to avoid embarrassment after Life had conducted its own tests?

Mandel then described what can be observed on the Zapruder film. He reported that the first shot was fired from behind and struck Kennedy when he was 170 feet from the sniper's nest (at approximately frame 191). While the HSCA eventually agreed with this assessment, the Warren Commission concluded that the President was first struck somewhere between frames 210 and 225. In a bizarre twist, however, Mandel claimed Kennedy was first struck in the throat. From behind...

But this was just the beginning of Life's cavalcade of errors. Mandel then reported that the second shot hit Connally 74 frames later (at approximately frame 265 of the Zapruder film). Curiously, having Connally hit at this time supported both the scenario outlined in Life's 11-29 issue, and the FBI and Secret Service scenarios for the shooting. It was also strikingly at odds with the film. This leads many to suspect that Mandel's article, designed to end "rumors", was more specifically written as a favor to someone in the government, perhaps even the President. Mandel almost certainly never believed this stuff. Heck, it's so readily apparent that Connally was hit before frame 265 that even the Warren Commission could see it; they claimed he was hit by 225.

Mandel then got something right---he claimed that the head shot came 48 frames later (at frame 313). He then returned to his curious ways. Here, only days after a New York Times article had cast doubt about the assassination rifle's ability to fire three shots in the time allotted for the shooting, Mandel reported that the director of the NRA had successfully re-created Oswald's shooting feat by hitting three moving targets in three tries at similar distances with a similar rifle as Oswald's in 6.2 seconds. The FBI would later determine these claims to have been greatly exaggerated.

Mandel then hit a new low. To explain the public's confusion over the assassination, he offered: *"The description of the President's two wounds by a Dallas doctor who tried to save him have added to the rumors. The doctor said one bullet passed from back to front on the right side of the President's head. But the other, the doctor reported, entered the President's throat from the front and then lodged in the President's body."* Well, this is strange already. NO Dallas doctor had claimed a bullet had passed from back to front through the President's head. This was just made up.

It then got weirder. Mandel wrote: *"Since by this time the limousine was 50 yards past Oswald and the President's back was turned almost directly to the sniper, it has been hard to understand how the bullet could enter the front of his throat. Hence, the recurring guess there was a second sniper somewhere*

else. But the 8mm film shows the President turning his body far around to the right as he waves to someone in the crowd. His throat is exposed--toward the sniper's nest--just before he clutches it." This, of course, is bullshit. The Zapruder film, which was owned by Life, and which was clearly viewed by Mandel multiple times during the creation of this article, shows no such thing. Not even close.

The back wound, inexplicably still a secret, was never even mentioned.

For what it's worth, someone at Life was quick to realize that Mandel's article was an embarrassment... A week later, when the article was repackaged in a special John F. Kennedy Memorial Edition of Life, its title was changed from the grossly overstated *"End to Nagging Rumors"* to an almost apologetic *"First Answers to the Nagging Rumors."* Presumably, Stupid Speculation that We No Longer Stand Behind, although an accurate title, was never considered.

And this wasn't the only Life article revised for the Memorial Edition... The 11-29 article *"Split Second Sequence As The Bullets Struck"* was also revised and renamed *"Split Second Horror As The Sniper's Bullets Struck."* Note that along with the addition of the "Horror" the new title specified there was only one shooter, something the editors of Life would have to have known was in question due to Kennedy's being shot from behind, and having an entrance wound on his throat. (Oh, that's right, Paul Mandel had already explained that...)

Here, then is how the shooting is described in the Memorial Edition: *"Past the book warehouse the President turned to his right to wave to someone. Just as his car passed the road sign shown in the foreground the first bullet struck him in the neck. He clutched at his throat. Although some onlookers heard the shot, Governor Connally still faced ahead, unaware. With the first bullet still lodged in him, the President slumped forward in his seat and down toward his wife. At the same time the second shot struck Governor Connally. Then the assassin fired a third time. Oswald's bullet, fired at a range of more than 250 feet about two seconds after the shot which hit the governor, struck the President in the rear right part of his head."* (The head shot, after which the President's head fell back and to the left, is still not depicted, nor described.) Note that the bullet is now conclusively Oswald's bullet. Note also that, in Life's interpretation of the Zapruder film, Governor Connally was wounded but two seconds before the head shot. This, according to pretty much *everyone* who would subsequently see the the film, including the members of the Warren Commission, places the Connally shot closer to the time of the head shot than to the time Connally was actually shot.

But as confusing as Life's analysis of the shooting was, it had plenty of partners. Its sister publication, Time Magazine, also described the Zapruder film in its 12-6 issue. It related: *"What actually happened was made horrifyingly clear in color films taken by Abraham Zapruder, a Dallas clothing manufacturer and an amateur moviemann. The strip runs for about 20 seconds--an eternity of history. Kennedy was waving to a friendly crowd. Then came the first shot, and he clutched at his throat with both hands. Connally turned around, raised his right hand toward the President, then fell backward into his wife's lap as the second shot struck him. The third shot all too literally exploded in Kennedy's head."* Note that Time failed to present Mandel's bogus claim Kennedy had turned around in his seat before the first shot. Note also that Time claimed Connally reacted to the first shot, while Life claimed that after the first shot *"Connally still faced ahead, unaware."* And note, finally, that two of the points on which the two sister publications agreed is that the film shows Connally to have been hit by a separate shot from Kennedy, and that Kennedy was hit in the head by the third shot. That Connally was hit by a separate shot was in time rejected by the Warren Commission. That Kennedy was hit in the head by the third shot was also called into question. Hmmm...what was *"horrifyingly clear"* to the largest media corporation in America was in time rejected by the Warren Commission.

And Time/Life wasn't the only large American media corporation inadvertently spreading the seeds of conspiracy.

On 12-5, an article in the New York Times by Joseph Loftus about a Secret Service re-enactment of the shooting in Dallas, relates: *"One question was how the President could have received a bullet in the front of the throat from a rifle in the Texas School Book Depository Building after his car had passed the building and was turning a gentle curve away from it. One explanation from a competent source was that the President had turned to his right to wave and was struck at that moment. The best authority presumably on the exact angle of entry of the bullet is the man who conducted the autopsy. He is Dr. J.J. Humes at the Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, MD. Dr. Humes said he had been forbidden to talk. Most private citizens who had cooperated with newsmen reporting the crime have refused to give further help after being interviewed by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Dallas city and county police withdrew their help the same way. One high officer said he wished he could answer questions 'because it would save us a lot of work.'"*

By this time, millions of Americans must have been asking themselves "If the FBI has concluded that the long-dead-and-buried Oswald killed Kennedy, and that he acted alone, why all this secrecy?"

And a few must have been asking "Hmmm... this article says a '*competent source*' says Kennedy was turned around when receiving one of his shots, when earlier articles from 11-23 attributed such a belief to a '*White House source*.'" Is a '*White House source*' trying to convince us the shots all came from the same direction? And is Life Magazine's claim this is shown in the film a mere coincidence? Or has Life, too, been speaking to this '*White House source*'?"

Ex-CIA chief and newly-appointed Warren Commissioner Allen Dulles also engaged in more secrecy than would seem necessary, should he have truly believed that Oswald had acted alone. In his personal correspondence, now available on the Princeton University website, there is a **12-6-63** letter from Dulles to CIA counter-intelligence chief James Angleton in which he writes *"Please see enclosed letter from (REDACTED). Over the phone he told me that he had some information, rather vague, about some plot of air force officers to 'impeach' President Kennedy, including an Air force officer who had been attache in Czechoslovakia. I told him that such information should be brought to the attention of the FBI. He promised to do it but whether he will or not, I do not know. I can only judge by telephone conversation in that he talked quite sanely but very vaguely."* Here, Dulles, tasked with investigating Kennedy's death, passes the buck to the FBI and CIA, even though he, as one well-familiar with the craft of coups d'etats, knows full well that any coups d'etats made of "air force officers" would be likely to include members of the CIA. Here, he has contacted Angleton, charged with investigating the assassination on behalf the CIA, about a potential break in the case potentially involving the CIA, but has failed to tell his fellow commissioners about this break. From this, it appears that Dulles' first inclination, even in his retirement, was to protect the CIA. I mean, why, if Dulles truly feels the information brought forth by (REDACTED) should be brought to the attention of the FBI, hasn't he done so himself?

And Dulles wasn't the only one covering up for his "team" whatever that team should be. A 12-6 article by Anthony Lewis for the New York Times reflects that *"congressional Republicans"* have rejected President Johnson's decision to blame "*hate*" for the crime, and have insisted instead that people blame left-wing hate for the crime, and leave right-wing hate alone. A statement put out by these Republicans claims: *"We are told that hate was the assassin that struck down the President. If it was hatred that moved the assassin, that hatred was bred by the teachings of Communism. All the evidence presented*

affirms this." No shrinking violet, Republican Senator Millard Simpson of Wyoming offered his support for this sentiment, and complained, on the floor of the U. S. Senate, that persons seeking *"political advantage from warping the uncontestable truth"* were trying to blame *"rightists and conservatives"* for Kennedy's death. He then asserted *"It was a single kill-crazy Communist who was acting to the dictates of his own unexplainable left-wing dementia."* Keep in mind that the FBI's report on the assassination has not yet been released. And that here is a U.S. Senator, on the floor of the U.S. Senate, pronouncing Oswald a *"kill-crazy Communist."*

Still, this was almost a compliment in comparison to what came next. Over the next few days, an AP recap of the shootings of Kennedy and Oswald was published across the country. This was a news story, by Jules Loh, entitled *"Three Paths Led to Dallas,"* clearly based upon the FBI's supposedly unbiased report. It was not an opinion piece. And yet Loh saw fit to describe the defenseless Oswald as a *"sullen, fitful, frustrated, ne'er do well, whose demonic pursuit of Marxist nostrums led him everywhere and nowhere."*

On 12-9, the FBI summary report on the assassination was turned over to the newly formed Warren Commission. One of the many flaws in this report is that it cited the paraffin tests as evidence Oswald killed Kennedy, when they actually suggested his innocence. Attached to their copies of the report, the commissioners found a letter signed by Assistant Attorney General Katzenbach, recommending they immediately release a short press statement declaring that *"1) The FBI report... establishes beyond a reasonable doubt that Lee Harvey Oswald shot President Kennedy"* and *"2) The FBI has made an exhaustive investigation into whether Oswald may have conspired with or been assisted by any organization, group, or person...To date this aspect of the investigation has been negative."* Unimpressed with the report, the commissioners chose to disregard Katzenbach's letter. In his testimony before the HSCA in 1978 Katzenbach explained his role by saying that the state department had requested some statement be made indicating Oswald's guilt so that our allies would feel more comfortable with the new administration. He also mentioned that the FBI itself wrote the letter and that he merely added his signature.

Katzenbach Recap:

On November 22, shortly after the assassination, he took over as Acting Attorney General, so that Attorney General Kennedy could both grieve for his murdered brother and devote himself to his family.

On November 24, after Oswald was assassinated, he met with FBI Director Hoover. The next day, he issued a memorandum to Bill Moyers, then working as the Johnson Administration's Press Secretary, encouraging Moyers to use the press to convince the public Oswald had acted alone. He later defended this action by insisting he was under pressure from the State Department to silence talk of a vast conspiracy.

He then began to pressure the FBI to finish its investigation as fast as possible, and pressure President Johnson to create a Presidential Commission to confirm the FBI's findings.

By early December, he cooperated with Chief Justice Warren and began pressuring the Attorney General of Texas to forego its own investigation.

And then on December 9, he pressured the Warren Commission to simply sign-off on the FBI's findings!

It's amazing to reflect that, in the aftermath of the assassination, Katzenbach, acting as the nation's top cop, had tried to cut-off a thorough, and one might say REAL, investigation at every opportunity, and that, when questioned about this later, he refused to take responsibility, blaming his actions on the FBI and the State Department. It was not HIS job to cater to the insecurities of FBI Director Hoover. It was Hoover's job to answer to him. It was not HIS job to assuage the concerns of the international community. It was HIS job, however, to make sure the assassination was properly and thoroughly investigated, and that those responsible were exposed and brought to justice. Even if one were to acknowledge the likelihood Oswald acted alone, one can not possibly believe that Katzenbach's actions were appropriate and reflective of a high regard for his responsibilities. Robert Kennedy may not have been a giant, but his shoes were clearly too large to be filled by Katzenbach.

Robert Kennedy's approach would almost certainly have been different. On December 9, the same day that Katzenbach urged the Warren Commission to confirm the FBI's findings that Oswald had acted alone, Robert Kennedy had a private conversation with historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and made it clear that he could not agree with so simple a solution. In his Pulitzer Prize-winning epic, *Robert F. Kennedy and His Times*, Schlesinger wrote that Kennedy, who had deliberately removed himself from the investigation, was nevertheless keeping tabs on the developments, and was suspicious that Oswald, whose guilt he had accepted, may have been part of a larger plot, *"organized by Castro or gangsters."* Kennedy also told Schlesinger that CIA Director John McCone believed there was a second assassin.

And Kennedy wasn't just talking to Schlesinger. In 1997, with the release of *One Hell of a Gamble*, a book on the Cuban Missile Crisis co-written by Canadian-American historian Timothy Naftali and Russian historian Aleksandr Fursenko, and built upon previously unexamined documents discovered in the Russian archives, it was revealed that on 12-9-63 American artist and ardent Kennedy supporter William Walton delivered a personal message from Robert Kennedy to Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev. This message, according to the memo of Russian GRU officer Georgi Bolshakov, a former contact of Robert Kennedy's to whom Walton actually spoke, was not remotely an endorsement of the FBI's report on the assassination, which Robert Kennedy undoubtedly knew was bound to be the "official" solution to the crime. No, not at all. Instead, Kennedy wanted Khrushchev to know that *"Perhaps there was only one assassin, but he did not act alone,"* and that *"there was a large political conspiracy behind Oswald's rifle."* And that's not all; Kennedy also had some thoughts on the nature of this conspiracy. According to Bolshakov, Kennedy also wanted Khrushchev to know that *"despite Oswald's connections to the communist world"* the Kennedys believed *"the President was felled by domestic opponents"* and had been *"the victim of a right-wing conspiracy."*

The Mark of Hoover

And yet, even with doubts in high places, including the minds of President Johnson, Attorney General Kennedy and CIA Director McCone, FBI Director Hoover continued pushing his own version of events--that Oswald had acted alone. A **12-11-63** article in the Los Angeles Times entitled *"FBI Certain Oswald Was Assassin, Report Shows,"* discussed the Warren Commission's reluctance to release the FBI's report, whilst simultaneously revealing some of the key findings of the report. The source for the article is clearly the FBI. The problem with this kind of journalism becomes apparent when one reflects that of the three pieces of evidence presented in support of Oswald's guilt, none of them are provided in context. It is reported that threads of Oswald's clothing were found on the assassination rifle. It is not revealed, however, that Oswald claimed he'd changed shirts when he got home from work and had not been wearing that shirt at work, and that no one who'd seen him at work, including a Dallas Police Officer, could identify that shirt as the one he'd been wearing at work. It is also not revealed that none

of the eyewitnesses claiming to have seen a man in the sniper's nest thought the sniper was wearing a shirt of the color of the shirt whose fibers were reportedly found on the weapon. The article then reports that Oswald's hand print was found on the assassination rifle. It does not reveal, however, that this print was reportedly lifted on the evening of 11-22 by the Dallas Police, and that they then supposedly forgot to tell anyone about it until 11-26, after the FBI inspected the weapon and found no such print. The article then reports that Oswald's fingerprints *"were lifted from the wrapping paper that hid the weapon when the assassin carried it to work."* It does not reveal that the only two individuals to see Oswald with a package on the morning of the assassination refused to I.D. the "wrapping paper" found in the building as the package in Oswald's possession, and claimed the "wrapping paper" was in fact a much much larger package than the one carried by Oswald. In sum, the article allows the FBI to present three pieces of evidence to the public, all of which were extremely damaging to Oswald, and all of which, should a full discussion of their significance been permitted, or pursued, might very well have convinced the public that a frame-up was in progress.

Of course no such discussion was permitted, or pursued. Historian Gerald McKnight, in his book *Breach of Trust*, discusses Hoover's efforts to close the case in detail. He describes a **12-12-63** teletype from FBI headquarters (JFK record 105-406-39) informing all FBI field offices that *"Oswald conclusively established as assassin of President Kennedy"* and to limit future communications *"to information pertaining to him and to allegations that a person or group had a specific connection with him in the assassination."* By limiting the investigation to Oswald, and working outwards from Oswald, of course, the FBI had severely reduced the chances they'd find a conspiracy that only marginally or tangentially involved Oswald. Hoover had his man, and wasn't willing to humor the possibility Oswald was just what he said he was--a "patsy."

Further evidence that Hoover was prematurely closing the case is contained within a 12-12-1963 memo from Hoover to his top assistants. Hoover wrote that he spoke to the Chief Counsel of the Warren Commission, J. Lee Rankin, and explained that even though the Justice Department had wanted the release of a statement saying Oswald had acted alone, that he and the President agreed that the FBI report should reach no conclusions. He stated further that he believed Oswald was the assassin but that he still had concerns that Oswald was working for Castro. (Yes, this was the same man who two weeks earlier was urging an immediate wrap-up of the case.) Hoover's memo asserted as well that the Justice Department had been leaking the contents of the FBI Report, that he had pressed them to get the report immediately to the Commission, and that he did not want any conclusions made in the letter of transmission of the report to the Commission.

What's wrong with this memo is that it's contradicted by most everything else in the record. According to both the Acting Attorney General Katzenbach (in his testimony before the HSCA) and one of the recipients of this memo, Assistant FBI Director William Sullivan, Hoover both wanted to close the case with the issue of the FBI's report and was the one who'd been making the leaks.

Sullivan actually went further than that. A memo on a 4-21-75 interview of Sullivan by the staff of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations reports *"Sullivan offered that Hoover didn't like the Warren Commission because Hoover didn't want any organization going over the grounds that the FBI had already investigated in fear that the Warren Commission would discover something else that the FBI might have forgotten or ignored. In this connection, Sullivan said that Hoover had leaked the results of the FBI investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy to the press in December 1963, in order to preempt the Warren Commission's findings. Sullivan said that the leak to the press was done via DeLoach, who gave the story to a cooperative news source at the Chicago Tribune and also the Washington Evening Star. Sullivan said that the allegation was then*

leaked that it was Acting Attorney General Katzenbach who had leaked the FBI's findings. Sullivan said that the Bureau personnel who would have been aware of the leak were Mohr, Tolson, Edward Clayton, and Belmont. Sullivan added that this was not an unusual practice of Hoover's." If Sullivan was telling the truth, as most believe, then Hoover's memo of 12-12 reflects his trying to cover his tracks whilst simultaneously alerting his assistants to his cover story.

In any event, no matter who was responsible, over the next few weeks, much of the FBI's report became public knowledge, via leaks to the press, and the press returned the favor by convicting Oswald in the public eye. Typical articles in this time period include the 12-14-64 Saturday Evening Post's account of Oswald, entitled *"The Assassin"* (not the accused assassin) and the Newsweek article of 12-16-64, not too subtly entitled *"Portrait of a Psychopath."* These articles overlooked that Oswald was not particularly violent and had not officially been declared the President's assassin.

Another 12-12 FBI memo only adds to the intrigue. In this one DeLoach informed Hoover and others he'd had a secret meeting with Warren Commissioner Gerald Ford and that *"Ford indicated he would keep me thoroughly advised as to the activities of the commission."* Ford also told DeLoach that the other commissioners wanted to go along with Katzenbach's recommendation to release the FBI's findings but that he was *"a minority of one"* who would fight the issuance of a release *"until the Commission had had a thorough opportunity to review and discuss the FBI report."*

A 12-13 article in the Dallas Morning News, while not an article based upon the FBI's leaked report, nevertheless revealed its influence. The article started by asking: *"Did a bullet from Lee Harvey Oswald's rifle chip the curb of Main Street overpass? That question remained unanswered yesterday. And it raised other questions: If one of the three shots from Oswald's mail order rifle struck the curb, is it possible that another bullet ranged through President Kennedy's body and then hit Gov. Connally? If the chip did not result from another bullet, how did it get there?"* The article then related the story of Dallas police investigator Buddy Walthers, who asserted that a man came up to him in Dealey Plaza on the 22nd and claimed he'd been hit by something as he watched the motorcade. Walthers then admitted that he'd found what appeared to be a freshly-made chip in the curb by where the man had been standing. The article then advised that Gov. Connally said the first and third shots hit the President, and that he'd been hit by the second shot. It then asked: *"Was Governor Connally mistaken about what happened during the 10 second period in which the sniper shot him and the President? Did the rifleman fire two bullets into the car, with one striking both President Kennedy and Gov. Connally, and then hurriedly fire a third which passed over their auto? Or did the chipped shot have nothing to do with the shooting? Couldn't the motorist have been struck by a speck of gravel thrown up by a car? Couldn't the chip have been caused by other gravel? FBI and Secret Service agents may have the answer. But they haven't revealed what they have learned during their intensive investigation of the murder of President Kennedy."*

One problem with this article, of course, was that it framed the questions raised by the wounding of this witness, James Tague, within the parameters of Oswald having fired all the shots. Under normal circumstances, in a case where the FBI hadn't secretly told the press it had concluded that one man had fired all the shots, the existence of an otherwise unexplained chip on a curb, and a witness nearby who believed he was wounded by a piece of flying concrete, might raise questions about a possible fourth shot unheard by the witnesses. Instead, the writers of this article were only willing to state that the wounding of Tague suggested that one of the shots hitting Kennedy had hit Connally as well. The conclusion of this article is also intriguing. A number of journalists had witnessed the Secret Service's 11-27 and 12-5 re-enactments. Those writing this article would almost certainly have known that no measurements had been made linking the sniper's nest to the curb near the overpass. Perhaps, then, the

writers of this article knew full well that no FBI investigation of Tague had been conducted, but were afraid to say so publicly, for fear of incurring the wrath of the notoriously protective and vindictive Hoover.

In any case, with all this leaking and political posturing, the FBI displayed little appetite for performing an actual investigation. Shockingly, a 12-13 teletype message from Gordon Shanklin of the Dallas FBI office to Hoover revealed that the FBI still hadn't even read the autopsy report. The message reads *"An article appearing in the evening Dallas Texas newspaper prepared by staff writer Bill Burrus dateline Bethesda Maryland reflects a still unannounced autopsy report from the US Naval Hospital reflecting President Kennedy was shot in the back and the bullet, which had a hard metal jacket, exited through his throat. This does not agree with the autopsy findings at the Bethesda Hospital as reported on page two eight four of the report of SA Robert P. Gemberling at Dallas on December 10, last, which reflects an opening was found in the back, that appeared to be a bullet hole, and probing of this hole determined the distance traveled by this missile was short as the end of the opening could be felt by the examining doctor's finger. The Bureau may want to have Baltimore obtain the unannounced autopsy report from Bethesda, Maryland, and disseminate to the Bureau and Dallas."*

The Burrus article referenced by Shanklin ran in the 12-12 Dallas-Times Herald. It seems clear the emergency room doctors of Parkland Hospital were his primary source. The records of Secret Service Agent Elmer Moore reflect that he spoke to these doctors on 12-11. On 12-18, one of the few members of the media to smell conspiracy, Richard Dudman of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, wrote an article about this friendly visit by the Secret Service to the doctors. It reads: *"Secret Service Gets Revision of Kennedy Wound. After visit by agents, doctors say shot was from rear...(the Secret Service) obtained a reversal of their original view that the bullet in his (Kennedy's) neck entered from the front. The investigators did so by showing the surgeons a document described as an autopsy report from the United States Naval Hospital at Bethesda. The surgeons changed their original view to conform with the report they were shown."* Months later, after speaking to one of the Dallas doctors, Dr. Robert McClelland, Mark Lane would relate *"the agents had a copy of the autopsy report on their laps but refused to allow the physicians to see it" and that "after a three hour session with the physicians the Secret Service Agents were able to leave the room and to state that the physicians in the Parkland Memorial Hospital all announced and agreed that they were in error when they said that the bullet wound in the throat was an entrance wound."*

The Secret Service's efforts to bring the doctors in line and get the story of the Bethesda autopsy report to the public was doomed from the start, however. For weeks afterward, publications were still describing the President's wounds as described in the November 22nd Press Conference. The 12-14 Saturday Evening Post reprinted a Jimmy Breslin article from 11-24 and cited Dr. Perry as believing that the throat wound was *"small and neat"* and connected to a *"mediastinal wound"* (which would by extension make it an entrance wound), and that *"The occipitoparietal, which is a part of the back of the head, had a huge flap."* (Perhaps it was this article that inspired Moore to visit Perry and show him the autopsy report.) The Texas State Journal of Medicine, moreover, ran an article entitled *Three Patients at Parkland* in its January, 1964 issue. This article, based on the initial reports of the doctors at Parkland Hospital, described the wounds as witnessed by those doctors, and not as described in the autopsy report.

The confusion caused by the divergent accounts offered by the Parkland and Bethesda doctors was only exacerbated by the actions of the FBI. In mid-late December, before Dallas Special Agent in Charge Gordon Shanklin alerted Hoover that the FBI's report on the wounds could be in conflict with the official autopsy report, the FBI began leaking its own version of the President's wounds, one based not

on the statements of the emergency room doctors, nor on the official report of the autopsy doctors, but on what Hoover's loyal FBI agents recalled hearing discussed at the autopsy. This effort peaked with the publication of *The Torch is Passed*, a widely-circulated book rushed out by the Associated Press and rehashing much of the FBI's report on Oswald. On the shooting itself, *The Torch is Passed* reported: *"The President never heard the shot or knew what hit him. It was a piece of metal a little thinner than an ordinary pencil. It struck him in the back, penetrating two to three inches. He was struck as he turned to his right to wave. His hands snapped up reflexively to his throat. Wordlessly, he fell to his wife, who was sitting on his left in the back seat. In the jump seat ahead, Gov. John Connally turned and a second bullet caught him in the back, passed through, struck his right wrist, and lodged in his thigh. The third and last shot hit the back of the President's head about ear-level, as he was bowed forward. 'His head exploded in blood,' said James Chaney, a motorcycle patrolman who was six feet away."* There was a huge problem with this passage, of course, one mirroring the problem with the FBI's own description of the shooting--it fails to account for the President's throat wound.

Rather than read the autopsy report, and leak its explanation of the throat wound to the press, however, the FBI thereby commenced pushing its own explanation for the throat wound. Even though the Zapruder film in its possession showed Kennedy reaching for his throat a full five seconds before his skull exploded, the FBI Supplemental Report of January 13, 1964 suggests that a fragment of the bullet striking Kennedy in the head created the throat wound. In a section on Kennedy's clothing, the report contains the following passage: *"Medical examination of the President's body had revealed that the bullet which entered his back had penetrated to a distance of less than a finger length. There is a slit...in the overlap of the shirt the President was wearing...The slit has the characteristics of an exit hole...There is also a nick on the left side of the tie knot, which possibly was caused by the same projectile...The coat and shirt were x-rayed for metal fragments...but none were found...The Chief Pathologist at Bethesda Naval Hospital had advised that the projectile which had entered the President's skull region had disintegrated into at least 40 particles..."*

This unique assertion, not found in the 12-9 FBI report possessed by the Justice Department and Warren Commission, nor in the autopsy report in the possession of the Navy and Secret Service, was, upon repetition in the news media, as good as a confession that Hoover (almost undoubtedly through DeLoach), or someone quoting Hoover or DeLoach, had been the original source for the story. Hoover's leaking of the report to let certain conclusions out to the press was almost casually mentioned in the December 14 column of Washington insider Drew Pearson. It seems likely, however, that Hoover had failed to fully realize just how noticeable his footprints had become.

A 12-18 article by Nate Haseltine in the Washington Post was the first to bear the mark of Hoover. Here it was reported that the autopsy pathologists had found that Kennedy could readily have survived the first bullet to strike him, and that this bullet was *"found deep in his shoulder"*. Even worse, it was reported that a fragment of the second bullet, which *"tore off the right rear portion of his head...was deflected and passed out the front of the throat."* The article went on to note that the first bullet *"hit the President in the back shoulder, 5 to 7 inches below the collar line"* and that this was news to the doctors seeing Kennedy in Dallas, who had been *"in disagreement. Some believed the President had been shot twice, the neck wound being from a glancing hit"* while others believed *"he was shot only once, and that a fragment from the bullet that hit his head coursed downward and emerged through the front of the throat."*

Now watch as Hoover's poison spreads. On 12-18, an article for the Associated Press repeats some, but not all, of the FBI's findings. Citing *"a source fully acquainted with results of a post-mortem examination,"* it reported *"The first shot struck Kennedy in the back, made what was described as a*

small neat hole, and penetrated two or three inches without damaging vital organs. The bullet may even have entered Kennedy's back after first glancing off some part of the presidential limousine, since its penetration was not deep when compared to the damage done by the other shots fired by the assassin...The second bullet to strike Mr. Kennedy --the third bullet fired--left a large hole in the back of the President's head, destroyed considerable brain tissue and severely damaged the forehead." Note that there is no mention of the throat wound here. This suggests that the writer of this article had not yet been briefed by the FBI.

Tellingly, on 12-19, the next day, a follow-up article by the AP reported that Dr. James Beyer, who previously had argued that Kennedy's large head wound was not consistent with a military jacketed-bullet, repeated his assertions and built upon the previous day's conjecture that the first bullet to hit Kennedy hit the limousine first by guessing that the second one did as well. Beyer stated that *"the slight instability imparted to the missile by the ricochet could have resulted in the large wound described."* (Beyer's second- guessing of "official" autopsy results would boomerang back at him many years later when he would conduct an equally contested autopsy--that of Clinton lawyer Vince Foster.) Note that there is still no mention of the throat wound. These articles confirm then that the AP had not yet been informed of Hoover's "unofficial" explanation for the wound.

But you can't keep a good leaker down... A column in the Washington Daily News by Richard Starnes on this day repeated the wound description given the Post the day before. No mention of a ricochet. More than a mention of a fragment exiting the throat. Starnes reported as fact that the first shot *"struck the president high in the shoulder from behind, causing considerable damage to the massive muscles of the neck and shoulder. The second shot fired by the assassin struck Gov. John Connally. The third shot inflicted the wound that killed Mr. Kennedy by smashing away the back of his head. The confusion over the wounds was caused by a fragment of the third bullet that coursed down thru the President's head and exited thru his throat approximately at the collar line."*

The red flag indicating the FBI as the source of these leaks gets even redder, however, as we look at articles from the rest of the month. In the December 23 edition of Newsweek, an article quoted the supposedly secret FBI report extensively and said the bullet entering the right shoulder fell out, which left no explanation for the wound in the throat. The next week's Newsweek, however, cited the 12-18 article in the Washington Post, and reported that the throat wound was created by a fragment of the bullet creating the head wound. Similarly, the December 27 edition of Time stated that the "unofficial" word of the autopsy report had been released for a week and that it says a bullet struck Kennedy 6 inches below the collar line and fell out, and that the throat wound had been created by an exiting bullet fragment. A 12-30 U.S. News article followed suit, and claimed the autopsy *"showed that the wound in his neck was caused by the exit of a splinter from the shot that struck the back of his head."*

But with the coming of a new year, the leaks of the old one persisted. A January 4, 1964 article in the Journal of the American Medical Association, for example, repeated the FBI's assertion about the fragment exiting Kennedy's throat. As late as January 26, 1964, incredibly, even the great New York Times was still reporting that the first bullet fired lodged in Kennedy's shoulder, that the second bullet hit Connally, and that *"The third bullet, according to an autopsy in Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland, ripped away a portion of the back of the President's head on the right side. Fragments from the bullets cut a wound in the president's throat and damaged the windshield of the limousine."*

But the New York Times was not the only news organization routinely regurgitating the FBI's unique interpretation of the President's wounds. U.S. News and World Report, in its June 1, 1964 issue speculating on the Warren Commission's conclusions, asserted: *"The official autopsy of the President's*

body the night of November 22 shows Mr. Kennedy was first hit in the right shoulder. A second bullet struck Texas Governor John Connally. A third hit the President's head and killed him. There was no fourth bullet." It then added "A wound in Mr. Kennedy's throat was caused by a fragment of the bullet which entered his head from behind."

It took so long for the actual autopsy results to reach the public, in fact, that an entire motion picture, *The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald*, was written and completed before the autopsy report's release. Clearly basing their description of the wounds on the leaked FBI report, the film-makers depicted a Navy doctor reading from an autopsy report. He states: *"Our examination reveals that the President was struck by two bullets. The first bullet struck the President in the back, just below the collarbone, and lodged in his body. The second bullet struck the President in the back of the head and fragmented. A splintered piece of the second bullet went through the President's neck and exited from the lower part of the neck."* When asked about the bullets, the doctor in the film testified *"We recovered one, the one bullet that had lodged in the upper shoulder."* Officially, of course, the only intact bullet recovered was found in Dallas and the "missile" recovered at the autopsy was just a fragment recovered from the President's brain.

To repeat, as no explanation for the neck wound was contained in the December 9 FBI report given to the Justice Department and Warren Commission, and as the published explanation for this wound was only offered in the FBI's January report, it seems doubtful that the Justice Department and/or Warren Commission were the sources for all these leaks about the neck wound, which started in December. It seems obvious from the nature of these mistakes then that the source of all this misinformation was in fact the FBI. It follows then that the FBI's refusal to look at the autopsy report in a timely manner, its continuing to champion outdated information in its December 9th and January 13th reports, and its decision to invent its own explanation for the throat wound ultimately backfired and fueled many of the conspiracy-oriented books which exploded on the market in 1966 and 1967. Not to be facetious, but perhaps the ever-suspicious Hoover should have had himself investigated as a possible communist.

Hoover's strange nature is further reflected, moreover, in a 12-14-63 FBI memo directed to his top assistants. Building upon his memo from two days before, in which he falsely blamed the Justice Department for leaking the FBI's report to the media, Hoover now told the FBI's assistant directors that he'd had a talk with Attorney General Robert Kennedy--presumably still his boss--and had told him that columnist Drew Pearson had received *"a good portion"* of his information on the report's contents from none other than Chief Justice Earl Warren.

The Decided Non-response

But if Hoover honestly thought he was fooling anyone as to who was behind the leaks of his report, he was both over-estimating the regard in which others held him, and under-estimating their basic intelligence.

From the transcript of the **12-16-63** Executive Session of the Warren Commission:

Chief Justice Earl Warren: *Well, gentleman, to be very frank about it, I have read that report two or three times and I have not seen anything in there yet that has not been in the press.*

Senator Richard Russell: *I couldn't agree with that more. I have read it through once very carefully, and I went through it again at places I had marked, and practically everything in there has come out in the press at one time or another; a bit here and a bit there.*

A short while later, Congressman Gerald Ford asked if the Commission should heed Acting Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach's written request they release the FBI's findings to the public. After they decided to hold off, Ford explained why he asked.

Congressman Gerald Ford: *I was called by one of the top AP or UP people here, and he didn't know that you had received the letter (from Katzenbach) and we had copies, but he was one of the top AP or UP people at Dallas at the time. He said "Jerry, I'm surprised that we got, and the other press services got, stories out the very same day." In effect, he was saying what they have asked us to do. The minute he said that it led me to the belief that he was inferring that there had been a deliberate leak from some agency of the Federal Government, and now they wanted us to confirm by Commission action what had been leaked previously. Now, somebody had to give this information to both AP and UP in order for that to happen...*

Chief Justice Earl Warren: *I read those dispatches.*

Congressman Gerald Ford: *: Didn't that come to your mind?*

Chief Justice Earl Warren: *Surely did. I spoke to Katzenbach about it.*

Senator Richard Russell: *I mentioned that the first day we sat here.*

Chief Justice Earl Warren: *Yes, you did. Senator Russell asked Katzenbach where it could have come from and he said there was only one source. (Note: He means Hoover.)*

Senator Richard Russell: *Do you recall the first day I asked him that?*

John McCloy: *There were leaks long before we got the documents.*

Congressman Hale Boggs: *And after that, at the second meeting, there was the Evening Star with that whole thing.*

Senator Richard Russell: *Every day there was something.*

Chief Justice Earl Warren: *Yep, until it was all out and I tell you frankly I just didn't find anything in that report that has not been leaked to the press.*

Earlier in the **12-16** executive session of the Warren Commission, an odd incident took place, which might lead one to conclude it was not only Hoover who was anxious to convict Oswald as the lone assassin. Commissioner and former CIA Director Allen Dulles showed up with copies of Robert J. Donovan's book *The Assassins*, a history of the many assassination attempts upon U.S. Presidents, and handed them out to both counsel and his fellow commissioners. He told them "*It's a fascinating book, but you'll find a pattern running through here that I think we'll find in this present case.*" He was referring, of course, to Donovan's assertion that American assassins are predominantly disgruntled loners... lone-nuts. Was Dulles pushing for this conclusion from the outset? And was it just a coincidence that Dulles' former boss, former President Dwight Eisenhower, had written an article for the 12-14 Saturday Evening Post, also claiming that assassinations in the United States "*do not follow a pattern of political conspiracy and coup d'etat...the facts are that four of thirty-six Presidents have been assassinated, and a President in office and a President-elect have been targets of assassination attempts. These acts all had one thing in common: they were the work of crackpots, of people with delusions arising from imagined wrongs or festering hatreds*"? In closing, Eisenhower assured the public "*We must and shall rally behind our new President, Lyndon B. Johnson...*" Huh? Were Eisenhower and Dulles reading from the same script? And, if so, who was writing this script?

Ironically, Donovan's book, originally written in 1952, was re-issued in January 1964 with a new chapter on the Kennedy assassination that, due to the FBI's leaking their out-dated impression of the

wounds, stated the first shot lodged in Kennedy's back and the second shot struck Connally. It is a sublime twist of fate then that the book Dulles touted as a valid resource would be re-written within weeks of the assassination to include information Dulles would soon conclude was false. If Dulles ever noted the irony, however, that moment is lost to time.

Also ironic is that, after raising the possibility in the 12-16 executive session that Hoover was behind all the leaks, Congressman Ford met the next day with the FBI's most wanted leaker, Cartha DeLoach. Despite his earlier promise to keep the FBI *"thoroughly advised"* on the workings of the commission, however, Ford decided to keep the confidence of his fellow commissioners and instead told DeLoach that, in DeLoach's words, "There was no criticism of the FBI at yesterday's meeting. There was no allegations by anyone, including the Chief Justice, that the FBI had leaked portions of this report." Apparently, DeLoach figured out that Ford was onto him. His 12-17 memo on this conversation reflects that *"I went over very carefully with Congressman Ford that the FBI had not had any 'leaks' whatsoever. I told him we were well aware that the department had done considerable talking; furthermore, it now appeared somewhat obvious that members of the Commission were beginning to leak the report. I referred to this week's issue of 'Newsweek' magazine which contains a rather clear analysis of the report. I told Congressman Ford that 'Newsweek' was owned by the 'Washington Post' and that apparently someone was trying to curry favor. I told him we, of course, did not get along very well with either the 'Washington Post' or 'Newsweek.'"*

Even if he was telling the truth about the leaks to Newsweek, DeLoach knew full well the leaks began in the beginning of the month, before either the Justice Department or the Commission had come into possession of the FBI's report. As DeLoach and Hoover were too clever by half, it also makes sense that they would attempt to cut off speculation they were the source of the leaks by leaking it through sources outside their usual pattern. It seems probable, then, that DeLoach, as Hoover, was trying to blame the Commission for leaks that he himself had orchestrated.

In any event, if the 12-16 executive session showed that some tasked with investigating Kennedy's death were displeased with the performance of the FBI, there was no such indication from Hoover's ultimate boss that he shared their displeasure. A **12-17-63** letter from Hoover to Johnson uncovered at the LBJ Library and published by Mark North indicates that these two couldn't be happier in their new mutually accommodating relationship.

Hoover wrote:

"My dear Mr. President: I cannot tell you how much our time together yesterday means to me. Your very real appreciation of the matters I was privileged to discuss with you and your complete understanding of our problems smooth the way to our mutual desire to serve our country in fullest capacity. I shall treasure your photograph and your autographed message as I do your friendship and trust.

Sincerely yours, Edgar"

The next day, on **12-18**, the FBI's Alex Rosen, who was charged with investigating the physical facts of the assassination, wrote a memo in which he insisted the FBI's delay in seeking the autopsy report was because *"the family of the President had requested the report from the U.S. Naval Hospital at Bethesda be kept as confidential as possible."* This assertion is suspicious at best, as FBI Director Hoover was such a sensitive guy that when he called Robert Kennedy to tell him of his brother's death, he is reported to have blurted *"the President's dead"* and hung up. Hoover's hatred for Robert Kennedy was

so great, in fact, that when Robert Kennedy was himself assassinated the FBI deliberately minimized the news coverage of his funeral by delaying the announcement of the arrest of Martin Luther King assassination suspect James Earl Ray for two whole days, and then announcing it during Kennedy's funeral. This assertion comes courtesy Hoover's boss at the time, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

More to the point, this "oh, the Kennedys wouldn't let us" excuse presented by Rosen, which would be repeated by Warren Commissioner John McCloy and Junior Counsel Arlen Specter in the months and years to come, was ultimately rejected by Hoover himself. In June 1966, when Edward Epstein's book *Inquest* brought considerable attention to the FBI's failure to read the autopsy report, and embrace its findings, Rosen at first responded by denying there was a problem. He insisted that the FBI's initial reports were based upon the statements of the doctors during the autopsy, and that the 1-13-64 Supplemental report in which these early statements were repeated, weeks after the FBI had been supplied the autopsy report, was also not in error. Yes, incredibly, although the FBI had ignored in its Supplemental Report the official autopsy report then in its possession, and had offered up its own explanation for the throat wound (that it represented the exit of a fragment from the head shot), Rosen claimed, in a June 2, 1966 memo to Hoover's leaker-in-chief Cartha DeLoach, that the inaccurate statements in the Supplemental Report had been included to *"point out the apparent conflict between the information originally furnished by medical authorities on 11/22/63 and the results of our Laboratory's examination of the President's clothing, which indicated a bullet had exited his body."* Well, of course. One always points out inconsistent information by leading the reader to an inaccurate conclusion, and then failing to quote from additional reports in which this inconsistent information has been clarified...

In any event, an October 7, 1966 memo from Rosen to DeLoach in which the increasingly desperate Rosen now acknowledged there had been some confusion about the president's wounds, but blamed this on the Kennedy family, received a terse response from Hoover, who obviously knew better. On the last page of the memo, Hoover scribbled: *"The confusion... would never have occurred if we had obtained the autopsy report originally. The Kennedys never asked us to withhold it and if they had we should have disregarded it."* (Hoover is absolutely right on this point. Many of the conspiracy theories he so despised would not have reared up if the government as a whole had not been so strangely secretive about the autopsy in the first place.)

On **12-19**, President Johnson met with his top advisers from the Pentagon and CIA in order to re-evaluate the U.S. government's position regarding Cuba. According to historians Thomas Powers and Max Holland, President Johnson told this audience that Kennedy was killed as an act of retribution *"by unnamed persons seeking vengeance for the murder...of...Diem."* (The recently-assassinated President of South Vietnam.) This was ten days after Hoover gave Johnson a report saying Oswald acted alone.

It's not that Hoover's report took awhile to sink in. It never sank in. David Wise, the Washington Bureau Chief of the New York Herald Tribune during this period, would eventually write of a long "background" discussion he had with Johnson in January, 1964. while visiting Johnson's ranch in Texas. Wise reported that Johnson discussed the deaths of Dominican dictator Trujillo and Vietnamese President Diem, declared flatly *"we took care of them,"* and then wondered aloud if Kennedy's death wasn't *"some kind of terrible retribution."* Apparently, neither Wise nor any of the other journalists privy to Johnson's thoughts in this period ever violated Johnson's trust and told the Warren Commission investigating Kennedy's death that the government had been targeting the leaders of foreign nations, and that Johnson suspected this behavior may have somehow boomeranged back and hit us in the President.

And Johnson wasn't alone among those supposedly in the know who still had their doubts about Oswald, and his supposedly "lone nut" status. Nope, although he'd told Johnson weeks before that there was nothing to the story Oswald was in the employ of the Cuban government, a 12-19 FBI memo reflects that CIA Director John McCone had continued to spread the story as if it had some merit.

This met with the FBI's disapproval. Severe disapproval. The memo, from D.J. Brennan to Assistant Director William Sullivan, relates: *"Information developed by Mr. DeLoach has indicated that John McCone, Director, CIA, has attacked the Bureau in a vicious and underhanded manner characterized with sheer dishonesty. If the facts are true, we can safely assume that McCone will continue such tactics to the point of seriously jeopardizing Bureau prestige and reputation."* This paragraph concludes *"If MCCone is involved in such nefarious activity, there is a way of putting a stop to this."*

The memo then lays out the "charges" against McCone, namely, that he told Warren Commissioner and sometimes FBI informant Gerald Ford that a Cuban government official had paid Oswald to kill Kennedy, and that he'd also told this story to columnist Drew Pearson. That's it.

The memo then suggests that McCone be confronted with the fact that his own agency had discredited the Oswald-was-a-paid-agent-of-Cuba story, and then be told *"that we can only characterize his actions as a vicious and unwarranted attack against the Bureau."*

It then concludes: *"If McCone did make the referred statements, we can expect him to make a denial. However, it is believed that we will have made our point and he certainly will know where he stands, will undoubtedly have a profound respect for our capabilities to be informed, and he certainly will bear all of this in mind in the event he gets any ideas of making similar statements in the future."*

This recommendation received Hoover's "O.K."

I'll let that sink in. While many envision the CIA as a big evil institution, and the FBI as a bunch of nerds in suits, this memo reflects the true balance of power. By 1963, Hoover's hold on Washington, and monumental ego, had reached the point where an underling like Brennan had no problem asking if he could confront the Director of the CIA, and tell him the FBI was, for all intents and purposes, SPYING ON HIM. This was to be done, what's worse, as a response to a COMPLETELY IMAGINARY attack on the FBI stemming from McCone's repeating a story which his own agency had discredited.

That this was viewed as an attack of any type, let alone a vicious one, is beyond bizarre. It's possible, after all, that McCone had his own reasons for continuing to suspect there was something to the story. It's possible, after all, that McCone had simply repeated the story as worrisome gossip, as an example of the kind of thing his agency had uncovered. But no, the FBI had issued its report to the President, in which no such plot was outlined. It had then become gospel. Anyone expressing any doubt in its conclusions--including the director of the Central Intelligence Agency--was thereby a heretic, attacking the Bureau much as Galileo had once "attacked" the Catholic Church.

What balderdash! One can only wonder, then, how many of these late night knock on the door, "excuse me, we know what you've been saying" type conversations took place in the months after the assassination. I mean, let's face it, if Hoover and his men were willing to threaten the head of the CIA, who wouldn't they threaten?

On **12-20-63** Hoover aide Cartha DeLoach wrote a second memo regarding the 12-16 executive session of the Warren Commission. Even though Congressman Ford had hid the commission's discussion of Hoover's leaks from DeLoach, this discussion was leaked right back to Hoover anyhow. DeLoach wrote: *"Pursuant to the Director's instructions, I met with Senator Richard B. Russell at 3:45 p.m. Inspector Jim Malley accompanied me. I told the Senator that the Director probably had the greatest respect for him than any other man on the Presidential Commission; consequently, the Director was most anxious that any misimpression which the Senator might have gotten, regarding leaks concerning the captioned matter, be straightened out immediately. I mentioned that the Director had maintained throughout that there should be no press release unless it emanated from either the President or either the Presidential Commission...I told him that there had been others who thought that a press release, based upon the FBI report, should be issued immediately. I reiterated that under no circumstances had we "leaked" any information...The Senator inquired as to the identity of the sources who had been "leaking" information. I told him it appeared quite obvious that considerable of the information came from the Dallas Police...I told him also that the (Justice) Department undoubtedly had "leaked" considerable information...Senator Russell told Mr. Malley and me that he was glad to hear an FBI denial in the matter...He (Russell) stated that Attorney General Katzenbach had directly implied that the "leaks" had come from the FBI. He quoted Katzenbach as telling the members of the Presidential Commission, "J. Edgar Hoover has chewed his men out for leaking information and they won't be doing any more of this." (Note: to this, Hoover added in his own handwriting, "This certainly shows Katzenbach's true colors.") DeLoach's memo, continued: "I told the Senator that Katzenbach was obviously lying in implying such action on the part of FBI representatives. The point was made that sometimes a person tries to cover up his own guilt by blaming others."*

That last line may be one of the most ironic ever written, for it has been the verdict of almost everyone to study the matter that Hoover and DeLoach were in fact the ones behind the leaks. When asked in 1978 by the HSCA who leaked the FBI report, Katzenbach responded: *"I think that the Bureau leaked it. The Bureau constantly leaked things of this kind and constantly denied it and constantly blamed it on other people. There is not a reporter in town who does not know that...I wanted a formal statement."* As discussed previously, in his 1976 interview with the staff of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Operations (The Church Committee), the former Chief of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division, William Sullivan, confirmed that it was indeed Hoover who had ordered the report "leaked."

Finally, on **12-24-64**, more than a month after the President of the United States was murdered on the streets of Dallas, the FBI investigating his murder took a look at the official report on his autopsy. The letter by Alex Rosen accompanying the FBI's own copy of this report noted that *"In view of the interest displayed by Mr. Rankin (the Warren Commission's General Counsel) arrangements were made to obtain a copy of the autopsy report from the Secret Service for the Bureau's use and a request was also made that Secret Service furnish a copy of the report to Mr. Rankin."* Incredibly, Rosen was thus admitting that the conflicts between the FBI's report and the autopsy report did not by themselves cause the FBI to look at the autopsy report. They were only investigating the death of a President, after all.

Even after receiving the autopsy report, of course, the FBI ignored its findings, and as late as January 13th continued to champion that the bullet creating the back wound fell out and that a fragment of the bullet striking the skull had been the probable cause of the throat wound. You can't make this stuff up.

Nor can the FBI's decided lack of interest in actually investigating the case be overstated. A **12-30-63** U.S. News and World Report article presented yet another shooting scenario to the public. This scenario was similar to the FBI's scenario, but with a twist. It detailed *"The first struck President*

Kennedy in the back, just below the collar bone, and lodged in his body. The second shot struck Governor Connally and fragmented. Bullets hitting bone can splinter. A splinter from this bullet apparently hit the windshield of the car. Another splinter could have penetrated the floor pan. The third bullet struck President Kennedy in the back of the head, causing death. This bullet also fragmented somewhat." Well, where did they get this bit about the hole in the floor pan? Did someone tell the writer there was such a hole? One might think the FBI would want to know.

Or not. Sadly, a **1-6-64** memo from the FBI's Alex Rosen on the article declared *"There appears to be little significance to the alleged location of this hole in the President's limousine at this time; however, since this item appears in a magazine with a nationwide distribution it is possible questions may be raised by the President's Commission concerning this. Therefore, it is felt we should be in a position to promptly answer any such inquiry."* Rosen was clearly not one easily stirred.

But President Johnson was one easily shaken... That night, Rufus Youngblood, the Secret Service agent who'd protected Lyndon Johnson on the day of the shooting, received a most unusual phone call. It was from Johnson, who was extremely angry about a memo he'd received, written by a former Kennedy staffer. This memo made reference to an article in Sports Illustrated describing one of Johnson's frequent disagreements with his bodyguards. (The name of this staffer is unknown, as the memo from which Johnson was reading has never been located.) Johnson told Youngblood: ***"I've received a memorandum that disturbs me, Rufus. I'll read you some of it. I'm alarmed at the situation that has developed between the President and the Secret Service. Morale in the Secret Service is at an all-time low. A number of the members of the White House detail are asking for transfers. This is a great body of men. These men feel they are being prevented from doing their job properly. These men do not want favors; they just want to be accepted. We need them badly, especially in campaign years. They must feel the President appreciates their efforts. If they do something wrong, they do not want to be reprimanded in public over a radio system which lots of people listen to. The attachment this week from Sports Illustrated is an example. I'll do anything you think proper."*** Johnson then continued *"I just told Rowley (i.e., Secret Service Director James Rowley) to call all of them in and to take any of 'em's resignations that wanted to. And I'd be glad to have his, if he wants it, or yours or anybody else's. And if they don't want to handle it, well, we'll get the FBI to do it."* Johnson then complained about Secret Service agents following his car too closely when he went for rides on his ranch. He then urged: *"So you get ahold of Rowley and you all call a meeting of your group and (decide) whatever you decide you want to do; and if you want to resign, I'll be glad to accept it forthwith. And if the Secret Service wants to go back to counterfeiting, they can go back to counterfeiting, then I'll get the FBI to just assign me a couple of men to stay by my side without all this God damn big push! I don't know who it is bellyaching. First I heard of it. I'm sorry it didn't come to me. It had to come through some of Kennedy's staffers."* Youngblood then asked who wrote the memo. Johnson responded *"I don't think I ought to do that, but one of Kennedy's top people and somebody has been bellyaching to him. And there's enough truth in it (to see) that somebody talked. And I can't have disloyalty, and I can't talk in front of your people and have them repeat it."* Youngblood then responded: *"You're absolutely right. You cannot have disloyalty and I don't want any transfer, reassignment, or any other damned thing, sir."* Johnson then returned to complaining about agents driving too close to his car. He then repeated his threat: *"So you find out whose morale is low and get rid of the son of a bitch. And if the whole Secret Service is low, I'll tell Dillon (i.e., Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon--Rowley's boss) the first thing in the morning that we'll just change the damned law in about five minutes and turn it over to the FBI because Hoover thinks that I could be handled a lot better anyway. I don't want any of it. I think now's a good time, after Dallas, to make the change, if they want to do it. Now I thought I did pretty well after Dallas and I thought I reflected credit on the Secret Service. I did my damndest to compliment you and everybody else. But if the appreciation I get is going to be articles like this--*

*Kennedy people coming in and telling me that the morale is the lowest in the history--I'm not going to be run by them, you know that." He then repeated: "You get ahold of Rowley and y'all see who the hell has been bellyaching and get it straightened out. Take their resignations, get them out of here, and get Lem Johns back and you and Lem Johns handle me. You handle me safer than the forty can, 'cause they're liabilities instead of assets. And if y'all don't want to do it, just honestly say so and I'll get you a good reassignment and I'll get Hoover to send me over a couple of 21-year-old accountants over here and they'll probably do as good a job." Youngblood then said "We'll stick with you, sir." Johnson then finished **"Okay, but I want something done about it, you understand? Good night, Rufus."***

(Note: the transcript presented above was constructed from two sources: Rufus Youngblood's 1973 book *20 Years in the Secret Service*, and Michael Beschloss' 1997 book on the Johnson Tapes, *Taking Charge*. I then compared this transcript against the actual tape available on the Miller Center's website, in anticipation that major corrections were in order. This proved most surprising. The direct quotes in Youngblood's account of the conversation that were not in Beschloss' transcript were nevertheless a near-perfect match for the words on the tape of the conversation. Clearly, Youngblood--or his ghost writer, Richard Hardwick--had been granted access to the tapes...years before the public had been told of their existence. And that wasn't all. The words in bold were in Youngblood's book but not on Beschloss' transcript or the Miller Center's tape. This suggests either that Youngblood and Hardwick made these lines up or that the tapes on the Miller Center's website have been edited since 1973--when Youngblood was writing his book.)

In any event, after chewing out Youngblood, Johnson called up Youngblood's boss, Secret Service Director James Rowley, and repeated his threat of shutting down the service's Presidential Protection Division if they didn't fall in line.

Not surprisingly, in light of this threat, when on the next day the FBI called Robert Bouck, the head of the Protective Research Section of the Presidential Protection Division, and asked him if a hole was discovered in the floor of the limousine, they were told there was no such hole. This marked the beginning and end of the FBI's investigation. While it could very well be that there really was no bullet hole in the floor of the limousine, Johnson's calling the Director of the Secret Service James Rowley the night before this call--and his threatening the jobs of every member of the Presidential Protection Division if they didn't get wise and help protect him from the criticisms of Kennedy loyalists--undoubtedly muddled the waters.

And it wasn't just the Secret Service that Johnson was out to control. The 2007 book *Breaking News*, a history of the Associated Press, reflects that 6 weeks after the assassination Johnson told members of the White House Press Corps that he wanted a close relationship with them, and that *"I'll tell you everything...There won't be any secrets except where the national security is involved. You'll be able to write everything. Of course, I may go into a strange bedroom every now and then that I won't want you to write about..."* As one can only assume, based on his comments to Warren, that Johnson considered the Warren Commission's investigation a national security matter, Johnson was thereby trying to swap out increased access to the White House on political news in exchange for his having greater control of stories regarding his sex life and national security, including the Warren Commission's investigation. One can only wonder how many newsmen took him up on it.

Perhaps Johnson had gotten wind of a **1-7-64** article in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, built around an interview of J. Lee Rankin, the Commission's General Counsel. This article, by Harold Morrison, reflected that the commission was dissatisfied with the FBI's efforts, and read:

WASHINGTON (CP) — Did Lee Harvey Oswald kill John Fitzgerald Kennedy?

The chief counsel for the Warren commission says the signs point that way but that the commission still has not enough evidence to remove all doubt. So the investigation into the crime likely will continue for months.

For example, while Dallas police once reported a finger-print on the alleged assassination weapon—an Italian-made, bolt-action rifle—J. Lee Rankin, commission general counsel, said Monday there was no fingerprint, only a palm print.

The palm print—identified as that of Oswald who bought the rifle from a mail-order firm was found in the underpart of the weapon.

A palm print was supposed to have been found on the brown wrapping paper in which Oswald was believed to have brought the rifle into the Dallas schoolbook warehouse, where he worked. Again there isn't one.

OTHER POINTS PUZZLE

There are other points which bother and puzzle the former U.S. solicitor-general who directs the legal staff of the seven-man commission headed by U.S. Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Paraffin tests showed there was evidence of gunpowder on Oswald's hands, indicating the accused assassin had fired a hand weapon, but there were no similar gunpowder traces on his face, Rankin said in an interview.

Some authorities maintain the paraffin tests on Oswald's face would have been positive if he had fired a rifle, as police said he did, Rankin added.

Eyewitnesses have testified that Oswald fired a pistol to kill Police Constable J. D. Tippit shortly after Kennedy was assassinated and a police alarm sounded in Dallas last Nov; 22.

On that day Kennedy was hit by two bullets fired into his limousine as his motorcade entered a road turn-in downtown Dallas. A third bullet hit Texas Governor John Connally, who was sitting in the limousine's jump seat. Connally has recovered from his wounds.

Rankin said that because of the conditions of the bullets, they could not be positively identified as coming from the rifle found in the warehouse. However, spent shells were found near the sixth-floor window where the assassin was believed to have been perched.

The three bullets were estimated to have been fired within 6 1/2 seconds, said Rankin. While rifle experts maintain the firing of three shots in such a short period is possible, the evidence indicates that the last two shots came almost "on top of each other."

"Can a man operating a bolt action rifle fire two shots so quickly?" asked Rankin. "That is an example of the kind of thing that bothers us."

"What the commission wants to be able to do," he said, "is to publish a report that would eliminate doubt." Last month the Federal Bureau of Investigation gave the commission its report, concluding Oswald committed the crime unaided.

But the commission apparently was not completely satisfied with the FBI summary. It called for all documents on which the FBI report was based. The commission intends to re-examine every aspect of the case; to account if possible for every development on the day of the assassination.

Accounts Differ

"We cannot even get witnesses to agree on what Oswald wore that day," Rankin said, as another indication of his difficulties.

He could confirm, he added, that Oswald left his Russian born wife a set of instructions the day before a sniper shot-at former Maj.-Gen. Edwin Walker last April in Dallas.

A published report said the written instructions advised Mrs. Oswald that something was developing that might cause her husband to be absent for some time or to be arrested. She was given directions as to the location of the jail and given a key to Lee's post office box.

Rankin said that identifying Oswald with the attempted Walker assassination did not, by itself, add

much judicial evidence to the Kennedy assassination.

"We intend to gather evidence from all key witnesses, including Oswald's wife and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and others."

"Mrs. Kennedy has also indicated she intends to co-operate fully in providing detailed testimony for the sake of historical accuracy."

Strangely, two of the problems pointed out by Rankin in the article--that there was no palm print on the paper bag, and that the bullet fragments couldn't be matched to the rifle--would be contradicted by the commission's report upon its release in September. One might assume then that their inclusion in this article reflected a misunderstanding on Rankin's part, or even on Morrison's part. Far more telling, three of the other problems discussed by Rankin--the lack of gunshot residue on Oswald's cheek, the mass of eyewitnesses claiming the last two shots were fired on top of one another, and the fact that no credible witness saw Oswald wear the shirt he was wearing when arrested while at work on the 22nd--would never be resolved by the Warren Commission, and would be dealt with dishonestly in the commission's report.

Another indication of the commission's bent came just four days later. On **1-11-64**, despite Rankin's speaking to the Canadian press, and assuring them the commission was still undecided on the question of conspiracy, and would thoroughly review the FBI's investigation, Chief Justice Warren presented an outline of the Warren Commission's upcoming report to the other members of the commission; shockingly, it mirrors the FBI's report. Oswald was a lone assassin. There was no conspiracy.

The President had been dead for 7 weeks. The commission had been in existence for 6 weeks. They hadn't spoken to a single witness.

The bias of the commission was evident in other ways as well. Of the 14 lawyers hired as assistant counsel to lead the investigation, there were two (Ball and Belin) assigned the task of establishing Oswald's guilt, two (Jenner and Liebler) assigned the task of investigating Oswald's background and possible motivation, two (Coleman and Lawson) assigned the task of investigating Oswald's possible involvement in a foreign-based conspiracy, two (Hubert and Griffin) assigned the task of investigating Oswald's murder and his possible ties to Jack Ruby, and one (Stern) assigned the task of investigating the history of Presidential protection. Three others (Redlich, Willens, and Eisenberg) were given jobs as assistants to General Counsel J. Lee Rankin, and go-betweens to the Justice Department. This meant that the task of investigating what actually happened in Dealey Plaza was left to but two men. One of these men (Francis Adams) dropped out of the investigation shortly after it began. This left a 33 year-old Assistant District Attorney for the City of Philadelphia (Arlen Specter) as the sole investigator tasked with solving the riddles of Dealey Plaza, determining how many shots were fired, from where they were fired, which shots struck the President and Governor Connally, the damage done by these shots, and whether or not Lee Harvey Oswald could have fired all these shots. Perhaps it was the thinking of the Commission and General Counsel Rankin that this aspect of the case was relatively unimportant, in light of Oswald's obvious guilt. Chief Justice Warren would, in fact, later claim that *"The facts of the assassination itself are simple...If the sole responsibility of the Commission had been to determine who shot and killed President Kennedy, it would have taken very little work."*

That this aspect of the case was, at least initially, not taken as seriously as it deserved is supported, furthermore, by a **1-12** article in the New York Times on the structure of the commission, and the make-up of its staff. After noting that General Counsel Rankin had outlined the Commission's plans in an interview, the article claimed that the Commission's staff was to investigate six areas of inquiry, with Rankin handling one, and five other teams of lawyers handling the others. It then lists the six areas of inquiry: 1) "Oswald's activities on the day of the assassination;" 2) "Ruby's activities and background;" 3) "Oswald's life and back ground, with the exception of;" 4) "Oswald's career in the Marine Corps and

his stay in the Soviet Union;" 5) "Oswald's murder;" and 6) "The procedures used to protect President Kennedy." Well, what's missing? Only the elephant in the room. Rankin failed to mention that ANYONE was going to pursue the basic facts of the shooting--the line of inquiry later pushed onto the relative novice Specter.

If Warren and Rankin sincerely believed this aspect of their investigation was a snap, of course, they were sorely mistaken, as many if not most of the ongoing controversies of the case can be traced back to Specter and the Commission's inadequate and deceptive investigation of the basic facts...

And to their reliance on the FBI... On **1-22-64**, President Johnson's assistant Walter Jenkins contacted the FBI to complain about Don Reynolds, the insurance agent whose testimony before congress regarding Johnson's receipt of a kickback was interrupted by Kennedy's murder. Apparently, Reynolds had told someone he thought Johnson was involved in Kennedy's murder. Apparently, this reached Johnson, who was none too pleased, and who now sought the FBI's help in shutting Reynolds up. A 1-31-64 memo from Alex Rosen to Alan Belmont discusses the follow-up to Jenkins' complaint. It reveals its bias by calling Reynolds *"an unscrupulous insurance agent,"* with *"an uncontrollable tongue,"* and concludes further that he is *"an opinionated rumor-monger who apparently gets satisfaction out of spreading deliberate exaggerated stories."* It reports that Reynolds allegedly said President Johnson would soon be impeached based upon information gathered by the FBI. It reports further that FBI Director Hoover had demanded Reynolds be made to *"put up or shut up."* It then notes that Reynolds was interviewed by agents in the presence of his attorney on 1-24, and that he denied telling anyone Johnson would be impeached. It then notes that Reynolds' previously furnished *"observations and opinions"* regarding Kennedy's death were based on *"inferences which he drew from conversations and hearsay"* It then notes that Reynolds claimed he'd been told that Governor Connally had called Lee Harvey Oswald long distance from Washington while Oswald was staying at the Dallas YMCA. It then reports that Oswald had stayed at the YMCA on 10-3-63 and 10-4-64, and that the YMCA kept no record of incoming calls. It then admits that Jenkins was told the results of the FBI's interview with Reynolds on 1-27. Rosen then acknowledges that, seeing as Reynolds wouldn't disclose who told him Connally had made this call, *"no effort has been made to determine the whereabouts of Governor Connally during the period of October 3-4, 1963."* There was no mention of the impropriety of Johnson's using the FBI to harass those spreading rumors about him. There was no mention of the impropriety of Rosen's revealing the results of his interview with Reynolds to Jenkins on 11-27, 4 days prior to his reporting on this interview to his immediate superior Belmont.

And that's only half the problem with the Reynolds interview. Upon receipt of Rosen's memo to Belmont, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover fired off a letter to Warren Commission General Counsel Rankin, advising him of Reynolds comments regarding Johnson, and acknowledgement he had nothing to back it up. This was unsurprising. What was surprising, however, was what Hoover added to the copies of this letter sent his subordinates. He added: *"Rankin is not being advised that this information was initially received from the White House in view of the statement (appearing in a previous memo) that Walter Jenkins of the White House has indicated that the President does not desire Pierre Salinger to know this information was provided to anyone outside the White House."* So there it is. The FBI was willing to keep things from the commission based upon the mere say-so of a Johnson assistant that Johnson didn't want his press secretary to find out what he'd been up to. Well, geez Louise. Lord only knows what else they failed to reveal based purely on Jenkins' say-so.

If there were any thoughts in the Warren Commissioners' minds about expanding their investigation beyond that of the bureau's, however, those thoughts soon fell by the wayside. On **1-22-64** an emergency session of the Commission was called to discuss the discomfiting rumor that Oswald was an FBI informant, and the even more discomfiting possibility that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was seeking to hide this information from the public. The topic of discussion was so discomfiting, in fact,

that Chief Warren ordered all transcripts and notes of the meeting destroyed. Fortunately, a stenotypists's tape was overlooked, and uncovered by researcher Harold Weisberg through the Freedom of Information Act.

Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren: *I thought first you should know about it. Secondly, there is this factor too, that a consideration, that is somewhat an issue in this case, and I suppose you are all aware of it. That is that the FBI is very explicit that Oswald is the assassin or was the assassin, and they are very explicit that there was no conspiracy, and they are also saying in the same place that they are continuing their investigation. Now in my experience of almost nine years, in the first place it is hard to get them to say when you think you have got a case tight enough to convict somebody, that that is the person that committed the crime. In my experience with the FBI they don't do that. They claim that they don't evaluate, and it is uniform prior experience that they don't do that. Secondly, they have not run out all kinds of leads in Mexico or in Russia and so forth...and they could probably say that it isn't our business...But they are concluding that there can't be a conspiracy, without those being run out. Now that is not from my experience with the FBI...Why are they so eager to make those conclusions, both in their original report and their experimental report, which is a departure? Now that is just circumstantial evidence, and it don't prove anything about this, but it raises questions...*

After a brief discussion the commissioners came back to the implications of Hoover's behavior. Everyone on the commission had spent enough time in Washington to hear of FBI Director Hoover's not-so-secret files, files kept on every prominent figure in America, going back decades. Everyone on the commission knew, or should have known, that Hoover would not hesitate to use these files to protect himself and the Bureau. (It would later be revealed that their fears were justified and that, in anticipation of negative comments about the FBI in the Warren Report, Hoover had files created on every employee of the Warren Commission.)

Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren: *They would like to have us fold up and quit.*

Congressman Hale Boggs: *This closes the case, you see, don't you see?*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *Yes I see that.*

Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin: *They found the man. There is nothing more to do. The Commission supports their conclusions, and we can go on home and that is the end of it.*

After Allen Dulles pointed out that the FBI was taking a tremendous risk if it was indeed trying to shut down the case, as suspected, Congressman Boggs suddenly became aware of the risk he himself was taking by talking so openly about Hoover's dark side.

Congressman Hale Boggs: *Yes I would think so. And of course, we are even gaining in the realm of speculation. I don't even like for this to be taken down.*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *Yes, I think this record ought to be destroyed. Do you think we need a record of this?*

After Warren assured them that their statements would not be circulated, the session concluded.

On 1-24-64, in an effort to investigate and/or contain the rumor that Oswald had been an informant, Rankin and Warren met with the Texas Court of Inquiry. The memorandum on this meeting prepared by Rankin was not distributed to the other commissioners, nor to the commission's staff. The secretive nature of this meeting and its subject matter is perhaps best demonstrated by its second to last paragraph, in which Rankin relates: *"The Chief Justice decided to present the results of this meeting to the entire Commission on Monday, January 27, 1964 and decided to propose tentatively that necessary inquiries be made concerning these allegations and that this memorandum be prepared for the record."* This suggests the possibility that, if the meeting had exposed conclusive evidence that Oswald had

worked for the FBI, no memorandum would have been created, and no record of this meeting would have been kept.

The statements in the **1-27-64** executive session are even more revealing.

General Counsel J. Lee Rankin: *I don't see how the country is ever going to be willing to accept it if we don't satisfy them on this particular issue, not only with them but the CIA and every other agency. (The "it" in this statement would seem to be the commission's pre-determined conclusion that Oswald acted alone. They had yet to call a witness.)*

Eventually, they discussed the possibility that Oswald worked for the FBI, but that Hoover didn't know. Congressman Boggs brought up the recent capture of the American spy Francis Gary Powers by the Russians.

Congressman Hale Boggs: *Let's say Powers did not have a signed contract but he was recruited by someone in the CIA. The man who recruited him would know, wouldn't he?*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *Yes, but he wouldn't tell.*

Chief Justice Earl Warren: *Wouldn't tell it under oath?*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *I wouldn't think that he'd tell it under oath, no.*

Chief Justice Earl Warren: *Why?*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *He ought not tell it under oath. Maybe not tell it to his own government but wouldn't tell it any other way.*

John McCloy: *Wouldn't he tell it to his own chief?*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *He might or might not. If he was a bad one then he wouldn't.*

Congressman Hale Boggs: *What you do is you make out a problem--if this be true--make our problem utterly impossible because you say this rumor can't be dissipated under any circumstances.*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *I don't think it can unless you believe Mr. Hoover, and so forth and so on, which probably most of the people will.*

John McCloy: *Allen, suppose somebody when you were head of the CIA came to you, another government agency and said specifically, "If you will tell us," suppose the President of the United States comes to you and says "will you tell me, Mr. Dulles?"*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *I would tell the President of the United States anything, yes. I am under his control. He is my boss. I wouldn't necessarily tell anybody else, unless the President authorized me to do it. We had that come up at times.*

John McCloy: *You wouldn't tell the Secretary of Defense?*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *Well, it depends a little bit on the circumstances. If it is within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Defense, but otherwise I would go to the President, and I do on some occasions.*

General Counsel J. Lee Rankin: *If that is all that is necessary, I think we could get the President to direct anybody working for the government to answer this question. If we have to we would get that direction.*

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles: *What I was getting at, I think under any circumstances, I think Mr. Hoover would say certainly he didn't have anything to do with this fellow. (Dulles was apparently saying that Hoover, unlike himself, would ignore even the President's requests on such an issue. As*

Hoover misled the commission about the results of the FBI's internal investigation, Dulles' skepticism about Hoover proved accurate.)

They then proceeded to discuss the best way to handle the rumor. This led to Rankin's meeting with Hoover to discuss the matter. On 2-6 FBI Director Hoover sent the commission a sworn affidavit under penalty of perjury stating that Oswald was never a paid source or operative for the FBI. On 2-27 he sent the commission a similar letter stating that, while Jack Ruby had been approached by the FBI about employment as a PCI (Paid Confidential Informant), and had been contacted by the FBI 8 times between March 11, 1959 and October 2 1959, he had, in fact, *"furnished no information whatsoever."* This, then, allowed him to claim that *"Ruby was never paid any money, and he was never at any time an informant of this Bureau."*

Of course, these were the kind of statements Commissioner Dulles acknowledged Hoover and his men would make, regardless of the truth, unless directed by the President to tell the honest to goodness truth. If Dulles and the commissioners had had any doubts about Hoover's predilection to lie, moreover, these doubts should have been washed away on 3-7, when Hoover issued a clearly deceptive statement, published by the AP and UPI wire services nationwide. In attempting to shut down speculation about Ruby's status, Hoover completely side-stepped what he'd already told the commission--that Ruby had been approached by the FBI about becoming an informant, and that he'd met with the FBI 8 times afterward. Instead, he declared: *"To set the record straight and to refute the misinformation which has been maliciously circulated, I want to state unequivocally that Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack L. Ruby were never FBI informants; that they were never employed by this Bureau in any capacity; nor did they ever render any services for or receive any sums of money from the FBI."*

This, then, highlights the commission's predicament. By failing to ask President Johnson to give the Presidential directive described by Mr. Rankin, they'd given Hoover free reign to not only deceive them, but the country. This made it difficult for them to go back and point out Hoover's deceptions. As a result, when Hoover was called before the commission in May, he was not asked a single question about Ruby's status as an informant, and no acknowledgment of Ruby's meetings with the FBI were revealed to the public. This, then, can only be taken as an indication the Commission was more interested in "dissipating" rumors for the public, at minimal cost to themselves politically, and with minimal friction between themselves and Mr. Hoover, than in establishing the truth. This indifference, moreover, would be exposed many more times throughout the course of their investigation.

Perhaps the commissioners were just too much on the "inside" to be objective. A National Security Agency document (currently on its website) reflects that commissioner John McCloy met with the agency on this date and *"discussed work of Warren's Commission."* What was said remains a mystery because, beyond the heading "McCloy discussed work of Warren's Commission" the rest of the document--at least as seen online--is redacted. Such secrecy does anything but dissipate rumors. As a result of this secrecy, one might reasonably suspect McCloy told the NSA the subject matter of the 1-27 executive session, including Dulles' suspicion that Hoover would lie.

Of course, Dulles himself was no angel. If a judge, in a court of law, had been a former CEO of a company rumored to be involved in a crime, he would be expected to recuse himself from the case, even if there was little substance to the rumor. Dulles, as a long-time lawyer, certainly knew this, but, instead of stepping down, he did the opposite. He used his position as commissioner to help defend the CIA against charges of its involvement. On 1-30-64, in a personal correspondence available on Princeton University's website, he wrote General Counsel Rankin to make some suggestions on areas he found of interest. Included with his letter was an article by British Labor leader R.P. Dutt, in which

Dutt asks if the assassination was a "*C.I.A. Job?*". Included with this article was a biography on Dutt, clearly written by the CIA itself, in which it is asserted that Dutt's "*standing with Moscow is excellent.*" Dulles then told Rankin "*I suggest that you might wish the CIA to send you directly all important items of this general nature and also items bearing on the future Communist propaganda treatment of the assassination issue with their estimate, preferably coordinated with the State Department, showing the general trend of such propaganda, if there is one. It has been my experience that the Communist party of the Soviet Union exercises a good deal, but not complete, control over the propaganda activities of the various Communist parties in the free world and often uses these parties or selected ones to launch various trial balloons in the propaganda field.*"

In just a few days, Dulles had went from acknowledging the commission's inability to answer questions about Oswald's background to pushing that those even daring to ask such questions were at the beck and call of the Soviets.

Meanwhile, while the Warren Commission resolved to refuse to resolve the issue of Oswald's true identity, the media continued to push the leaked findings of the FBI's summary report on an unwitting public.

Some publications, like UPI's joint venture with American Heritage Magazine, entitled *Four Days*, simply replayed that Kennedy was hit by the first shot, Connally the second, and Kennedy the third, and accurately called Oswald Kennedy's "alleged assassin." (In a curious move, this book was re-issued in 1983 without correction.)

Other books influenced by the FBI report, however, were not as open-minded. *The Dangerous Assassins* by Jack Pearl, published January 1964, included an account of the Kennedy assassination that was even more biased and less accurate than the account of the shooting in Robert Donovan's rush re-released *The Assassins*. On the inside page, Pearl identified Oswald as Kennedy's assassin--no "accused," no "alleged," not even a "presumed." Now that might be acceptable if it reported the evidence against Oswald with something approaching accuracy. But it did not. Instead, Pearl added so many details into his narrative that were at odds with what was already known or would soon be known, that his assertion of Oswald's guilt carried little real weight. For example, not only did he claim Oswald was an "*expert marksman*" whose shooting ability placed him "*head and shoulders above his fellow Marines,*" that Oswald bought a car and drove to Mexico City while seeking passage to Cuba, and that Oswald test-fired his rifle "*innumerable times at a rifle range on the outskirts of town,*" all of which were later proved to be untrue, Pearl claimed that:

1. Oswald was stopped at the entrance to his work on the morning of the shooting by a "*special patrolman*" who asked him about the long package he was carrying. (This is a fabrication.)
2. Oswald was only allowed access to the building after he claimed this package held venetian blinds, and his claim was confirmed by another employee. (While Oswald was purported to have told his ride to work, Buell Frazier, that the package held window blinds, he was not questioned about this at work.)
3. Oswald locked an elevator on the sixth floor before the shooting to hasten his escape after the shooting. (There's no evidence for this. The elevators were on the fifth floor at the time of the shooting, after being ridden to that location by Bonnie Ray Williams from the sixth floor, and James Jarman and Harold Norman, from the first floor.)
4. Oswald calmly ate fried chicken while waiting for Kennedy's arrival. (The chicken found on the sixth floor was Bonnie Ray Williams' lunch.)
5. Nellie Connally was looking at President Kennedy when the first shot was fired. (This was not

- true. She said she looked at him after hearing the first shot.)
6. The second shot was aimed at Governor Connally. (Pure speculation.)
 7. The third and fatal shot struck Kennedy on the back of his head and *"blew a considerable hole in his forehead when it emerged."* (While shattered beneath the scalp, his forehead was intact.)
 8. After the shooting, Mrs. Kennedy climbed out onto the back of the limousine *to help agent Clint Hill climb aboard.* (She was in a panic, and didn't know what she was doing. Hill thought she was reaching for a piece of the President's head.)
 9. While trying to evade capture, Oswald shot Dallas Police Officer J.D. Tippit *three* times. (The Warren Commission concluded he'd been shot at five times, and hit four times.)
 10. After shooting Officer Tippit, Oswald *bought a ticket* and went into a movie theater. (Oswald purportedly aroused suspicion when he failed to buy a ticket, and sneaked into the theater.)
 11. When confronted in the theater, Oswald pulled his revolver and fired at a police officer, only to find that the shell in his revolver *was a dud.* (The bullet was not a dud. The bullet did not fire because the hammer was blocked by the finger of one of the officers.)
 12. The Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found in the depository *was identified as Oswald's rifle by his wife, Marina.* (She never ID'ed the rifle. She thought it looked similar, but knew nothing of rifles and could not say for sure if it was even the same type of rifle.)
 13. Tests performed on this rifle proved that the *three* slugs removed from President Kennedy and Governor Connally were all fired from this rifle. (One intact bullet was found on a hospital stretcher. One partial bullet was found in the limousine. These two bullets were traced back to the rifle. The third bullet was, at least officially, never located.)
 14. Tests performed on Oswald showed that he'd recently fired a rifle. (Totally false. While this was the story put out by the Dallas Police and the FBI, the tests suggested the opposite.)

None of these statements, as we've seen, were supported by the evidence. Some of them appear to have been pulled out of thin air.

But the most widely circulated magazines were not to be outdone when it came to Oswald-bashing. The 1-25-64 TV Guide on America's coffee tables included a long article recounting the first few days after the assassination, and the role television played in bringing America the news. This largely self-congratulatory article displayed an amazing bias, however, that was far more damaging to the cause of justice than barely read and boldly inaccurate books like Pearl's. While not stating that Oswald was the assassin and a psychopath, a la the New York Times and Newsweek, the article described him in such a way that his guilt was more than clear. It described Oswald's first trip before the press as follows: *"Oswald entered, an animal-like figure looking puffy-eyed and morose, flanked by beefy, stone-jawed police, and wearing the T shirt about which he was later to complain because no one had offered him a clean one."* Its description of a later press conference was even worse: *"Oswald looked a little weasel-like...As the police led him out, a reporter slipped up close to him, and said, 'Oswald, what did you do to your eye?'" "A policeman hit me," whined Oswald for 180,000,000 to hear."*

Other writers and publications went to even greater lengths to drill into the public's brain the non-established fact that Oswald acted alone, and that no further investigation need be conducted. Victor Lasky, whose all-out attack on Kennedy, JFK: the Man and the Myth, was scheduled to hit the bookstores within days of the assassination, wrote one especially noteworthy column. In this column, published **February 11, 1964**, Lasky repeatedly quoted the prominent leftist Dwight MacDonald's statement that *"Oswald is our baby, not theirs."* As if MacDonald was in any position to know... Lasky then proceeded to criticize *"certain know-it-alls who cannot bring themselves to believe that someone of the 'progressive' faith might have brutally murdered Kennedy on the streets of Dallas."* He then noted

that pro-Castro forces were arguing that Oswald had been set up by the right to appear to be a leftist, but insisted *"Of course, this argument presupposes that the FBI and the Secret Service are involved in a monstrous plot to cover up for the real assassins."* Of course, the suggestion that Oswald had been set up did no such thing and Lasky was merely pretending it did to create the illusion that questioning the accuracy and completeness of the FBI and Secret Service investigations (whose conclusions were supposedly still-secret) made one un-American. Lasky next mentioned that the Warren Commission has decided to investigate the activities of the Minutemen, *"a so-called right wing group recently accused of having threatened the lives of 20 congressmen."* He then exclaimed: *"But the FBI Report on Oswald, now in the hands of the Warren Commission, in effect fully exonerates the so-called right wing from any involvement in the President's assassination."* Lasky thereby created the illusion that investigating the Minutemen was both a waste of time and a personal insult to J. Edgar Hoover, and used material leaked by Hoover to do so.

Whether or not Lasky's column was a de facto message from Hoover or simply a warning from a prominent conservative to the Commission that they would arouse much ire if they expended any effort investigating a possible right-wing conspiracy, the Warren Commission appears to have received the message: no extensive investigation of the Minutemen or other right-wing organizations was ever conducted on their behalf. Ironically, while assuring his readers that Oswald acted alone, Lasky also revealed just how little he personally knew about the case. His column was entitled *"Left Wing Claims Harvey Oswald's Ghost as Own..."* Harvey was of course Oswald's middle name, not his first name and not part of his last name.

The next day, **February 12, 1964**, the cinema classic *Seven Days in May* was released to the public. The film, a cautionary tale directed by John Frankenheimer, depicted an attempted military coup within the United States. The film's creation was encouraged by President Kennedy, who'd told a number of his friends that he thought such a coup was a real possibility should the president lose the support of the Pentagon. The initial response to the film reflects that elements of the media and government, even months after the assassination, still believed that their primary responsibility was to assure a worried public that everything was OK. As reported in David Talbot's *Brothers*, the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner publicly questioned whether the film should even have been made, as *"The world is on too short a fuse,"* and the film could damage *"the American image abroad."* Across town, the Examiner's larger rival the L.A. Times shared this concern but instead took the time to assure its readers that nothing like this could happen in America. Meanwhile, congressmen called for the film to be clearly labeled fiction before it could be shown overseas.

The film certainly had an impact. A **2-14** memo from Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley to his boss James Rowley discussed proposed legislation making the investigation of a presidential assassination a federal offense, and the sole jurisdiction of the FBI. This, in Kelley's mind, would be a bad thing, and could lead to a *"Seven Days in May situation"* in which a *"venal Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation could in the future bring about or allow the assassination of the President who he either felt was a poor President or a President unacceptable to him..."* Kelley then proceeded to point out that the FBI has an appropriation for protection of the President, normally the responsibility of the Secret Service, *"in case of an emergency"* and that the Secret Service should similarly retain the capacity to investigate assassinations. (As Kelley had just conducted the Secret Service's investigation of the assassination, it can probably be assumed from this that he was not particularly impressed with the FBI's investigation, and that he had doubts about Director Hoover's determination to get to the bottom of the matter.)

Meanwhile, across the country, Americans picked up the **February 15, 1964** edition of *The Saturday*

Evening Post. Inside was an article by the CIA-friendly columnist Stewart Alsop, not surprisingly defending the CIA against some recent charges that it was out of control and was conducting its own foreign policy. No doubt concerned about the effect these charges might have on the public, particularly when combined with the almost simultaneous release of *Seven Days* in May in the theaters, Alsop tried to cut off any speculation of CIA involvement in the assassination of President Kennedy. He actually went further than that, and made out that anyone questioning their involvement was a communist dupe. He complained about the recent treatment of the CIA in general, and then reported *"a few highly respectable journals have even half-echoed The Communist Worker's charge that Lee Harvey Oswald, murderer of President Kennedy, went to the Soviet Union in 1959 as a CIA hireling."* Alsop then shared even more certain knowledge that he could not possibly know, assuring his readers: *"Lee Harvey Oswald never at any time had any connection whatever with CIA, although suspicions on that score are perhaps natural in view of the mystery surrounding Oswald's travels and his sources of income. The highest officials in the CIA are ready to so testify--and indignantly--before the Warren Commission investigating the murder. 'If anybody in the CIA had hired so obvious a psychotic,' says one of the greatest experts in the intelligence business, 'he should have been fired on the spot.'"*

One might rightly wonder if Alsop's "expert" wasn't Allen Dulles himself, seeking to cut off the questions he knew would not be answered by the Warren Commission. One might also wonder why the *"highest officials in the CIA"* would be so *"indignant"* about being asked such a reasonable question, by men who fully understood that they would lie with impunity.

Two days later, on **February 17, 1964**, probably at the prodding of the same CIA employees who'd probably prodded Alsop (this might have been Allen Dulles--let's be realistic), Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut made a long speech defending the CIA. Dodd repeatedly, and cynically, quoted President Kennedy in support of the CIA. He concluded *"I think it can be stated as a certainty that many countries that remain free today would not be free if it had not been for the CIA."* The possibility that the CIA was involved in killing Kennedy was not among the litany of criticisms dismissed by Senator Dodd. Apparently, such talk was not to be acknowledged within the hallowed halls of the U.S. Senate.

Within a few days, in its **February 21, 1964** issue, Life Magazine published yet another article on Oswald, and once again convicted him in the public eye. The cover featured a photo of Oswald holding a rifle, with a pistol on his hip. The caption read *"Lee Oswald with the weapons he used to kill President Kennedy and Officer Tippit."* The cover story was entitled *"The Evolution of an Assassin."* This echoed a 12-20 Life article written with the help of the FBI's report. That article had been entitled *"The Assassin: a Cold, Lone Man Who Resented All Authority."* Real subtle.

The media's investigation of Kennedy's assassination, if you could call it that, was by now pretty much over. They'd relied upon the FBI, and the FBI had misled them, for political purposes.

A **2-24-64** FBI memo from F.J. Baumgartner to Deputy Director William Sullivan supports this point. It reports that Oswald's mother, Marguerite Oswald, and Mark Lane, a lawyer trying to present a public defense of Oswald, spoke at a public meeting in New York, sponsored by The National Guardian, a left-wing newspaper. It reports that *"At this meeting it was implied that Oswald was not responsible for the assassination and the handling of the investigation by the Government was criticized."* It then notes that a *"reliable source"*--clearly an undercover operative attending the meeting--spotted Alger Hiss, a one-time member of the State Department, accused of being a communist spy, and convicted of perjury relating to his involvement in the communist party--in attendance. Baumgartner then proposed that this be leaked to the press in order to discredit Lane and--by extension--those daring to imply that Oswald's guilt remained open to question. He even wrote the article he proposed and suggested it *"be placed*

with a cooperative news media source at the Seat of Government."

Although, as far as can be determined, this article never saw print, it seems clear that many sharing its bias, prevailed.



Oswald had been convicted as the sole assassin by President Lyndon B. Johnson, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the New York Times, Newsweek, T.V. Guide, and Life Magazine. The only witnesses called by the Commission up to this date had been members of his own family.

If there had been conspirators still at large, they were now specks off in the distance.


Chapter 2: An Investigation Through the Eyes of an All-seeing FBI

A look at what apparently wasn't seen

The Investigation That Never Was



Above: the photograph of James Altgens, reportedly taken just after the first shot. Notice the position of motorcycle officer James Chaney, only a few feet to the right of the limousine. Shortly after the shots, he told an interviewer one shot was fired after Kennedy had already been hit in the head. The FBI neglected to interview him before concluding that Kennedy was, in fact, hit in the head by the last shot. Chaney was not alone, however. The FBI came to this conclusion before interviewing any of the closest witnesses in this photo, save Mary Woodward and her three friends, by the lamp post, who agreed that Kennedy's head jerked with the second shot. At right: the head shot as seen in the Muchmore film. Of the seven bystanders three were never identified. The other four ALL said they heard at least one shot fired after the head shot. Top, right: Dealey Plaza today. X marks the spot of the fatal head shot.



For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

The Investigation That Never Was

Since the Warren Commission investigation was so closely framed around the FBI's initial investigation, it's important that we look at the FBI's investigation in more detail, to see if the conclusions of Oswald's sole guilt contained in the FBI's report of December 9, 1963 had any basis in reality. Since the foundation of most murder investigations is the statements of eyewitnesses, we shall put ourselves in the shoes of an imaginary team of FBI agents given access to the earliest statements of the eyewitnesses and ordered to solve the case. For the sake of sanity, we will look at the witnesses in

chronological order, with married couples grouped together, and with their pre-12-9 statements all in one batch. While we will eventually discuss the origin of the shots as interpreted by the witnesses, at this point we shall focus primarily on their placement of the head shot in the shooting sequence. (The citations printed before the statements refer to the volume and page where you can find the complete statements of these witnesses in the 26 volumes of the Warren Report. References to CD are references to Commission Documents, documents not released with the Warren Report, but now available on The Mary Ferrell Foundation website.) (**Note:** while quite extensive, this chronology is by no means complete.)

Let's start our examination by watching a little television. **James Altgens**. (11-22-63 WFAA announcement that the President had been shot) "*An Associated Press photographer, James Altgens... reports he saw blood on the President's head. The AP man said he heard two shots but that he thought someone was shooting fireworks until he saw blood on the President.*" (11-22-63 AP dispatch, as reprinted in Cover-Up) "*At first I thought the shots came from the opposite side of the street. I ran over there to see if I could get some pictures...I did not know until later where the shots came from.*" **Heard two shots.** (Despite his being one of the closest witnesses to the assassination, Altgens was not interviewed by the FBI prior to the distribution of its December 9 Summary Report.)

A short while later, a young man and his wife, the closest bystanders by the President at the moment of the fatal head shot, come on TV and describe what they'd witnessed. **William Newman** (11-22-63 interview on WFAA) "*We were...we just come from Love Field after seeing the ...President and First Lady, and we were just in front of the triple underpass on Elm Street and we were at the edge of the curb, getting ready to wave at the President when we heard the first shot and the President...I don't know who was hit first but the President jumped up in his seat, and I thought it scared him, I thought it was a firecracker, cause he looked....you know, fear.*" (11-22-63 second interview on WFAA) "*The president's car was some fifty feet in front of us coming toward us when we heard the first shot and the President—I don't know who was hit first—but the President jumped up in his seat...And then as the car got directly in front of us well a gunshot apparently from behind us hit the President in the side of the temple.*" (11-22-63 third interview on WFAA) "*We heard...uh...a blast...and the President looked like that he right jumped up in his seat.....and then he.....we seen him.....uh.....get shot in the side of the head and he fell back in the seat and Governor Connally was holding his stomach.*" (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 24H219) "*We were standing at the edge of the curb looking at the car as it was coming toward us and all of a sudden there was a noise, apparently gunshot. The President jumped up in his seat, and it looked like what I thought was firecracker had went off and I thought he had realized it. It was just like an explosion and he was standing up. By this time he was directly in front of us and I was looking directly at him when he was hit in the side of the head.*" (11-24-63 FBI report, 22H842) "*when the President's car was approximately 50 feet from him proceeding in a westerly direction on Elm Street, he heard the first shots fired...the shots were fired in rapid succession which he thought at the time was a firecracker. The car was proceeding toward him and it seemed that the President's arms went up and that he raised up in his seat and started to look around. The car proceeded to a point about even with him and he could see Governor John Connally was holding his stomach. About that time another shot was fired which he estimated was ten seconds after the first shot was fired. At that time he heard the bullet strike the president and saw flesh fly from the President's head... Newman first thought the President and Governor were playing some kind of a game.*" **Only heard two bursts of gunfire.**

Frances Gayle Newman: (11-22-63 interview on WFAA) "I thought it was a firecracker and I saw the blood and I.....I had the baby and II just ran and we....I got on top of him and laid on the grass. I....I was....it scared me. It was terrible." (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 24H218) "When President Kennedy's car was about ten feet from us, I heard a noise that sounded like a

firecracker going off. President Kennedy kind of jumped like he was startled and then covered his head with his hands and then raised up. After I heard the first shot, another shot sounded and Governor Connally kind of grabbed his chest and lay back on the seat of the car. When I first saw and heard all this, I thought it was all of a joke...Just about the time President Kennedy was in front of us, I heard another shot ring out and the President put his hands up to his head, I saw blood all over the side of his head.” (11-24-63 FBI report, 22H842) “She estimated that when the limousine bearing the President was about 50 feet from them she heard 2 reports and the President seemed to rise up in his seat. A few seconds later she heard another shot and saw that the President had been hit in the head because she saw blood flowing from his body...She believed there were first two shots in succession, a pause, then another shot was fired which struck the President... After the shots were fired, she and her husband each grabbed a child and lay down on the grass fearing they might be hit by gunfire.” **Final shot head shot.**

There's two more witnesses on the radio. They will later appear on our all-seeing television. These women were standing on Elm Street directly across from the Newmans. **Jean Hill** (11-22-63 WBAP interview) “the shots came directly across the street from us, and just as the President’s car became directly even with us...he and Jackie were looking at a dog that was in the middle of the seat, and about that time two shots rang out just as he looked up—just as the President looked up and these two shots rang out and he grabbed his chest, looked like he was in pain, and fell over in his seat. And Jackie fell over on him and said “My God, he’s been shot!” After that more shots rang out and the car sped away...the shots came from the hill...it was just east of the underpass.” (11-22-63 WBAP interview, quoted in Pictures of the Pain) “Mary started to take the picture and the President came right even with us, two shot, we looked at him and he was looking at a dog in the middle of the seat—two shots rang out...And there was an interval and then three or four more shots...” (11-22-63 and he grabbed his chest and this real odd look came over his face and he pitched forward onto her lap...the motorcade momentarily halted and three or four more shots rang out and they sped away real quickly.” (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H479, 24H212) “The President’s car came around the corner and it was over on our side of the street. Just as Mary Moorman started to take a picture we were looking at the President and Jackie in the back seat... looking at a little dog between them...Just as the President looked up toward us two shots rang out and I saw the President grab his chest and fall forward across Jackie’s lap and she fell across his back and said “My God, he has been shot”. There was an instant pause between the first two shots and the motorcade seemingly halted for a second and three or four more shots rang out and the motorcade sped away.” **Mary Moorman** (11-22-63 WFAA interview, quoted in Pictures of the Pain) “My picture when I took it was at the same instant that the President was hit, and that does show in my picture...it shows the President, uh, he slumped...It all happened so suddenly, I don’t think anyone realized, you know, what had happened.” (About the shots) “There was three or four real close together, and it must have been the first one that shot him, ‘cause that was the time I took the picture, and during that time after I took the picture, and the shots were still being fired, I decided I better get on the ground.” (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H487, 24H217) “As President Kennedy was opposite me, I took a picture of him. As I snapped the picture of President Kennedy, I heard a shot ring out. President Kennedy kind of slumped over. Then I heard another shot ring out and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and said “My God, he has been shot!” When I heard these shots ring out, I fell to the ground to keep from being hit myself. I heard three or four shots in all.” (11-23-63 FBI, report, 22H838) “She took a second photograph of the President as his automobile passed her, and just as she snapped the picture, she heard what she first thought was a firecracker and very shortly thereafter heard another similar sound which she later determined to have been gunfire. She knows that she heard two shots and possibly a third shot.” (When we look at Moorman’s second photograph in the paper on Sunday, and compare it to her position in the various films at our disposal, we realize that the shot in sync with her photo, and the first shot heard by both

herself and Ms. Hill, was in fact the head shot.) **Shot or shots after the head shot x 2.** WFAA interview, quoted in Pictures of the Pain) “just as the car came right in line with us, the President looked up and just as he looked up two shots rang out

Only now does WFAA begin to talk of the Texas School Book Depository: “*Secret Service man and policeman killed at different parts of the city from the Presidential assassination. The Texas School Book Depository has been evacuated. Man reported arrested in Oak Cliff.*” (CD 962, p. 41) Minutes later WFAA begins broadcasting from in front of the building “*Witnesses say they saw man with rifle in window. Shells found.*”

We switch channels to CBS, and see Walter Cronkite inform the nation “*The assassin took dead aim. He got the President, apparently, with the first shot in the head, and then Governor Connally with the next two shots.*” We wonder where he got this information. How does he know there was but one shooter? How does he know which shot struck first? We switch back to WFAA.

In between the various recaps and updates, there is another news bulletin: “*Secret Service believes that an automatic weapon was fired from the top of the knoll.*” (CD 962, p.37) After a second round of interviews with the Newmans, the President’s death is announced. There is a third round of interviews with the Newmans (CD 962, p.60) before Kennedy’s death is confirmed by Washington.

Other witnesses appear upon our screen. One man claims he filmed the whole thing. **Abraham Zapruder (11-22-63** interview on WFAA) “*as I was shooting, as the President was coming down from Houston Street making his turn, it was about a half-way down there, I heard a shot, and he slumped to the side, like this. Then I heard another shot or two, I couldn't say it was one or two, and I saw his head practically open up, all blood and everything, and I kept on shooting.*” (12-4-63 FBI report, CD7 p.12) “*He stated he had started taking pictures prior to the first shot being fired...Zapruder advised he could not recall but having heard only two shots.*” **Unsure. Possible shot after the head shot.** (Marilyn Sitzman, Zapruder’s secretary, was standing beside him. She was never questioned by the FBI or Warren Commission.) Within a few hours of this interview Abraham Zapruder gives 2 copies of his film to the Secret Service. Within an hour after that the Secret Service gives one of them to the FBI to study. This film is flown back to Washington and copied the next day.

Charles Brehm (11-22-63 WFAA television interview as shown in Rush to Judgment) “*Unfortunately I was probably 15-20 feet away from the President when it happened...He was coming down the Street. I asked Joe to wave to him and Joe waved and I waved to him...as he was waving back, the shot rang out and he slumped in his seat and his wife reached up toward him as he was slumping down and the second shot went off and it just knocked him down in the seat. I’m positive that it hit him.*” (11-22-63 radio interview (KLIF?)) “*the first shot rang out and I was positive when I saw the look on his face and saw him grab his chest and saw the reaction of his wife that he had been shot and just at that time, which was probably a few seconds later the second shot rang out and he just absolutely went down into the seat of the car. There was a third shot that went and by that time I had grabbed my little five year old boy who was with me and ran away from the scene of the thing...the first one hit the president—there was no doubt whatsoever, because his face winced and he grabbed himself and he slumped down. I do believe without any doubt that the second one hit him because he had an immediate reaction with that second shot. I do know there was third shot but as I said by that time I’d grabbed my boy and started to go. I did not witness Governor Connally’s being hit.*” (11-25-63 FBI report, 22H837-838) “*He and his son stood right at the curb on the grass and saw the President’s car take a wide swing as it turned left into Elm Street. When the President’s automobile was very close to him and he could see the President’s face very well, the President was seated, but was leaning forward when he stiffened perceptibly, at the same instant what appeared to be a rifle shot sounded. According to Brehm, the President seemed to stiffen and come to a pause when another shot sounded and the President appeared to be badly hit in the head. Brehm said when the President was hit by the second shot, he*

could notice the President's hair fly up...Brehm said that a third shot followed and that all three shots were relatively close together...Immediately after the third shot rang out, Brehm pushed his son down."
Shot after the head shot.

Some witnesses remembered hearing two loud noises fired close together but failed to discern which one struck Kennedy in the head. **Charles Hester (11-22-63** statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H478) "My wife Beatrice and I were sitting on the grass on the slope on Elm Street where the park is located. When the President Kennedy's car got almost to the underpass, I heard two shots ring out...I grabbed my wife because I didn't know where the next shot was coming from and dragged her up next to the concrete embankment and got on the ground with her." (**11-25-63** "Hester and his wife, Beatrice, were standing along the street at the point immediately preceding the underpass on Elm Street where President John F Kennedy was shot. Hester stated he saw the President slump in the seat of the car and that he heard two shots fired from what appeared to be a building located on the corner of Elm and Houston Street. He stated he and his wife were almost in a direct line of fire and that he immediately grabbed his wife and shoved her to the ground. **Double head shot.** (From hereon we will use the term 'Double head shot' to indicate that the witness has described two closely-grouped shots at the end of the shooting sequence.) **Mrs. Charles Hester (11-25-63** FBI report, 24H523) "Mrs. Hester advised she heard two loud noises which sounded like gunshots, and she saw President Kennedy slump in the car he was riding in. Her husband then grabbed her and shoved her to the ground. Shortly thereafter they then went across to the north side of the street on an embankment in an attempt to gain shelter." **Double head shot.** FBI report, 22H841)

There were also several witnesses on the railroad bridge. **S.M. Holland (11-22-63** statement to Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H480, 24H212) "the President's car was coming down Elm Street and when they got just about to the Arcade I heard what I thought for the moment was a fire cracker and he slumped over and I looked over toward the arcade and trees and saw a puff of smoke come over from the trees and I heard three more shots after the first one but that was the only puff of smoke I saw... After the first shot the President slumped over and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and tried to get over in the back seat to him and then the second shot rang out. After the first shot the secret service man raised up in the seat with a machine gun and then dropped back down in the seat. And they immediately sped off." (The Zapruder film demonstrates that Mrs. Kennedy never jumped up until after her husband had received the fateful bullet to his head. And yet Holland claims he heard shots after he saw her "jump up.") **Shot or shots after the head shot.** **Austin Miller (11-22-63** statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H485, 24H217) "I saw a Convertible automobile turn west on Elm off Houston Street. It had proceeded about halfway from Houston Street to the underpass when I heard what sounded like a shot a short second two more sharp reports. A man in the back seat slumped over and a woman in a bright colored dress (Orange or Yellow) grabbed the man and yelled. One shot apparently hit the street past the car. I saw something which I thought was smoke or steam coming from a group of trees north of Elm off the railroad tracks." **Double head shot.**

Royce Skelton (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 16H496) "We saw the motorcade come around the corner and I heard something which I thought was fireworks. I saw something hit the pavement at the left rear of the car, then the car got in the right hand lane and I heard two more shots. I heard a woman say "Oh, no" or something and grab a man inside the car. I then heard another shot and saw the bullet hit the pavement. The concrete was knocked to the south away from the car. It hit the pavement in the left or middle lane." (Our examination of the Zapruder film shows us that Mrs. Kennedy didn't yell out until after the head shot.) **Shot or shots after the head shot.**

By now, we're beginning to feel confident that the last two shots rang out in rapid succession and that a shot followed the head shot. Since the rifle found on the sixth floor is a bolt action rifle and incapable

of firing shots so rapidly we should be looking for a second shooter. Of course, if we can find concrete evidence that the 3 shots heard by most witnesses were all fired from the sniper's nest, we might save ourselves some trouble. No such luck.

Howard Brennan (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H470) "I saw a man in this window...He was a white man in his early 30's, slender, nice looking, and would weigh about 165 to 170 pounds. He had on light colored clothing but definitely not a suit. I proceeded to watch the President's car as it turned left at the corner where I was and about 50 yards from the intersection of Elm and Houston and to a point where I would say the President's back was in line with the last window I have previously described. I heard what I thought was a back fire. It ran in my mind that it might be someone throwing firecrackers out the window of the building and I looked up at the building. I then saw this man I have described in the window and he was taking aim with a high powered rifle. I could see all of the barrel of the gun. I do not know if it had a scope on it or not. I was looking at this man in the window at the time of the last explosion." (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p. 12-14) "He said the automobile had passed down Elm Street (going in a westerly direction) 30 yards from where he (Brennan) was seated, when he heard a loud report which he first thought to be the "backfire" of an automobile. He said he does not distinctly remember a second shot but he remembers "more than one noise" as if someone was shooting fire crackers, and consequently he believes there must have been a second shot before he looked in the direction of the Texas School Book Depository Building." As Brennan only remembers hearing two shots, and as the vast majority of witnesses so far have stated there were two shots fired closely together at the end of the shooting sequence, his statements suggest that he failed to hear one of the final shots. We need more proof.

Fortunately, sitting close to Brennan was another witness to the firing of the rifle. If he heard and saw three shots fired from the sniper's nest, maybe we can save ourselves a lot of legwork. **Amos Euins** (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 16H963, 19H474) "I saw the President turn the corner in front of me and I waived at him and he waived back. I watched the car on down the street and about the time the car got near the black and white sign I heard a shot. I started looking around and then I looked up in the red brick building. I saw a man in the window with a gun and I saw him shoot twice...I could tell the gun was a rifle and it sounded like an automatic rifle the way he was shooting. This was a white man, he did not have on a hat. I just saw this man for a few seconds." One line from Euins' statement sticks out—"it sounded like an automatic rifle the way he was shooting." This confirms the statements of the bulk of the eyewitnesses and Sheriff's Deputies--that the third shot was fired immediately following the second shot. It also suggests that Euins saw the sniper in the window fire the last two shots without operating the bolt of the rifle in between, which is impossible. Could it be that one of the last two shots heard by Euins came from somewhere else? (

We then read the statements of two witnesses from the school book depository. One of these men was sitting in the window right below the sniper's nest, where three shells had reportedly been found. If he heard three shots fired from the window above him, then perhaps we can assume the man firing from this window acted alone, and simply fired the last shot as rapidly as possible, missing wildly. **Bonnie Ray Williams** (11-22-63 affidavit to Dallas County, 24H229) "Just after we got on the fifth floor we saw the President coming around the corner on Houston from Main Street. I heard 2 shots it sounded like they come from just above us. We ran to the west side of the building." (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p. 330-333) "Then he joined two other men known to him as Hank and Junior. They were looking out windows on the south side of the building approximately at the middle of the building and saw the car of President John Kennedy come north on Houston Street and then make a turn going west on Elm Street down into the triple underpass directly in front of the Texas School Book Depository. While they were watching this car pass, Williams heard two shots which sounded like they came from right over his head...He stated he and the other two men ran to the west end of the building where they looked out

and they did not realize the President had been shot.” **Jack Dougherty** (11-22-63 Affidavit to Dallas County Sheriff’s Department, CD81, p. 330) “I had already gone back to work and I gone down on the fifth to get some stock when I heard a shot. It sounded like it was coming from inside the building but I couldn’t tell from where. I went down on the first floor and asked a man named Eddie Piper if he had heard anything and he said yes, that he had heard three shots.” (11-23-63 statement to the FBI, CD5 p.366-367) “I was working on the fifth floor of the building at 411 Elm Street...when I heard a loud explosion which sounded like a rifle shot coming from the next floor above me.”

Yikes! Williams heard but two shots, and Dougherty, who had just gotten off an elevator coming down from the sixth floor, but one. We now have strong reason to suspect one of the last two shots was fired from someplace other than the school book depository.

The next morning, there is an eyewitness account of the assassination in the paper. **Mary Woodward** (11-23-63 newspaper article in the Dallas Morning News) "suddenly there was a horrible, ear-splitting noise coming from behind us and a little to the right. My first reaction, and also my friends', was that as a joke someone had backfired their car. Apparently, the driver and occupants of the President's car had the same impression, because instead of speeding up, the car came almost to a halt. ... I don't believe anyone was hit with the first bullet. The President and Mrs. Kennedy turned and looked around, as if they, too, didn't believe the noise was really coming from a gun.. Then after a moment's pause, there was another shot and I saw the President start slumping in the car. This was followed rapidly by another shot. Mrs. Kennedy stood up in the car, turned halfway around, then fell on top of her husband’s body....The cars behind stopped and *several* men--Secret Service men,--I suppose-- got out and started rushing forward, obstructing our view of the car.... About ten feet from where we were standing, a man and a woman had thrown their small child to the ground and covered his body with theirs. Apparently the bullets had whizzed directly over their heads.” (12-7-63 FBI report, 24H520) “She stated she was watching President and Mrs. Kennedy closely, and all of her group cheered loudly as they went by. Just as President and Mrs. Kennedy went by, they turned and waved at them. Just a second or two later, she heard a loud noise. At this point, it appeared to her that President and Mrs. Kennedy probably were about one hundred feet from her. There seemed to be a pause of a few seconds, and then there were two more loud noises which she suddenly realized were shots, and she saw President Kennedy fall over and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and started crawling over the back of the car. She stated that her first reaction was that the shots had been fired from above her head and from possibly behind her.” (As Woodward heard two shots fired close together at the end of the shooting sequence, and associated the first of these two with a Kennedy "slumping in the car", it follows that this reaction was his getting hit by the head shot, and that a third shot followed.) **Shot after the head shot.** **Aurelia Alonzo, Margaret Brown, and Ann Donaldson.** (12-7-63 FBI report, CD7 p.19) “Ann Donaldson...Margaret Brown...and Miss Aurelio Alonzo...were interviewed December 6, 1963...All furnished the same information as that previously furnished by Mary Elizabeth Woodward.” (Our inspection of the Zapruder film shows that Kennedy waved to these women just before he was first hit. This means he was hit by the first shot described by Miss Woodward and that the slump she described in connection with the second shot is in fact the slump after the head shot.) **Shot after the head shot**
x3.

We read an interesting article on the school book depository employee now charged with the crime. This 11-23-63 New York Times article reports that “*Lee Harvey Oswald was not highly regarded as a marksman,*” and that he’d scored 212 out of 250 when he’d first joined the Marines but had let his skills deteriorate so badly after three years that he barely qualified as a Marksman, scoring a poor-by-Marine-standards 191 out of 250 on his last test four years ago. We then receive the statement of another eyewitness to the firing of the rifle. If he says he saw three shots fired from the sniper’s nest, then maybe we can still say Oswald acted alone.

No such luck. **James Worrell** (11-23-63 affidavit to Dallas County, 16H959) *"I was standing on the sidewalk against a building on the corner of Elm and Houston Streets watching the motorcade of the President. I heard loud noise like a fire cracker or gun shots. I looked around to see where the noise came from. I looked up and saw the barrel of a rifle sticking out of a window...While I was looking at the gun it was fired again. I looked back at Mr. Kennedy and he was slumping over. I got scared and ran from that location. While I was running I heard the gun fire two more times. I ran from Elm Street to Pacific Street on Houston. When I was about 100 yards from the building I stopped to get my breath and looked back at the building. I saw a w/m, 5'8" to 5'10", dark hair, average weight for height, dark shirt or jacket open down front, no hat, didn't have anything in his hands, come out of the building and run in the opposite direction."*

Now this is kind of alarming. Even though the man described by Worrell wasn't Oswald, who'd calmly walked out the front of the building, there is reason to believe Worrell's story, and reason to suspect that someone other than Oswald had actually fired the shots. While a hand-taped brown paper bag large enough to have concealed Oswald's rifle was reportedly recovered from the sniper's nest, and was found to have Oswald's prints on it, there is nothing in the bag or on the bag to indicate it had ever contained a rifle. Even worse, **Buell Wesley Frazier**, a co-worker of Oswald's who'd given him a ride to work on the 22nd, has said Oswald had a much different kind of bag with him that morning. The 11-22-63 Statement signed by Frazier reads: *"Before I got in the car, I glanced in the back seat, and saw a big sack. It must have been about 2' long, and the top of the sack was sort of folded up, and the rest of the sack had been kind of folded under. I asked Lee what was in the sack, and he said 'curtain rods', and I remembered that he had told me the day before that he was going to bring some curtain rods."* Frazier's statement later returns to this package: *"I got out of the car and started walking toward the building where I work. I noticed that Lee had the package in his right hand under his arm, and the package was straight up and down, and he had his arm down, and you could not see much of the package."* (11-22-63 Statement to Dallas County, 24H209). The FBI writes its own report on Frazier. It reads: *"As he got into the vehicle, he glanced at the rear seat behind Oswald, at which time he saw what appeared to him to be bulky brown paper sack sitting on the back seat which he described as the kind of sacks that one obtains in a 5 and 10 cent store. After glancing at the sack, he inquired of Oswald as to what was in the sack, to which Oswald replied 'curtain rods.'"* Frazier got a second look at the bag when they got out of the car. This description was even less helpful. The report continues *"Oswald got out of the front seat...and opened the rear door behind the passenger seat and obtained the brown package which was sitting on the seat...Oswald walked around the rear of the car...Oswald was carrying this package in a straight up position under his right arm and appeared to be holding the end of whatever was in the package and proceeded then to the Texas School Book Depository. Frazier stated he would estimate the length of the package under Oswald's arm at approximately two feet in length, however, he paid very little attention to the package."* (11-23-63 FBI report on an 11-22-63 interview, CD5, p316-319). The bag found in the sniper's nest was an irregular and obviously hand-made bag comprised of brown shipping paper and brown shipping tape--materials Frazier would associate with his workplace and not a 5 and 10 cent store. It was over 3 feet long, not 2 feet long. Frazier has, seemingly, described a different bag.

Frazier's sister, **Linnie Mae Randle**, is the only other person to see Oswald with this bag, and her description isn't any more helpful. The FBI report on her reads: *"Randle...observed Lee Harvey Oswald walking up her driveway and saw him put a long brown package, approximately 3 feet by 6 inches, in the back seat area of Wesley Frazier's 1954 black Chevrolet...while at the Dallas Police Department on the evening of November 22, 1963, officers of the Dallas Police Department had exhibited to her some brown package paper, however she had not been able to positively identify it as being identical with the above-mentioned brown package, due to the fact she had only observed the brown package from her residence window at a distance."* (11-23-63 FBI report on an 11-22-63 interview, CD5, p320-321).

Another eyewitness statement trickles-in. **Malcolm Summers (11-23-63** statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H500) "The President's car had just come up in front of me when I heard a shot and saw the President slump down in the car and heard Mrs. Kennedy say, "Oh, no," then a second shot and then I hit the ground as I realized these were shots. Then all of the people started running up the terrace away from the President's car and I got up and started running also, not realizing what had happened." (Our subsequent inspection of the Zapruder film shows that Mrs. Kennedy yelled out after the head shot.) **Shot after the head shot.**

We also receive a report on an FBI interview with Bill Stinson, the Administrative Assistant to Governor John Connally. It tells us that "Mrs. Connally, was, of course, an eyewitness to the shooting...and that Mrs. Connally would be available for interview by the FBI on November 23, 1963, if requested." No such request is made. (Mrs. Connally is not in fact interviewed until the second week of December, after the FBI Summary Report on the assassination has been completed.)

On the next day we learn of two witnesses who couldn't let themselves believe what they'd seen, and who'd convinced themselves that the explosion of the President's head had been a firecracker going off in the car. **Jack Franzen (11-24-63** FBI report, 22H840) "He said he heard the sound of an explosion which appeared to him to come from the President's car and noticed small fragments flying inside the car and immediately assumed someone had tossed a firecracker inside the automobile. He heard a second and third and possibly a fourth explosion and recognized these sounds as shots fired from some firearm. At the same time he noticed blood appearing on the top and sides of the head of President Kennedy." **Shot or shots after the head shot. Mrs. Jack Franzen (11-25-63** FBI report, 24H525) "She advised shortly after the President's automobile passed by on Elm Street near where she and her family were standing, she heard a noise which sounded to her to as if someone had thrown a firecracker into the President's automobile. She advised at approximately the same time she noticed dust or small pieces of debris flying from the President's automobile. She advised she heard two other sounds which sounded like shots from a firearm and noticed blood appearing on the side of President Kennedy's head." **Shot or shots after the head shot.**

We also receive a statement from another witness from the floor just below the sniper's nest. **James Jarman (11-24-63** FBI report, CD5 p.334-335) "He said that he heard a shot and then saw President Kennedy move his right hand up to his head. After an elapse of three or four seconds, he heard a second shot and then the vehicle bearing President Kennedy speeded up and he was unable to observe any more about the presidential vehicle. He said a third shot was heard by him closely following the second shot possibly within a second or two afterwards. He said these shots sounded to him to be too loud to have been anywhere outside the TSBD building." (Our subsequent inspection of the Zapruder film shows that the limousine sped up after the head shot.) **Shot after the head shot..**

We receive a phone call. While in the protective custody of the Dallas Police, Lee Harvey Oswald has been murdered. Our investigation of a possible conspiracy slows to a trickle. Of the 27 witnesses to the shooting we have heard from so far, 16 have told us, in one way or another, that there was a shot fired after the head shot, 3 others have told us they heard the last two shots fired close together without saying which one struck the President, and another 3 have told us they only heard two shots but thought there may have been a third. 3 additional witnesses have told us they only heard two shots, with the last one being the head shot. This means 26 out of our 27 closest witnesses have made statements consistent with a third shot miss, leaving only 1 witness, Mrs. Gayle Newman, as a witness to a third shot hit. And she dived to the ground after the head shot.

A few days later we receive a report about a third witness from the fifth floor. **Harold Norman (11-26-63** FBI report, CD5 p.26) "He stated that about the time the car in which the president was riding turned on to Elm Street, he heard a shot. He said he thought the shot had been fired from the floor directly above him. He further stated at that time he stuck his head from the window and looked

upward toward the roof but could see nothing because small particles of dirt were falling from above him. He stated two additional shots were fired after he had pulled his head back in from the window.” (12-4-63 affidavit to the Secret Service, 17H208) “Just after the President passed by I heard a shot and several seconds later, two more shots. I knew that the shots had come from directly above me, and I could hear the expended cartridges fall to the floor. I could also hear the bolt action of the rifle...I saw all of the people down on the street run toward the west end of the building, so I went to that side with Williams and Jarman.” While we’re pleased by Norman’s and Jarman’s claims that three shots came from up above them, we’re disheartened by the way they describe the last shot. It seems awfully close to the second shot to have been fired by a bolt action rifle. Norman fails to describe a pause before this shot, or his anticipation of this shot. When he does mention it, it’s by saying he heard two additional shots. This concerns us very much. We really don’t want to tell Mr. Hoover there’s a conspirator on the loose. (

The next day we get some really startling news. The FBI’s ballistics expert, **Robert Frazier**, has conducted a series of tests on the rifle found on the sixth floor, the presumed murder weapon. He has discovered that the fastest the weapon can accurately be fired at a moving target is once every 2.8 seconds. (In the FBI Report of December 10, CD7, p.333-335, an FBI lab report under date of 12-2 states that “It has been determined by actual firing tests that a skilled person can fire three accurately aimed shots with the rifle, K1, in five seconds.” In his 3-31-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H407, however, Frazier explains that he tested the rifle on **11-27-64** and that the fastest he could fire three shots with the rifle was 4.6 seconds. He also testified that the shooting time would have been a second or so longer if he’d been firing at a moving target.) This means that one of the last two shots was probably not fired by Oswald.

That night we watch **Texas Governor John Connally** interviewed live from his hospital bed. (**11-27-63** televised interview with Martin Agronsky, transcript printed in the 11-28-63 New York Times.) ”we had just turned the corner, we heard a shot; I turned to my left—I was sitting in the jump seat. I turned to my left to look in the back seat—the President had slumped. He had said nothing. Almost simultaneously, as I turned, I was hit and I knew I had been hit badly. I knew the President had been hit and I said, “My God, they are going to kill us all.” Then there was a third shot and the President was hit again and we thought then very seriously. I had still retained consciousness but the President had slumped in Mrs. Kennedy;s lap and when he was hit the second time she said, or the first time—it all happened in such a brief span, she said “Oh, my God, they have killed my husband—Jack, Jack.” After the third shot, the next thing that occurred—I was conscious, the Secret Service man, of course, the chauffeur, had pulled out of the line, they said, “Get out of here...” **Final shot head shot.**

The 11-28 New York Times has another article of interest. At the end of an 11-27 datelined article entitled “*Oswald Unable to Keep \$50 Job,*” it relates: “*the Secret Service re-enacted today the assassination of President Kennedy, which is laid to Oswald. The purpose was 'to test whether it could be done the way we believe it was done,' an official said. The convertible drove the presidential route twice.*” The 11-28 Dallas Times Herald fills in the details: “Dallas police and the U.S. Secret Service partly re-enacted the slaying of President John F. Kennedy to determine the trajectory of the bullets which crashed into the presidential car. Traffic was blocked from Houston and Main to Houston and Elm and down Elm to the triple overpass Wednesday as a convertible similar to the presidential car made the same route as President Kennedy on the day of the assassination. On the first trip, Jim Underwood of KRLD-TV took television pictures from the window where Lee Harvey Oswald is believed to have fired the fatal shots. After the convertible passed, Lt. Carl Day of the Dallas Police Department placed traffic markers at the spots where three bullets are believed to have struck. *Lt. Day told The Times Herald that placement of the markers was determined by home movies taken by an amateur photographer on the day of the assassination.* On the second trip, the convertible paused to

take pictures of the window where Oswald is believed to have stood to fire the fatal shots. A number of people witnessed the re-enactment and one amateur cameraman sold Polaroid snapshots at the scene."

An AP article found in the Washington Evening Star on this day describes the re-enactment in a slightly different manner. It reads: *"A gray convertible, similar to the black one in which President Kennedy made his last ride, rolled past the Texas School Book Depository Building. A man and a woman sat in the back seat, just as Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy did last Friday. Two men were in the front. Looking down on this scene yesterday were investigators, and a cameraman. They perched in the same window from which the fatal shots were fired. They were re-enacting the President's assassination. This was another phase of the step-by-step investigation into the tragedy that shocked the world. The determined officers continued to sift through the evidence today. Officers attracted little attention as they slowly and methodically went through what they believed happened. Traffic was stopped about a minute as the car slowly headed down the hill in front of the building. The scene was grimly different. Instead of a jubilant crowd that stood there last Friday, there was a mournful gathering amid hundreds of flowers laid beside the spot where the assassin struck. An officer who said he did not want to be quoted by name said the re-enactment was done "merely to get the sequence of events straight."*

Later that day, we see *"Preliminary Special Dallas Report #1"* by Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley (CD87, p267). Kelley announces that *"At the foot of Elm Street, at a point approximately 200 feet east of the Houston Street Triple Underpass, on the approach to the Stemmons Freeway, President Kennedy, who was seated on the right rear seat, was shot. Immediately thereafter Governor Connally, who was seated on the right jump seat, was shot once. The President was then shot the second time."* This has us scratching our heads. Kelley's analysis seems to be in line with the scenario proposed by Life Magazine and CBS' Dan Rather. Could the closest witnesses claiming they'd heard a shot after the President was hit in the head really be mistaken?

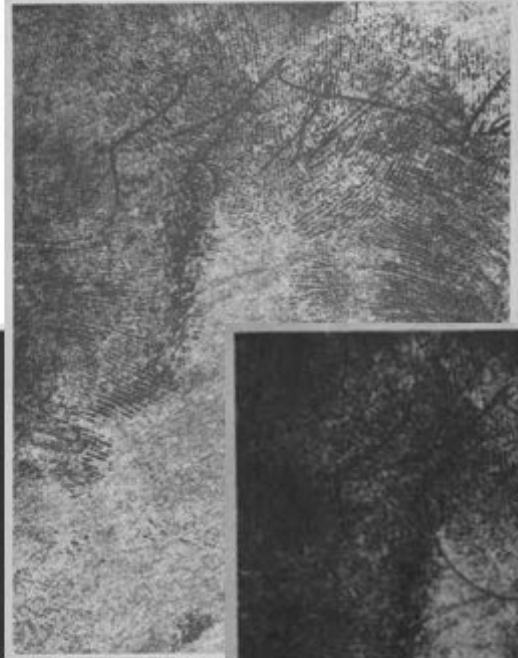
The next day, we receive the **11-29-63** memo of FBI Agent Robert Barrett (CD5, p.117), which tells us the conclusions reached from the Secret Service's re-enactment. It reads *"with the aid of a surveyor and through the use of 8 millimeter movie film... (Secret Service Agent John Joe) Howlett was able to ascertain that the distance from the window ledge of the (suspected sniper's nest) to where the President was struck the first time in the neck was approximately 170 feet. He stated this distance would be accurate within two or three feet. The distance from the same window ledge to where the President was struck in the head by the assassin's bullet was approximately 260 feet... Secret Service Agents using the 8 millimeter film had been unable to ascertain the exact location where Governor John B. Connally was struck. SA Howlett advised that it had been ascertained from the movie that President Kennedy had been struck with the first and third shots fired by the assassin, while Governor Connally was struck with the second shot."*

Well, now we're really confused. Witness after witness has grouped the last two shots together. Many of these have indicated that the last shot missed. Now we're being told that Connally was hit by the second bullet, just before the head shot. When we look at the 8mm film viewed by Howlett, the Zapruder film, however, it seems obvious that Connally was hit much closer to the first shot, when Kennedy lifted his arms, than to the last shot, when Kennedy was struck in the head. The film and the eyewitnesses seem to be in conflict.

The Fingerprints of Incompetence

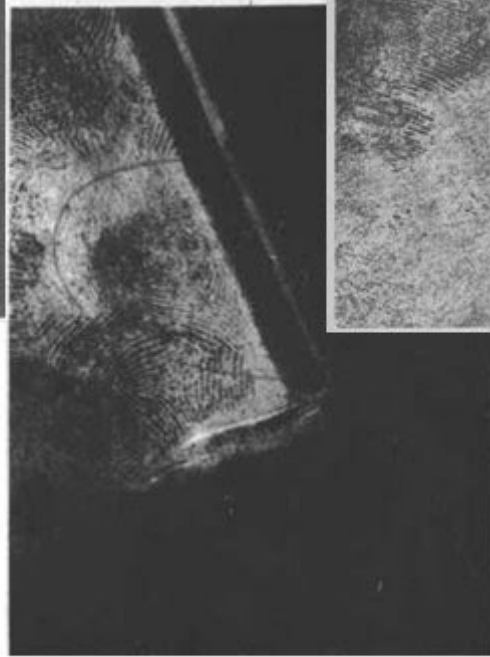


At left: Photo 27 in the FBI Summary Report of 12-9-63, "a photograph of a latent fingerprint..." on Box A.



At left: Photo 28 in the FBI Summary Report of 12-9-63, "a photograph of a latent palm print..." on Box A.

Across bottom: Warren Commission Exhibits 644 and 643, with the prints identified as Oswald's circled. The FBI would later acknowledge that there were 11 prints on Box A made by someone other than Oswald--and that they had made no effort to identify the source of these prints.



The Fingerprints of Incompetence

On **11-29**, we see a lab report that helps us relax...for a minute. A report by the FBI's Latent Fingerprint Section informs *"One latent palm print on a piece of cardboard...taken from a carton from the room in which the shots were fired was identified as the right palm print of Oswald. One latent fingerprint and one latent palm print developed on the cardboard box marked 'A' from the same room have been identified as the fingerprint and palm print of Oswald."* (FBI file 105-82555 sec 12, p 172). We find out the first box was the box supposedly used as a seat by the shooter, and that box "A" was the box supposedly used as a gun rest by the shooter. We become aware of a problem, however. The photos of the prints on box "A" show a whole mess of prints. And only two of these are Oswald's. We talk to Latent Fingerprint Section head Sebastian Latona and he admits that there are in fact 11 unidentified prints on box "A", 13 unidentified prints on boxes "B" and "C" (which were stacked below "A" by the window), and 2 unidentified prints on box "D", the presumed seat of the shooter. We wonder whose prints these are. We recall the 11-23 statements of James Worrell, who claimed he saw someone other than Oswald run out the back of the depository after the shots. Perhaps, we think, Oswald had an accomplice. We recall the bureau's guidebook, *The Science of Fingerprints*, which reads:

"Following the location of any latent prints at the scene of a crime, the prints of all persons whose presence at the place under inspection has been for legitimate purposes must be excluded from further

attention. It is advisable, therefore, during the initial stages of an investigation where latent prints are found, to secure the inked prints of all members of the household, the employees, and any police or other officials who may have touched the objects on which the latent impressions were found. Inked prints taken for this purpose are referred to as elimination prints."

We then ask Latona if he is gonna follow standard procedure and have elimination prints made of the depository employees and Dallas police, and anyone else who may have innocently handled the boxes. Silence.

On **11-29-63** we see a Secret Service report on an 11-28 interview of Linnie Mae Randle. Although the FBI's 11-23 report on an 11-22 interview with Randle reflects that she initially believed the bag Oswald took to work on the 22nd was approximately 3 feet long (long enough to have carried the rifle), this new report quotes her directly, and suggests either that the first report was inaccurate or that she'd had a talk with her brother about the length of the bag he said was about two feet long, and had decided to agree with him. The report quotes her as saying *"At about 7:10 A.M., Friday, November 22, 1963, Oswald came by my house. I glanced through the window of the kitchen-dining area and saw him walking across the street, and coming up the driveway. He was carrying a package. It was wrapped in brown paper. The package seemed to be about 2 feet or over in length. It seemed to have some weight to it from the manner in which he, Oswald, was carrying it."* (CD 87, p. 186).

What the Bodyguards Saw

On **12-1** we receive a file from the Secret Service containing the statements of the agents in the motorcade. We hope these will help us make sense of the shooting sequence. Once again, no such luck. **William Greer** was the driver of the limousine. (**11-28-63** report, 18H 723) *"A short distance ahead the street passed under a railroad or expressway. A building stood on the right side of us that would have been the last building we would have to pass before entering the underpass. The President's automobile was almost past this building and I was looking at the overpass that we were about to pass under in case someone was on top of it, when I heard what I thought was the backfire of a motorcycle behind the President's automobile. After the second shot, I glanced over my right shoulder and saw Governor Connally start to fall, I knew then that something was wrong and immediately pushed the accelerator to the floor and Mr. Kellerman said get out of here."* **Too vague.**

Roy Kellerman sat on the passenger side of the front seat. (**11-29-63** report, 18H724-727) *"As the motorcade completed the main thoroughfare through Dallas, we made a sharp right turn for about 1 block, then a curved left turn into a slight downhill grade, entering an area with little or no spectators... Immediately I heard what I firmly believe was the President's voice, 'My God, I'm hit!' I turned around to find out what happened when two additional shots rang out, and the President slumped into Mrs. Kennedy's lap and Governor Connally fell into Mrs. Connally's lap. I yelled at William Greer (the driver) to 'Step on it! We're hit!' and grabbed the mike from the car radio and called SA Lawson in the lead car."* (Our study of the Zapruder film shows us that Kellerman failed to turn back toward the President until after Governor Connally had obviously been hit. His statement that "two additional shots" rang out after this point is therefore an indication that he heard the last two shots close together, around the time of the head shot.) **Double head shot.**

The men directly behind Kennedy, who would have had the best view of him during the shooting, were the agents in his follow-up car. If there had been a pause between a second shot and the head shot long enough for Oswald to have operated his bolt-action rifle, these men, above all, would have noticed.

Sam Kinney was the driver of the Presidential back-up car. (**11-22-63** report, 18H732) *"The first shot was fired as we were going into an underpass...it appeared that he (the President) had been shot*

because he slumped to the left. Immediately, he sat up again. At this time, the second shot was fired and I observed hair flying from the right side of his head...I did hear three shots but do not recall which shots were those that hit the President. ” (11-30-63 report, 18H730-731) *"As we completed the left turn and on a short distance, there was a shot...I saw the President lean toward the left and appeared to have grabbed his chest with his right hand. There was a second of pause and then two more shots were heard. Agent Clint Hill jumped from the follow-up car and dashed to the aid of the President and first Lady in the President's car. I saw one shot strike the President in the right side of the head."* **Double head shot.** **Emory Roberts** sat next to Kinney in the front seat of the back-up car. He was directly behind the President. (11-22-63 report, 18H739) *"at 12:30 PM, two or three shots were fired, at which time I saw the President lean over on Mrs. Kennedy. I knew he was hit. Just as the second or third shot was fired, Hill ran from follow-up car to president's car."* (11-29-63 report, 18H733-738) *"12:30 PM: First of three shots fired, at which time I saw the President lean toward Mrs. Kennedy. I do not know if it was the next shot or third shot that hit the President in the head, but I saw what appeared to be a small explosion on the right side of the President's head, saw blood, at which time the President fell further to his left... Just after the third shot was fired, I picked up the car radio and said "Halfback (code name for SS. follow-up car) to Lawson, the President has been hit."* **Double head shot.**

We then read the accounts of the two agents riding on the driver's side of the back-up car. **Clint Hill** rode on the outside of the back-up car by the driver's door. (11-30-63 report, 18H740-745) *"On the left hand side was a grass area with a few people scattered along it observing the motorcade passing, and I was visually scanning these people when I heard a noise similar to a firecracker. The noise came from my right rear and I immediately moved my head in that direction. In so doing, my eyes had to cross the Presidential automobile and I saw the President hunch forward and then slump to his left. I jumped from the follow-up car and ran toward the Presidential automobile. I heard a second firecracker type noise but it had a different sound—like the sound of shooting a revolver into something hard. I saw the President slump more toward his left."* **Heard two shots.** **William McIntyre** rode on the outside of the driver's side of the back-up car, behind Clint Hill. (11-22-63, 18H748) *"As we approached the underpass leading to the Thornton Freeway, there was little if any crowd present. I heard three shots fired...I recall a rolling lawn to the right of the area where the President was shot, and seem to also recall an expanse of lawn to the left of the Presidential vehicle."* (11-29-63 report, 18H746-747) *"The Presidential vehicle was approximately 200 feet from the underpass when the first shot was fired, followed in quick succession by two more. After the second shot, I looked at the President and witnessed his being struck in the head by the third and last shot. By that time, Mr. Roberts had used the radio in our car to direct the vehicles to a hospital."* **Last two shots bunched together with the last shot the head shot.**

There were also two agents riding on the outside of the passenger's side of the back-up car. **John Ready** rode by the passenger's side door. (11-22-63 report, 18H750) *"I heard what sounded like firecrackers...The shooting occurred as we were approaching the Thornton Freeway...There appeared to be no spectators on the right side of the roadway...After the initial shot I attempted to locate the area from where they had come from but was not able to. It appeared that the shots came from my right-rear side."* (Undated report, 18H 749) *"I heard what sounded like firecrackers going off...I immediately turned to my right rear trying to determine the source but was unable to determine the exact location."* **Too vague.** **Paul Landis** stood along the right side of the back-up car behind John Ready. (11-27-63 report, 18H758-759) *"At this point the President's car and follow-up car had just completed its turn and both were straightening out. At this moment, I heard what sounded like the report of a high powered rifle behind me. My first glance was at the President... I did not realize that the President was hit...I saw him moving and thought he was turning in the direction of the sound. I immediately returned my gaze to the building which I had observed before, at a quick glance saw*

nothing and dropped my eyes to the crowd, scanning it quickly from right to left... I think I recall Special Agent Jack Ready saying, "What was it? A firecracker?" I remarked "I don't know. I don't see any smoke." ...I glanced back towards the President, he still appeared upright in his seat, leaning slightly towards Mrs. Kennedy. It was at this moment that I heard a second report and saw the President's head split open and pieces of flesh and blood flying through the air." (11-30-63 report, 18H751-757) "At approximately this point, I would say, the President's car and the Follow-up car had just completed their turns and both were straightening out. At this moment I heard what sounded like the report of a high-powered rifle from behind me, over my right shoulder...My first glance was at the President, as I was practically looking in his direction anyway. I saw him moving in a manner which I thought was to look in the direction of the sound. I did not realize that President Kennedy had been shot at this point. I immediately returned my gaze, over my right shoulder, toward the modernistic building I had observed before. With a quick glance I saw nothing and immediately started scanning the crowd at the intersection from my right to my left. I observed nothing unusual...So far the lapsed period of time could not have been over two or three seconds. It must have been another second or two before the next shot was fired...I glanced towards the President and he still appeared to be fairly upright in his seat, leaning slightly toward Mrs. Kennedy with his head tilted lightly back. I think Mrs. Kennedy had her right arm around the President's shoulders at this time. I also remember Special Agent Clinton Hill attempting to climb onto the back of the President's car. It was at this moment that I heard a second report and it appeared that the President's head split open with a muffled exploding sound. I can best describe the sound as I heard it, as the sound you would get by shooting a high powered bullet into a five gallon can of water or shooting into a melon. I saw pieces of flesh and blood flying through the air and the President slumped out of sight towards Mrs. Kennedy. I still was not certain from which direction the second shot came, but my reaction at this time was that the shot came from somewhere towards the front, right-hand side of the road. I did not notice anyone on the overpass, and I scanned the area to the right of and below the overpass where the terrain sloped towards the road on which we were traveling." **Heard two shots.**

We then read the statements of the two men in the back seat. **George Hickey** sat on the driver's side of the back seat of the back-up car. (11-22-63 report, 18H765) "As 100-X made the turn and proceeded a short distance, I heard what seemed to me that a firecracker exploded to the right and rear. I stood partially up and turned to the rear to see if I could observe anything. Nothing was observed and I turned around and looked at the President's car. The President was slumped to the left in the car. I heard what appeared to be two shots and it seemed as if the right side of his head was hit and his hair flew forward." (11-30-63 report, 18H761-764) "Just prior to the shooting the Presidential car turned left at the intersection and started down an incline toward an underpass...After a very short distance I heard a loud report which sounded like a firecracker...I stood up and looked to my right and rear in an attempt to identify it. Nothing caught my attention except people shouting and cheering. A disturbance in 679X caused me to look forward to the President's car. Perhaps 2 or 3 seconds elapsed from the time I looked to the rear and then looked at the President. He was slumped forward and to his left, and was straightening up to an almost erect sitting position as I turned and looked. At the moment he was almost sitting erect I heard two reports which I thought were shots and that appeared to me completely different in sound from the first report and were in such rapid succession that there seemed to be practically no time element between them. It looked to me as if the president was struck in the right upper rear of the head. The first shot of the second two seemed as if it missed because the hair on the right side of his head flew forward and there didn't seem to be any impact against his head. The last shot seemed to hit his head and cause a noise at the point of impact which made him fall forward and to his left again. Possibly four or five seconds elapsed from the time of the first report and the last." (Our inspection of the Zapruder film reveals that Kennedy's hair didn't fly forward until he was struck by the bullet.) **Shot after the head shot.**

Glen Bennett sat on the right side of the back seat of the back-up car. (11-23-63 report, 18H760) *“The motorcade entered an intersection and then proceeded down a grade. At this point the well-wishers numbered but a few, the motorcade continued on down this grade en route to the trade mart. At this point I heard what sounded like a firecracker. I immediately looked from the right/crowd/physical area and looked towards the President who was seated in the right rear seat of his limousine open convertible. At the moment I looked at the back of the President I heard another firecracker noise and saw the shot hit the President about four inches down from the right shoulder. A second shot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the President’s head. I immediately hollered “he’s hit” and reached for the AR-15 located on the floor of the rear seat.”* **Last two shots bunched together with the last shot the head shot.**

We also receive the statements of the two agents in the lead car of the motorcade, just ahead of the limousine. **Winston Lawson** (11-23-63 report, 17H628-629) *“It was about the time our car was arriving at this bridge that I heard the first shot. I believe I heard two more sharp reports and looking back saw people scurrying away from the route, as though they were taking cover. Almost immediately the President’s car leaped ahead.”* (12-1-63 report, 17H630-634) *“As the lead car was passing under this bridge I heard the first loud, sharp report and in rapid succession two more sounds like gunfire. I could see persons to the left of the motorcade vehicles running away.”* **Last two shots bunched together.** **Forrest Sorrels** (11-28-63 deposition, 21H548) *“When we were at a point approximately three fourths of the distance between the Houston and Elm Street intersections and the first underpass, I heard what sounded like a rifle shot and said “What’s that?”, as I turned to my right to look back in the direction of the terrace and the Texas School Book Depository. When I heard two more shots, I said “let’s get out of here.”* **Last two shots bunched together.**

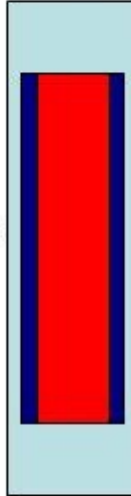
We are at a loss. The statements of the Secret Service agents largely confirm the statements of the other eyewitnesses. They conflict with both Connally’s recollections and the apparent sequence of events in the Zapruder film. The eyewitnesses taken as a whole assert that the last shot was significantly closer to the second shot than the second shot was to the first. Period.

Not Exactly in the Bag

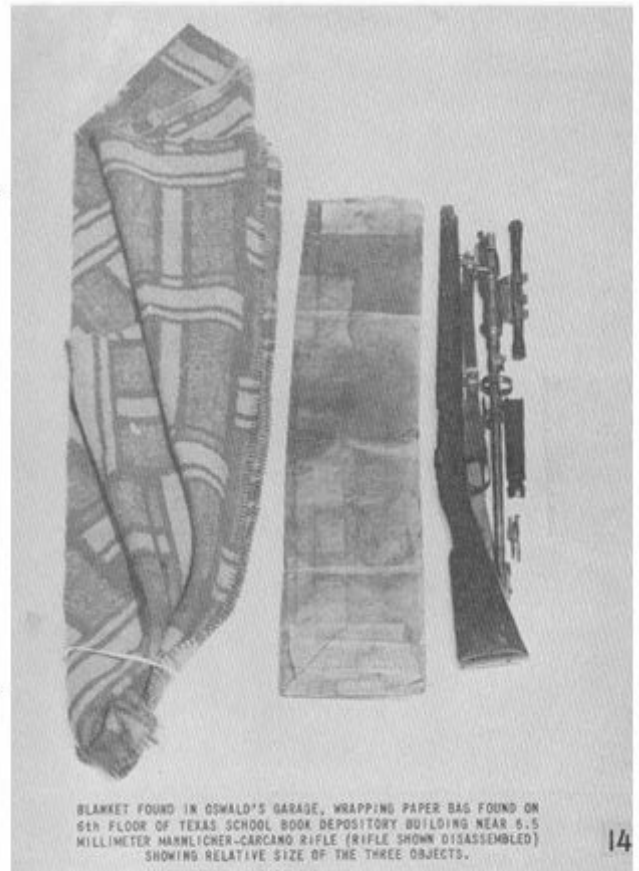


At left: a Dallas Times-Herald photo of a paper bag believed to have held the sniper rifle, as it was removed from the book depository on 11-22.

At right: a comparison of the bag seen by Frazier (27 x 6 = red), and Randle (27 x 8.5 = dark blue), against the approximate size for the bag in the photo at left (38 x 10.75 = light blue).



Below: Warren Commission Exhibit 1304. The exact measurements of the bag were not revealed by the FBI or Warren Commission, but this photo shows it to be about 38 inches long.



Above: from the FBI's Summary report of 12-9-63. They disassembled the rifle to fit it in the bag. It could not have fit in the bag described by Frazier and Randle.

Not Exactly in the Bag

On **12-1-63** we read another report about another roadblock. The FBI still can't figure out how Oswald, or anyone, got the rifle used to kill Kennedy into the building. On 11-29, agent Vincent Drain followed up on Buell Frazier and his refusal to ID the paper bag found in the sniper's nest as the bag Oswald had brought to work. He talked to Dallas Police Captain Will Fritz, who confirmed that Frazier had told him on the day of the shooting that the bag he saw was "about two feet in length, and of brown paper." (CD7, p290). He talked to Dallas Detective R.D. Lewis, who confirmed that Frazier, while being given a polygraph test, *"was shown what appeared to be a homemade brown heavy paper gun case."* Lewis stated further that *"Frazier said that it was possible this was the case, but he did not think it resembled it. He stated that the crinkly brown paper sack that Oswald had when he rode to work with him that morning was about two feet long."* Detective Lewis also told Drain *"that if this was not identical to the sack that was turned over to the Bureau, it is possible that Oswald may have thrown it away."* (CD7, p291). Apparently, Lewis believed Frazier.

And he was not alone. In the FBI's assassination file (62-109060 sec.14 p123-125) we see an 11-29 memo from Agent Hadley in Dallas to Assistant Director Alex Rosen in Washington. It states that Dallas Crime Lab chief *"Lt. Day stated that he and other officers have surmised that Oswald by dismantling the rifle could have placed it in the thick, brown sack folded over and then placed the*

entire package in the flimsy paper sack." This memo notes the impossibility of this, however, and continues *"however, the entire package would have been longer than two feet since the stock of the rifle alone was over two feet."* This shows us that the Dallas PD is, at least at this point, ready to accept that the bag found in the sniper's nest was not the bag seen by Frazier or Randle. This in itself is intriguing.

The Dallas Police Department's and print media's desire to close the case, particularly as it relates to the paper bag and its use by Oswald to bring the rifle into the building, is further demonstrated by a 12-1 article in the Philadelphia Bulletin, describing the events of 11-22. This article describes the morning's events as follows: *"Oswald picked the blanket roll off the floor and put it on a white leather chair. He was busy with the bundle for perhaps ten minutes, police said. From it, they added, he took the bolt-action rifle which was used to kill the President. Police said he transferred the rifle from the roll to a brown paper bag."* Later in the article, Buell Frazier, who gave Oswald a ride to work, further describes the bag: *"As they drove off, Frazier said, he glanced to the back seat where he saw a paper-wrapped bundle. 'He said, yes, it was his--and he muttered something about curtain rods,' said Frazier. As a matter of fact, said Frazier, Oswald had told him the day before that he would be bringing some rods to exchange them for other rods he wanted for his room at Mrs. Johnson's. 'It didn't look to me as a rifle ought to be,' said Frazier. 'It seemed to me it should have been longer. If it was a rifle, he had taken it apart, to put it together in the warehouse.'" A few paragraphs later, the article returns to the bag one last time: *"Frazier doesn't remember what Oswald did with the paper-wrapped bundle. 'I just lost track of it,' he said, although I guess he took it out of the car because I didn't see it again."* Well, this is quite puzzling, Frazier has signed a statement saying he saw Oswald remove the package from the car, and carry it into the building, and now he says he "guesses" Oswald took it out of the car? Someone's playing games. Either Frazier is lying to the press, for no apparent reason, or the writer of this article is twisting his words to hide that he got a good look at the bag and felt quite sure the "paper-wrapped bundle" was much smaller than a bag holding the rifle. That the article allows Frazier's assertion that the rifle had to have been broken down to fit inside the bag, sack, or bundle, but fails to tell its readers that the bag described by Frazier was a foot shorter than the rifle, even when the rifle was broken down, and that Frazier had refused to ID the bag found near the sniper's nest as the bag he saw in Oswald's possession, suggests that the writers and their sources in the Dallas Police were more concerned with telling a seamless tale than in getting at the truth.*

The New York Times, in an article published the day before, was even worse. The Times avoided the problems with the bag by reporting: *"Mr. Frazier noticed that Oswald put a long package wrapped in brown paper sacks into the back seat, saying it was curtain rods. Evidence showed he had removed it from the Paine garage, where he had kept it with his other belongings wrapped in a blanket. Only the blanket was there when the police came to check. Mr. Frazier said Oswald carried the long package into the depository building and that was the last he saw of him before the assassination."* This, disturbingly, not only avoids the sticky issue that the "long" package described by Frazier was not nearly long enough to have held the rifle, but completely misinforms its readers by asserting there was any evidence whatsoever that the "long package" had ever been in the garage. That the "long package" had been wrapped in the blanket sitting on the garage floor for almost two months, was either pure speculation, or deliberate misinformation. (The FBI had already tested the paper sack and found it to match the paper sample taken from the roll in use at the depository on 11-22. They would soon determine that the depository changed rolls every few days, and that, accordingly, the sack or bag had most probably been created within 24 hours of the shooting.)

On 12-2-63, we find out that Dallas FBI agents Odum and McNeely, desperate to get around the problem created by Frazier's refusal to ID the bag, have visited the school book depository, gathered up some paper and some tape, and created a replica sack to show those who knew Oswald. Significantly, the report on their actions of the day before tells us the paper was described as *"60 pound paper, 24*

inches wide" and that the tape was "gummed, brown paper tape, three inches wide, made on 60 pound paper stock." (CD7, p292). It also tells us that after creating the sack, they took it, along with the original sack, which had been stained by the FBI during testing, over to show Ruth Paine, at whose home Oswald had stayed the night before the shooting. She "advised that she does not recall seeing Lee Oswald in possession of any sack resembling either of these sacks, nor does she recall seeing him in possession of paper or tape of the type used on either of these sacks." (CD7, p293).

Perhaps hoping he would change his mind, they then showed these sacks to Buell Frazier. In their 12-2 report, Odum and McNeeley re-tell Frazier's story. They write: *"As he started to drive out of the yard, Frazier glanced back and noticed a long package, light brown in color, lying on the back of the rear seat and extending from approximately the right rear door to about the center of the seat...Frazier designated an approximate spot on the back seat where he felt the package extended to from the right rear door and measurement by Special Agents Bardwell D. Odum and Gibbon E. McNeeley determined that this spot was 27 inches from the inside of the right door, indicating that Frazier estimates that as the length of the package."* They then recount Frazier's recollection of how Oswald carried the package into the building: *"Oswald had this package under his right arm, one end of this package being under his armpit and the other end apparently held with his right fingers...Frazier stated that when he saw this package under the arm of Oswald, he reached the conclusion that the package was wrapped in a cheap, crinkly, thin paper sack, such as that provided by Five and Ten Cent Stores."* They then describe showing Frazier the replica sack. Agent Odum held the sack under his arm, and they measured how much of the sack was visible to Frazier, when held under his arm. It was 9" by 1". According to Odum's report, Frazier then advised Odum *"that he now realizes that his conclusion that the sack was thin, crinkly paper, of the type used in Five and Ten Cent stores, was based to a considerable extent upon the fact that the color of the sack was a very light brown as compared with the type of dark brown paper used for heavier grocery sacks. He noted that the color of the replica sack was the same color as the package which he had seen in possession of Oswald on the morning of November 22, 1963."* Odum then shows Frazier the original sack. He writes: *"Frazier examined the original found by the sixth floor window of the TSBD Building on November 22, 1963, and stated that if that sack was originally the color of the replica sack, it could have been the sack or package which he saw in the possession of Oswald on the morning of November 22, 1963, but that he does not feel he is in a position to definitely state that this original is or is not the sack."* This is incredibly disingenuous, and fails to note that Frazier was shown this sack, on the night of the shooting, before it had been discolored by the FBI's tests, and had refused to identify it as the sack or bag brought into work by Oswald. Odum then reports: *"Frazier indicated on the replica sack the estimated width of the package in possession of Oswald on the morning of November 22, 1963, and this was found to be an approximate width of six inches". (CD7, 294-297).*

They then showed the sack to Frazier's sister, Linnie Mae Randle. She also has her doubts about the sack. Odum reports: *"Mrs. Randle states that at the time she saw Oswald walking across the street, he was carrying a long package wrapped in brown paper or a brown sack in his right hand. It appeared to contain something heavy. She stated that it was long but did not touch the ground as he walked across the street. She examined a replica of the sack...She stated that this was the same kind of paper that made up the sack or package that she saw Oswald carrying, and was the same heavy grade of paper, since she recalls noting that there was something heavy in the sack when she saw it, and it was the same color paper as the sack she had seen on the morning of November 22, 1963. She was shown the original paper sack...She stated that if the original sack was previously the same color as the replica sack, that the original sack could have been the one which she saw Oswald carrying on the morning of November 22, 1963...The action of Oswald walking across Westbrook Street was re-enacted by Special Agent McNeeley, carrying the replica sack...in accordance with Mrs. Randle's observations, Special Agent McNeeley grasped the top of the sack with his hand...When the proper length of the sack was*

reached according to Mrs. Randle's estimate, it was measured and found to be 27 inches long. She demonstrated the width of the sack as it appeared to her, noting that it did have something bulky in it originally. Her designation on the replica sack was found to be 8 1/2 inches for the width of the original package she had seen Oswald carrying." (CD7, p298-299). Here, once again, Odum acts as though the recollection of the witness is consistent with the sack carried by Oswald being the sack found in the sniper's nest. This just isn't true. Two witnesses saw the sack. The FBI performed two tests to determine the length of the sack seen by the witnesses. They put the replica sack in Frazier's back seat. This confirmed for Frazier that the sack he saw was about 27 inches long. They then re-enacted Oswald walking across the street to get Randle's best estimate of the length of the sack. This led her to conclude the sack she saw was...27 inches long. We've seen some evidence photos. The sack found in the sniper's nest was 38 inches long, approximately 40% longer than the sack described by both Frazier and Randle. We've also seen photos of the original sack, as it was brought out of the school book depository. It appears to have been well over 10 inches in width.

This gets us thinking. We do a quick comparison of photos of the bag as it was removed from the depository, and these convince us the bag was actually about 10.75 inches wide. Okay. The bag in these photos is also about 38 inches long. If the bag holding the rifle was 38 by 10.75, however, it would have covered 408.5 sq. inches on the back seat of Frazier's car. The sack described by Frazier, meanwhile, is 27 x 6, 162 sq. inches...This means that the bag shown Frazier--assuming it was the bag in the press photos--was TWO AND A HALF TIMES as large as the bag he recalled seeing in Oswald's possession. No wonder he'd refused to ID the bag.

The next day we receive a report on an interview with Orville Nix. Nix had filmed the fatal headshot from the opposite of Zapruder. (12-3-63 FBI report, 24H539) "*Nix believed the film depicts the third shot hitting President Kennedy and the sequence of events immediately after including Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy reaching out over the back trunk lid to assist a secret service agent who is running to her aid.*" Too vague. Why wasn't Nix asked to describe the shooting sequence? Does the description of the head shot as the third shot come from Nix or from the writer of the report? Has the FBI already made up its mind? Apparently so.

The **12-3-63** edition of the Washington Evening Star, a newspaper used by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to leak stories he wants before the public, reports: "*An exhaustive FBI report now nearly ready for the White House will indicate that...Oswald was the lone and unaided assassin of President Kennedy, Government sources said today.*"

The next day, we receive a report on an interview with **Marie Muchmore**. We've heard rumors that she filmed the assassination from the east end of the plaza, but she denies them. (**12-4-64** FBI report CD7 p.31) "*She advised that they stood on Main and Houston Streets. As the parade passed by there she heard the first shot but from where they were standing could not observe where the shot came from. She said she panicked after this shot and ran back to the office, later becoming deathly sick over the incident...She said she had a movie camera with her at the time and Wilma Bond had a box camera but she advised that she did not obtain any photographs of the assassination scene.*" **Too vague.**

Also on 12-4, a witness named Carolyn Walther comes forward and claims she "*saw a man standing on either the fourth or fifth floor in the southeast corner window...In his hands this man was holding a rifle with the barrel pointed downward.*" The man she saw "*was wearing a white shirt and had blond or light brown hair.*" She also offered that "*the rifle was different from any she had ever seen. This man was standing in about the middle of the window. In the same window, to the left of this man, she could see a portion of another man standing by the side of this man with a rifle. This other man was standing erect, and his head was above the opened portion of the window. As the window was very dirty, she could not see the head of this second man. She is positive this window was not as high as the sixth floor. This second man was apparently wearing a brown suit coat, and the only thing she could see was*

the right side of the man, from about the waist to the shoulders." (24H522). Hearing this, we ask Latona once again if he's gonna run some elimination prints, and try to find out who, besides Oswald, had been in the sniper's nest. Silence.

But this is not the most disturbing development of the day. In agent Robert Barrett's memo on an interview with Abraham Zapruder we spot an intriguing sentence, one which we know could prove most problematic. It states that, according to Zapruder, who filmed the assassination from beginning to end, his camera was set to take *"normal speed movie film or 24 frames per second."* (CD7, p.12). Since Agent Robert Frazier has already indicated that the shooting would take a minimum of 5.6 seconds with Oswald's rifle, and since Agent Barrett's report on the Secret Service reenactment indicates the first and third shots hit Kennedy, Zapruder's film should show Kennedy first hit at least 134 frames before he suffered his fatal blow, should Oswald have acted alone. We are told this is not the case. We take comfort, nevertheless, in Barrett's statement that he has obtained Zapruder's camera and that the camera will undergo testing at the FBI's crime lab.

On 12-5 we see yet another signed statement from Buell Frazier, who gave Oswald a ride to work on 11-22-63. Frazier was the only person to get a good look at the package Oswald brought to work. Every member of law enforcement working on the case wants to believe this package contained Oswald's rifle, but Frazier told first the Dallas Police, and then the FBI, that the package he saw was only 2 feet long. Unfortunately, the bag reportedly found in the sniper's nest (there is no picture of it in situ) was over 3 feet long. This was barely long enough to have held Oswald's disassembled rifle. This newly-signed statement comes from the Secret Service. The third time's not the charm. Frazier sticks to his guns. He writes: *"He had put a package in the back seat of the car. I got into the car and sort of glanced over my shoulder and saw a package in the seat. The package was approximately two feet in length. It was a brown paper sack and was folded so that the contents could not be seen. I asked Lee about the package and he said it was curtain rods."* Frazier sticks to his guns (or lack of gun) in other ways as well. He writes: *"Lee got out and took the package...The package was under his arm lengthwise and the paper was all that could be seen."* (CD87, p795-796). A three-foot long package would not have fit under Oswald's arm in such a manner. If Frazier is not mistaken, Oswald didn't act alone.

Do It Again



On 11-27-63, the Secret Service and Dallas Police Department performed a re-enactment of the 11-22 motorcade in Dealey Plaza. Three stills from the film of this re-enactment are at left.

This re-enactment, when studied in conjunction with the Zapruder film, should have helped them establish the precise moment of the fatal head shot. An FBI memo indicates they thought they'd done just that.

So why did they return on 12-5, with a different car and a different JFK stand-in, and re-do their re-enactment? And why did they come to an even more inaccurate conclusion regarding the moment of the fatal headshot?

Three stills from the film of this second re-enactment are at right.



Do It Again

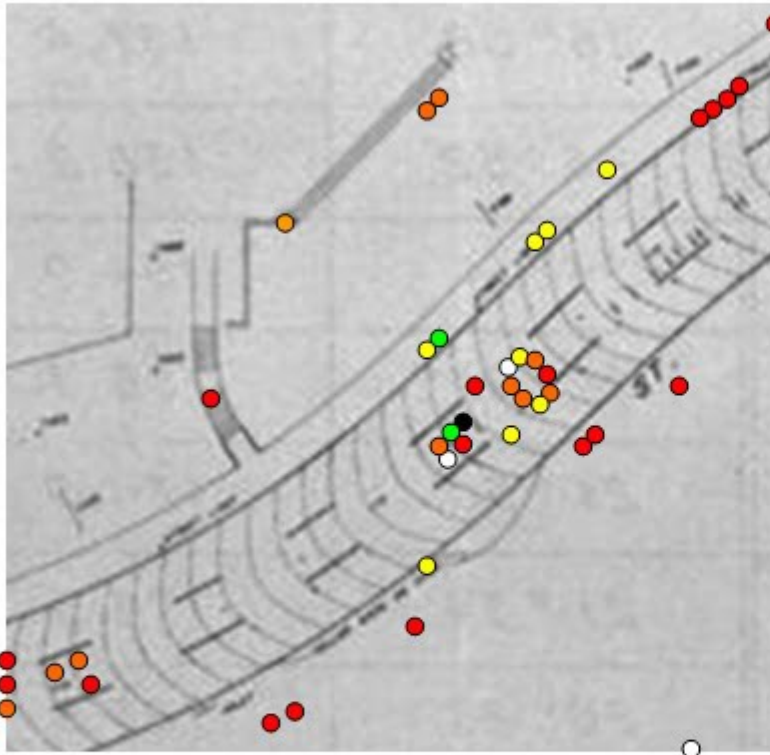
On 12-5 we also see an FBI teletype message from Special-Agent-in-Charge J. Gordon Shanklin in Dallas. It discloses that the FBI's Exhibits section, under Leo Gauthier, is in Dallas preparing exhibits depicting the shooting, and that "While Gauthier and assistants were making measurements on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building, on December Five, Secret Service Agents Miller and Sorrell arrived on the scene with a motion picture cameraman. These men identified themselves as Secret Service men to Gauthier. At approximately three P.M. on December Five, Secret Service Agents Miller and Sorrell supervised re-enactment of the route of the President's assassination. A white convertible similar to the black one in which President Kennedy made his last ride, rolled past the assassination spot. A man and a woman sat in the back seat just as President and Mrs. Kennedy did, two men were in the front. Looking down on this scene was the movie camera, perched in the same window from which the fatal shots were fired. Field surveyors from the Robert H. West land survey company, apparently employed by the Secret Service, were present, compiling survey data (slope of the road) at the three points on the freeway where it is believed the bullets struck the President and the Governor. Gauthier discontinued making measurements during the time the Secret Service enactment." This tells us that not only are the Secret Service and FBI not working together to investigate the crime, but that they aren't even sharing any basic information.

The 12-5 New York Times further describes this re-enactment: *"An open car with a man and a woman in the back seat simulated again and again today the ride of the President and Mrs. Kennedy on Nov. 22. A motion picture camera in the sixth-floor window that was used by the assassin recorded these trips. A surveyor's transit stood in the parkway on the other side of the street looking up at the window. Each of the simulations differed slightly from the other, either in the speed of the car or the gestures of the occupants, or in some other detail. On one trip both occupants of the back seat waved. On another the man turned to the right, and, moments later, slumped in his seat; then the car's speed picked up. On all simulations, a motorcycle policeman rode on each side near the rear of the car. At all times the car used the middle of the three-lane road."*

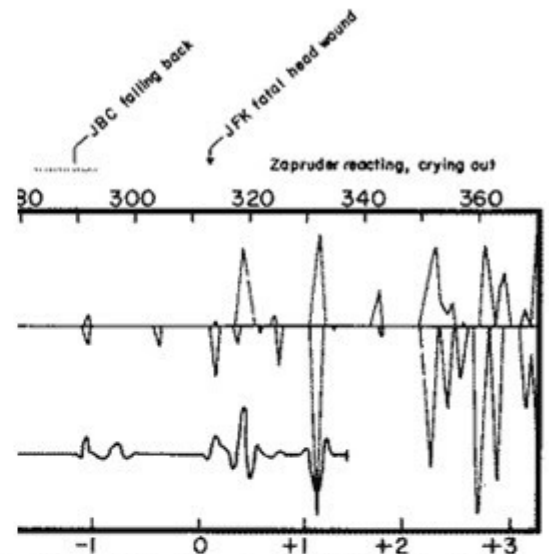
On 12-9, we see a memo from Gauthier himself, describing his efforts in Dallas. He is preparing floor plans of the depository and of the police station where Oswald was killed, as well as a mock-up of Dealey Plaza. He lists the advantages of having these exhibits and then declares *"The marks on the freeway indicating where shots one, two, and three were believed to have struck the Presidential car, have been noted and this information can be indicated on the model. From this information, it appears that shot one struck the President momentarily after he came within gun range when his car moved passed the tree top as viewed by the assassin. Shot number two which is believed to have struck Governor Connally occurred after the car had traveled a distance of 95 feet at approximately 15 m.p.h. The markings on the Freeway indicated that shot number three which is believed to have struck the President occurred after the car had traveled another 45 feet. At 15 m.p.h a car moves forward at a speed of about 22 feet per second or one car length. The President's car length is 21 feet long. Based upon this information the second shot occurred about 4.36 second after the first shot was fired and the third shot occurred about 2.0 seconds after the second shot was fired. The total elapse time to fire shots two and three was approximately 6.4 seconds during which time the President's car traveling at 15 m.p.h. covered approximately 141 feet."*

This is disturbing, and raises lots of questions. Hasn't anyone told Gauthier that the FBI's Robert Frazier has already tested the rifle and found that a shooter would need at least 2.8 seconds between shots? And what does he mean by "marks on the freeway"? Has someone placed marks on Elm Street at the limo's locations when the shots were fired? If so, how did they establish these locations and why do these marks differ so greatly from the locations determined by agent Howlett?

The Conclusion That Shouldn't Have Been



Above: a crop from Warren Commission Exhibit CE 882, a surveyors plat of Elm Street. The colored circles reflect the locations and recollections of the closest witnesses to come forward prior to 12-9-63. Black circle=President Kennedy. Red=heard a shot after the head shot. Orange=heard last two shots bunched together. Light orange=possible shot after the head shot. Yellow=heard but two shots. Green=final shot was an isolated head shot. White=too vague.



HSCA Figure II-5: from the HSCA Report of William Hartmann. This chart measures the startle reactions apparent in the Zapruder film, with the frame number at top, the amount of blur depicted above the second line, the degree of panning error below this line, and the speed of camera acceleration measured on the third line.

The startle reaction related to the head shot comes just prior to frame 320, followed by another startle reaction, around frame 330. This confirms the statements of the eyewitnesses portrayed by the red and orange circles at left. The FBI and Warren Commission sided with the witnesses portrayed by the green circles.

The Conclusion That Shouldn't Have Been

On 12-9-63 the FBI gives their summary report to each member of the newly convened Warren Commission. On page 1 it reads: "As the motorcade was traveling through downtown Dallas on Elm Street about fifty yards west of the intersection with Houston Street (Exhibit 1), three shots rang out. Two bullets struck President Kennedy, and one wounded Governor Connally. The President, who slumped forward in the car, was rushed to Parkland Memorial Hospital, where he was pronounced dead at 1:00 p.m. Eyewitnesses at the scene of the shooting saw an individual holding a rifle in a sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building located on the corner of Houston and Elm Streets. One individual stated that after he heard what he believed to be a second shot, he looked up, and saw this man take deliberate aim with a rifle and fire in the direction of the Presidential motorcade as it passed." On page 18, the report clarifies: "Medical examination of the President's body revealed that one of the bullets had entered just below his shoulder to the right of the spinal column at an angle of 45 to 60 degrees downward, that there was no exit, and that the bullet was not in the body." As the bullet creating this wound could not have continued on into Governor Connally, it certainly implies the bullet striking Connally was a separate shot. This would undoubtedly suggest the scenarios described by Secret Service Agent Howlett and FBI exhibits chief Gauthier...that the first shot hit Kennedy, the second hit Connally, and the third hit Kennedy in the head.

Outside of the statements of Howard Brennan, whose statements were misrepresented in order to support this shooting scenario (he, in fact, had never said he heard a second shot), the statements of the closest witnesses, normally the backbone of a criminal investigation, have apparently been ignored.

We're also appalled by the report's treatment of the fingerprint evidence. Not only does the report fail to mention that "Oh yeah, while we were able to identify 3 prints on the boxes as Oswald's, there were 25 more that we haven't yet identified," it actually goes out of its way to hide this fact, describing photos showing numerous prints as photos of "a latent fingerprint identified as the right index finger impression of Lee Harvey Oswald" and "a latent palm print identified as the left palm print of Lee Harvey Oswald." (CD1 evidence photos 27 and 28, respectively.)

And we're also disgusted with the report's treatment of the paper bag. As could have been gathered from Agent Bardwell Odum's 12-2 reports, the FBI pretends that Frazier and Randle's statements support that the bag or sack carried by Oswald was the bag or sack found in the sniper's nest. On page 5, the FBI Summary Report declares: "When Oswald left Irving, Texas, on the morning of November 22, 1963, he carried a long package wrapped in brown paper." It later claims "After the assassination, brown wrapping paper in the shape of a long bag was found near the window from which the shots were fired on the sixth floor of the depository building." (CD1, p5). There is no acknowledgment that the only two witnesses to see Oswald with this "brown wrapping paper" refused to ID the paper bag found in the sniper's nest as this bag, and, in fact insisted the sniper's nest bag was far larger than the bag they saw. Apparently such things were just not to be acknowledged.

In our frustration, we make some phone calls, searching for an explanation for the FBI's failure to properly present the evidence. We find that the Summary Report was sent over to President Johnson and Acting Attorney General Katzenbach on 12-5-63, before the FBI had even determined the speed of Abraham Zapruder's camera, and thus, if it was even possible for Oswald to have fired all the shots depicted in the film. If Zapruder is correct, and his camera was filming at 24 frames per second, so we've been told, then Oswald could not have fired all the shots. While complaining about this, we hear a rumor that the National Photo Interpretation Center has studied the film for the Secret Service.

We call a close friend working at the National Photo Interpretation Center. He tells us that on the evening of November 23rd, the Secret Service had given a copy of the Zapruder film to two of the Center's photo experts, Homer McMahon and Ben Hunter, and had asked them to make enlargements on 28 frames of the film. It was believed that the creation of these enlargements would help them identify the moments the bullets struck both the President and the Governor. (While evidence for this incident had been discussed for years, it was not fully investigated until Doug Horne of the ARRB did so in 1997.) Our friend gets access to the worksheets created as part of this study. These worksheets indicate that the initial conclusion was that Kennedy was struck at frame 224, Connally was struck at frame 256, and that Kennedy was struck again at frame 312. This was based on the supposition that the Zapruder film was recording 16 frames per second, and that there was a 2 second gap between the first two shots, and a 3.5 second gap between the second and third. (This apparent conclusion is written in bold on the front side of a worksheet discovered in the CIA files in 1981. McMahon and Hunter recognized their writing on this worksheet.) There are numerous calculations on this worksheet. Most revolve around the number 242, an obvious reference to frame 242, by which time Connally has obviously been struck. On the front side of the worksheet, there is $312 - 242$ (to measure the time between the headshot at 312 and the apparent impact on Connally). There is also $242 - 213$ (to measure the time between when Kennedy would seem to be hit, 213, and when Connally appears to be hit). Next to this is $242 - 32$ (As $242 - 213$ was only 29 frames, too short a time span for two shots to have been fired from a bolt-action rifle, it appears they were measuring what frame would then be acceptable, given that the dead bolt would take at least two seconds to operate). Next to this is $256 - 224$ (which was 32 frames and was thus deemed acceptable). On the back side of the sheet there were

even more calculations, many of them repeated from the first side. These calculations, however, are made with the assumption that the Zapruder film was recording 18 frames per second. Thus, the magic number here is 36 frames, e.g. $213 + 36 = 249$. There are also $242 - 190 = 52$ and $52 / 18 = 2.8$. These last two indicate that if the Zapruder film was shown to record at 18 frames per second, the Secret Service was prepared to say the first shot hit Kennedy at 190, the second hit Connally at 242, and the final shot hit Kennedy at 312.

On the whole, then, these numbers indicate that, rather than trying to isolate the actual moments of impact, the Secret Service was, from the very beginning, assuming that the third shot was the head shot, and trying to make the moments of impact fit neatly within the time constraints of Oswald's bolt-action rifle. This suggests they were always operating under the belief Oswald acted alone. We wonder if this same kind of thinking has not infected the FBI, and negatively influenced the Summary Report.

We look closer at the worksheets, to see if anything they've proposed makes sense. On one sheet they suggest that the shots occurred at frames 213, 263, and 312. This is strange, as it seems obvious that Connally was hit long before 263. Another scenario of 217, 242, and 312 is equally curious, as Robert Frazier's tests back on 11-27 tell us that Oswald would have needed approximately 2.8 seconds or 51 frames between shots. Certainly, they weren't considering that someone other than Oswald fired one of the shots. This makes us suspect that the FBI has failed to tell the NPIC or Secret Service about their tests. As the NPIC is closely associated with the CIA, and as FBI Director Hoover has a problem with the CIA, this is not a big surprise.

When we look further through the worksheets, however, there is a surprise. The Secret Service has seriously considered the scenario offered in the 12-6 edition of Life magazine, holding that Kennedy was hit at 190, Connally at 264, and Kennedy at 312. We just can't accept that Connally was hit so late however. Other scenarios considered at NPIC and by the Secret Service are 206, 242, 312, and 213, 242 and 312, but both of these have the first two shots too close together to have been fired by Oswald. The only single-assassin scenario that works, then, based upon even a cursory study of the Zapruder film, is the Kennedy 190, Connally 242, and Kennedy 312 scenario. Even this scenario is less than convincing, however. Not only does Connally appear to have been hit before frame 242 of the film, but the witnesses, as we well know, clearly suggested that the last two shots were bunched together, with the final shot after the headshot. (A more elaborate analysis of the Zapruder film by Robert Frazier for the Warren Commission concluded that, assuming a rifle was fired from the sixth floor sniper's nest, Connally was turned too far to his right after frame 231 to receive his wounds.)

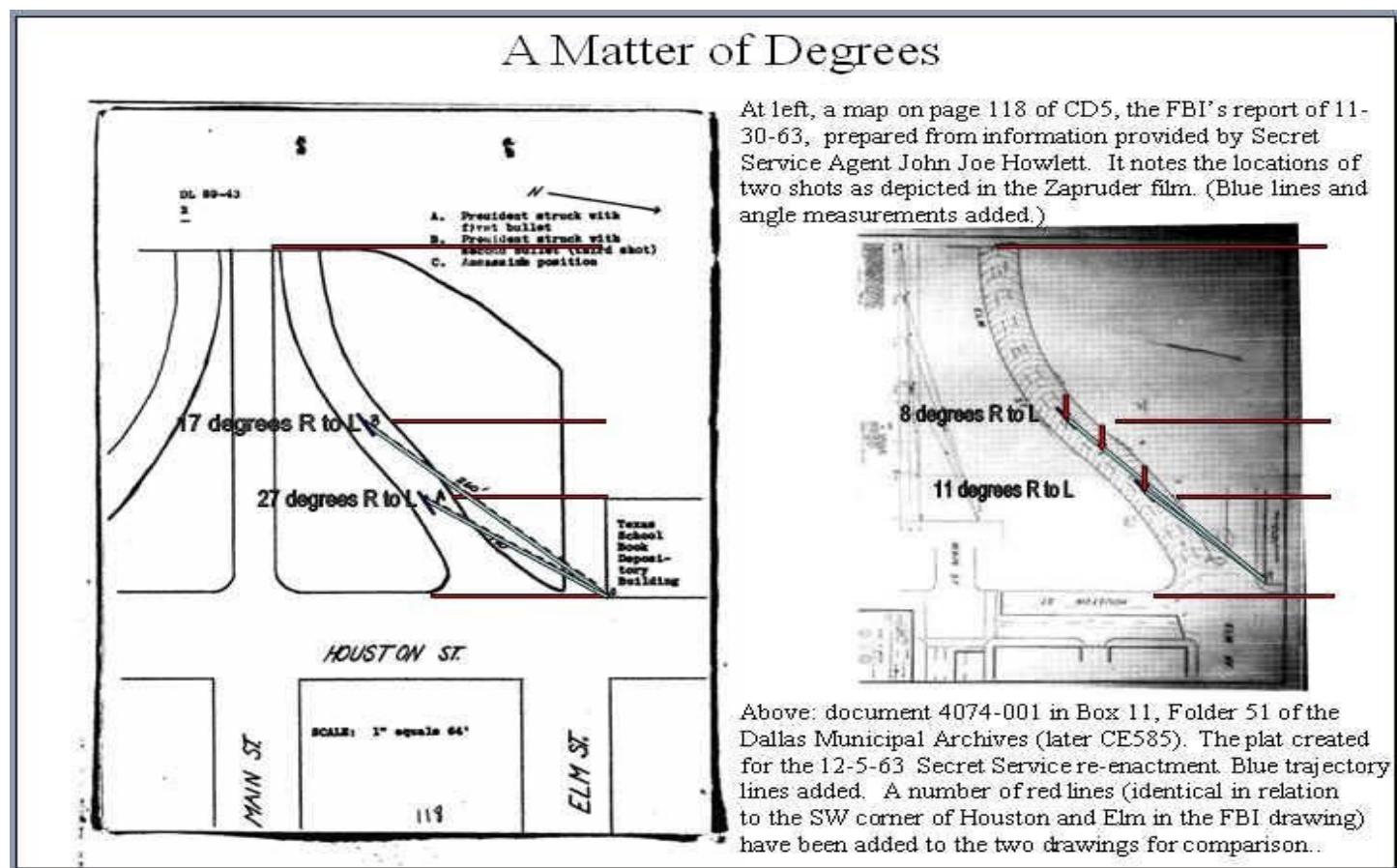
With our re-inspection of the Zapruder film, however, we make another discovery. A number of the frames are blurry. Two blurs in particular stand out, one between frames 190 and 200 and one shortly after frame 313. The thought occurs that these blurs are related to the shots and are perhaps a reflection that Zapruder flinched after hearing the shots. One of us decides to hold the camera, which had been obtained by the FBI crime lab on 12-06, and asks the rest of us to make random loud noises all around while he films someone walking down the hall. This test confirms that the blurred images on the Zapruder film are quite possibly related to Zapruder's jumping at the sound of the gunshots. When we closely analyze the original film, however, we find that his largest startle reaction occurs shortly after the startle reaction seemingly related to the head shot. This supports the many eyewitness statements claiming there were two closely bunched shots, shots fired so close together that many of the witnesses, including the two secret service agents directly behind Kennedy, couldn't remember which one hit the President. We now have real reason to suspect the eyewitnesses were correct and that the last two shots were fired too close together to have been fired by Oswald alone. Do we tell Hoover? Neither the eyewitness statements nor our analysis of the rifle and Zapruder film suggest three shots were fired by a shooter in the sniper's nest. We have real reason to suspect that a second shooter was involved. Do we make the call? Do we ask Hoover if we can expand the investigation and look for this second shooter?

Well, no matter how you answered that last question, the fact is that this has been an imaginary investigation. As far as we know, there was no one in the FBI tasked with making sense of the eyewitness testimony, and seeing if it agreed with the physical and photographic evidence. No effort was made, and consequently no agreement was reached. The FBI search for witnesses and the truth was so half-hearted, in fact, that they failed to establish the photographer of Marie Muchmore's film of the assassination until February, 1964. On 11-26-63, Muchmore's film was shown on television; over the following days it was much discussed in newspapers. And yet the FBI never sought a copy of this film and only acknowledged its existence after its color frames were published in a widely distributed photo book of the assassination. Perhaps no one in the FBI read the paper or had a TV.

(Note: the significance of the blurred frames of the Zapruder film was not discovered until several years after the assassination. I include it here because I have every confidence that these blurs could have and should have been analyzed in 1963 by the FBI, should they have honestly been interested in analyzing the film. Professor William Hartmann studied these blurs for the HSCA in 1978. A chart in his final report, Figure II-5, measures the blurs in the Zapruder film and demonstrates that the largest startle prior to Zapruder's losing control took place around frames 330-332. As most everyone by 1978 had come to believe the last shot was the head shot, however, Hartmann arbitrarily dismissed this substantial startle reaction as a second reaction to the head shot, and to Zapruder's crying out. The consistent movement and blurring one would expect from Zapruder's crying out does not in fact occur until approximately one second after the startle reaction recorded between frames 330-332.)

Chapter 2b: The Secret Service Secrets

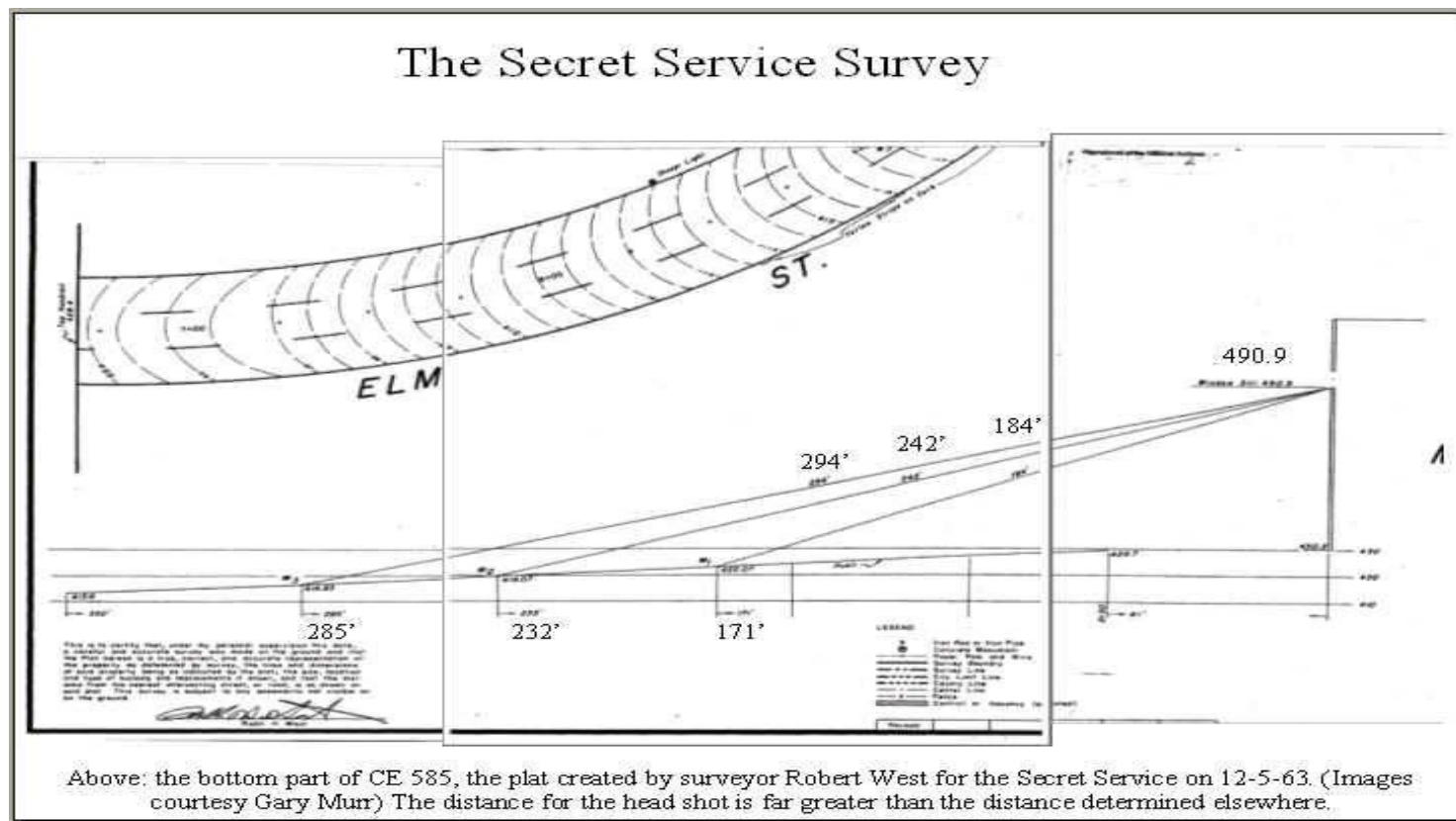
A peek behind the curtain



A Matter of Degrees

So now we're working for the Warren Commission. We've been tasked with studying the statements of the eyewitnesses and coming to a conclusion about the shots independent of the FBI's conclusions. We are also given access to internal Warren Commission documents and new Secret Service and FBI reports as they come in.

On **12-10**, in the office of Secret Service Chief Rowley, we get a brief look at the 12-5 survey plat of Dealey Plaza, prepared by surveyor Robert West under the supervision of the Service's Elmer Moore. We compare this plat to the drawing of the plaza included in the FBI's 11-30 report on the first re-enactment. We see that the school book depository is now much closer to Elm Street, and that, as a result, the angles into the car from the sniper's nest are much less severe. This is a bit of a relief, as the angles in the first drawing cast doubt on the FBI's conclusion that Oswald fired the fatal head shot. It makes little sense, after all, for a bullet heading 17 degrees left to right to strike someone an inch to the right of the mid-line of his skull and exit from the right side of his skull, with the left side undamaged.



The Secret Service Survey

A few days later we get a look at a **12-11-63** report by Secret Service Agent Elmer Moore on the 12-5 survey. He claims it depicts the "probable trajectory of the bullets." We decide to take a closer look.

Sure enough, across the bottom of the plat surveyor Robert West depicts the angles and distances of three shots fired from the sniper's nest. The distance of the first shot is 184 feet. As the Warren Commission would eventually propose that the first shot was fired between frame 210 of the Zapruder film, from a distance of 176.9 feet, and frame 225, at a distance of 190.8 feet, this means the first shot proposed by Moore came around frame 217, when the President was behind the sign in the Zapruder film. The second shot, apparently the shot striking Governor Connally, is purported to have been fired

from 242 feet. This is much closer to the first shot than the second shot described by the FBI's Gauthier in his memo of 12-9. Even so, this would correspond to a shot fired around frame 283 of the Zapruder film, long after it seems clear Connally has been shot. The final shot, which Moore describes in his 12-11 report as "the second bullet which struck the President (the third bullet fired)" is recorded as a shot of 294 feet. 294 feet is 34 feet further than the distance from the sniper's nest to Kennedy at the time of the head shot as determined by Agent Howlett on 11-27 (and 29 feet further than the distance from the sniper's nest to Kennedy determined by the Warren Commission). 294 feet, moreover, reflects the distance of the President from the sniper's nest circa frame 343 of the Zapruder film, almost 2 seconds after the obvious head shot. This is no small mistake. (When printed by the Warren Commission as exhibit CE 585, this plat will be nearly impossible to read. This may not have been a mistake. When Warren Commission counsel Melvin Eisenberg enters this plat into evidence during the 3-30-64 testimony of Ronald Simmons, who'd tested the accuracy of Oswald's rifle, Eisenberg explains "I would like to introduce it into evidence solely to show the basis which Mr. Simmons was using in this test, and not for the truth of the measurements which are shown here.")

Elsewhere in his 12-11 report, Agent Moore explains that the "precise trajectory of bullets striking President Kennedy cannot be positively ascertained by the resulting wounds" but that after studying the Zapruder film, still photographs, eyewitness statements, interviews with the emergency room doctors, the autopsy protocol, and the assassination scene "it is concluded that the wounds indicate that both of the two bullets which struck the President were fired from a position to the rear and above the level of the President." In support of this, Moore goes on to describe the President's wounds, boldly asserting that the missile path of the first bullet to strike the President "is from the upper right posterior thorax to the exit position in the low anterior cervical region and is in slight general downward direction." This is a strange statement. The "cervical region", by most every definition, is above, the "thorax." Unless a body was doubled-over, it makes little sense for a bullet to travel "in a slight general downward direction" from the upper thorax to the lower cervical region.

On **12-12-63**, we're told of an article by Gene Roberts in the Detroit Free Press. It mentions the paper bag presumably used by Oswald to transport the rifle in the building, and gives us good reason to believe Buell Frazier and his sister Linnie Mae Randle are still not convinced the bag they saw in Oswald's possession held his rifle. Roberts reports that on the morning of the shooting, while looking out her window, Mrs. Randle noticed Lee Oswald *"carrying a package. It was something long--maybe two or three feet or more--and wrapped in brown paper, maybe a paper laundry bag. 'I noticed that,' said Mrs. Randle, 'but I didn't think much about it. A lot of people carry packages.'"* A bag two feet long, of course, would be much too short to have held Oswald's rifle.

The next day later, we finally hear from two of the closest witnesses. **Governor John Connally (12-13-63** FBI report CD188, p. 3-5) "Governor Connally stated "First sense or realization of anything unusual I became conscious of a shot or what sounded like a gunshot. I knew it came from my right rear. I instinctively turned to my right to look back and as I did so I sensed more than I saw that President Kennedy was hit. As I turned I realized something was amiss with President Kennedy and then I turned back to my left a little and as I did so I got hit with a bullet in my right shoulder...I believe I remarked "Oh my God, they are going to kill us all!" Realizing I had been hit I crumpled over to Mrs. Connally and she pulled me over towards her...I was conscious of a third shot and heard it...we were all splattered with what I thought was brain tissue from President Kennedy." ...When Governor Connally was asked about the elapsed time between the first and last shot he remarked "Fast, my God it was fast. It seemed like a split second. Just that quick" and he snapped his fingers three times rapidly to illustrate the time and said "unbelievably quick...Governor Connally felt the shots were fired so fast the assassin had hit him by accident on the second shot." **Nellie Connally (12-13-63** FBI report, CD188, p.6-7) "she was facing the front of the car when the first shot was fired and turned

to her right towards President Kennedy and saw him with his hand at his throat and then slump down. ...almost immediately Governor Connally recoiled in the opposite direction from her and was heard to remark "My God, they are going to kill us all." She had feelings that buck shot was falling all around them and then she realized it was probably brain matter from President Kennedy's head...When asked about the lapse of time between the first and last shots she replied "About like saying "crack, crack, crack." She sensed that Governor Connally had been hit when she heard the second shot and she turned to hold him...The direction of all shots were from somewhere to the rear of the car." **Final shot head shot.**

Later that day, we become aware of an article in that day's Dallas Morning News. This article begins: "Did a bullet from Lee Harvey Oswald's rifle chip the curb of Main Street overpass? That question remained unanswered yesterday. And it raised other questions: If one of the three shots from Oswald's mail order rifle struck the curb, is it possible that another bullet ranged through President Kennedy's body and then hit Gov. Connally? If the chip did not result from another bullet, how did it get there?" The article then relates the story of Dallas police investigator Buddy Walthers, who claims that a man came up to him in Dealey Plaza on the 22nd and claimed he'd been hit by something as he watched the motorcade. Walthers then relates that he'd found what appeared to be a freshly-made chip in the curb by where the man had been standing. The article then advises that Gov. Connally said the first and third shots hit the President, and that he'd been hit by the second shot. It then asks: "Was Governor Connally mistaken about what happened during the 10 second period in which the sniper shot him and the President? Did the rifleman fire two bullets into the car, with one striking both President Kennedy and Gov. Connally, and then hurriedly fire a third which passed over their auto? Or did the chipped shot have nothing to do with the shooting? Couldn't the motorist have been struck by a speck of gravel thrown up by a car? Couldn't the chip have been caused by other gravel? FBI and Secret Service agents may have the answer. But they haven't revealed what they have learned during their intensive investigation of the murder of President Kennedy."

Well, this is a bit embarrassing. No one in the FBI or Secret Service has learned anything about this because no one in the FBI or Secret Service has discussed this with anyone who wants to learn about this. Fortunately, the next day, the man who'd been hit by something calls the FBI and forces them to investigate. **James Tague (12-16-63** FBI report, CD205, p31) "Mr. Jim Tague...was stopped in traffic at the Triple Underpass...He stood near the curb of Main Street waiting for the motorcade...When the motorcade was approximately 100 feet from him he heard a loud noise, and at that time he looked around as he thought someone had shot a firecracker. He then heard two more loud noises in quick succession...During the time of the shooting he felt something hit him on the right cheek...He thought that possibly one of the bullets had hit the curb near his feet and possibly a piece of the curbing had hit him on the cheek. He did look around the curb and near where he was standing there was a chip missing, which he stated looked fresh...He did not see the shots take effect and stated he could not furnish any information as to where the shots actually came from." (This report is given to the Warren Commission as part of CD 205 on 12-23.)

Perhaps as a response to the questions raised by Tague, on **12-18-63** the Secret Service delivers a bare-bones report to the Warren Commission describing the shooting only in the statements of its agents, and a vague summary of events. Despite its multiple re-enactments and its extensive study of the Zapruder film, the Secret Service report comes to no official conclusions on the number and timing of the shots.

On this same day, the FBI's Alex Rosen sends a memo to Assistant Director Belmont stating "If approved, Mr. Rankin will be advised that the Bureau is in the process at the present time of preparing three-dimensional exhibits which will accurately portray the locations covering the assassination of the President along with other material which would be of considerable benefit to the Commission...Mr. Gauthier has assured us that the exhibits will be ready by 1/2/64." We can hardly wait.

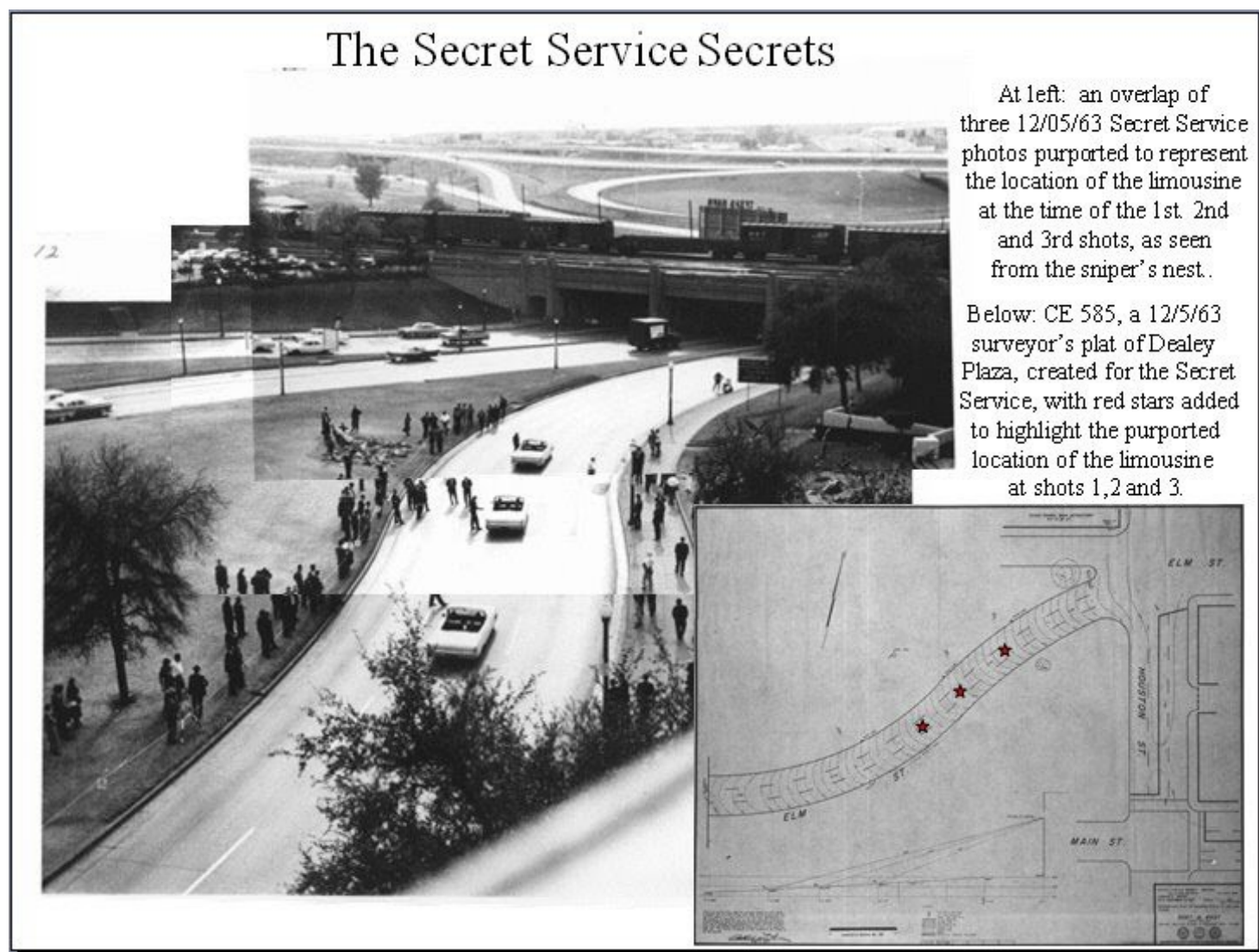
And then we get another surprise from our old friends at the FBI. On 12-18, we see a strange airtel from Dallas (FBI file 105-82555, sec 39, p7). This airtel alerts us to the fact that the FBI is replacing page 129 of its 11-30 report to the Commission (CD5) with a different page. The airtel references two other documents, a 12-6 airtel from Washington to Dallas requesting a change be made (FBI file 62-109-060 sec 17 p 213), and a 12-11 response from Dallas noting that the "Necessary actions to correct inaccuracy" are "being taken" (FBI file 105-82555, sec 27, p44). Our curiosity aroused, we get a look at the old page before it is replaced. It is a report written by the Dallas FBI's Vincent Drain on the paper bag believed to have concealed the assassin's rifle. The bag was purportedly made by Oswald from materials at his work. His palm print and fingerprint have been found on this bag. The original report refers to a comparison between a paper sample taken from the shipping department of the depository and the paper used to make this bag, and reads: "This paper was examined by the FBI Laboratory and found not to be identical with the paper gun case found at the scene of the shooting." The new page reads "This paper was examined by the FBI Laboratory and found to have the same observable characteristics as the brown paper bag shaped like a gun case which was found near the scene of the shooting on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building."

Well I'll be. While the new wording matches the original reports from the lab, we're forced to wonder where Drain--who flew the bag back to Washington on the day after the shooting and may very well have observed the lab at work on the bag--got the idea the paper didn't match. We're also concerned that the FBI is changing the records of the Commission without making note of these changes. (The original document claiming the paper didn't match was actually uncovered by researcher Gary Shaw in 1977. Apparently, he'd found it in the Warren Commission's sub-file on Dallas crime lab chief Lt. J.C. Day. In 1984, writer Henry Hurt contacted Vincent Drain and asked him if he had any idea why his report had been changed. Drain reportedly claimed "I am certainly as perplexed as you are," and asserted that he believed the correct report to be the one stating the paper was the same. He had previously said much the same thing to journalist Earl Golz. While this may very well be--all the other early reports claim the bag and paper matched--Drain's response is still suspicious, and suggests he was not telling the whole truth. In 1984, FBI Assistant Director William Baker admitted to researcher Ed Tatro that, sure enough, Drain had written an inaccurate report and that the FBI had ordered his report corrected. If, as it appears, either Drain or the person typing up his report had made a simple mistake, and had incorrectly claimed the paper didn't match, he most certainly would have heard about it, and would almost certainly have been punished. If so, it seems hard to believe he could forget such a thing. So then why lie about it to Golz and Hurt?)

While we're still puzzling over that, we get a look at the **12-20-63** FBI lab report on Zapruder's camera. (This report is officially provided the Warren Commission on 1-07-64 as part of CD206.) This report gives us yet another reason to believe that, in opposition to the statements of the closest witnesses, the FBI has concluded the final shot was the head shot. The report relates: *"Under date of December 20, 1963, the FBI Laboratory furnished the following information concerning a photographic examination requested by the Dallas Office, December 5, 1963: Specimens received 12-6-63...K51: One Bell and Howell Zoomatic 8mm motion picture camera SN AS 13486, obtained from Abraham Zapruder. Result of Examination: The K51 8mm motion picture camera has been tested to determine the running speed of this camera, and it has been determined that this camera when operated at normal "RUN" speed operates at 18 1/3 frames per second. While it is not possible to establish accurately from the film the moment of impact of the first two shots, applying the above camera speed to the film that was previously submitted which was exposed by Abraham Zapruder and which recorded the assassination, it has been determined that the best estimate of the elapsed time between the first and third shots lies between approximately five and six seconds. It is noted that the President's car moves behind a signboard at about the time of the first shot, and the President's movements during this period are not observable. However, he begins to fall forward immediately upon emerging from behind the sign."*

By indicating that one can establish accurately the moment of the third shot, the report indicates that the easily recognizable head shot was the third shot. This fact is further confirmed by the report's suggestion that this shot came but five to six seconds after the first shot (or, using the report's conclusion that the camera ran at 18.3 frames per second, 92-110 frames after the first shot). 92-110 frames prior to the head shot at frame 313, of course, places the first shot between 203 and 221, around the time Kennedy disappeared behind the sign, when the report claims the first shot was fired.

Yep, there can be no mistake: the FBI has concluded that the first shot struck Kennedy and that the final shot was the head shot. But does the Secret Service concur? Has it confirmed the study performed by the National Photo Interpretation Center, and the apparent findings of the FBI? Or has it come to conclude our earlier interpretation of the eyewitness evidence was correct, and that a shot was fired after the head shot?



The Secret Service Secrets


On **1-8-64**, the Secret Service provides the Warren Commission photos of its 12-5 re-enactment. These photos, taken from the sniper's nest, follow a car as it drives the motorcade route. A tree obstructs the sniper's nest view for part of the route on Elm.

When we look at the photos in the context of the original photo album, Commission Document 88, we see handwritten captions to three of these photos. These captions indicate that these three reflect the proposed locations for the limousine at the time of the first, second and third shots. (Rex Bradford, who placed Commission Document 88 online, confirms that he scanned the photos directly from the National Archives, and that the Warren Commission documents online on the Mary Ferrell website did not come from the files of a private researcher, who might otherwise be blamed.) Strangely, however, even though the Secret Service study of the Zapruder film at the National Photographic Interpretation Center had placed the first shot at frame 190 and the second at frame 242, and even though the 11-27 efforts of Agent John Joe Howlett had placed the second shot halfway in between the first shot, circa frame 200, and the third shot, at frame 313, the second shot depicted in these re-enactment photos comes much later, around Zapruder frame 283. The final shot also looks suspicious.

As these shots are presumed to reflect the distances recorded on the 12-5 plat, we begin to question both the accuracy and the integrity of the 12-5 survey.

(When published in the Warren Report's 26 volumes of supporting evidence as Exhibit 875, these photos were, not surprisingly, published without these captions.)


More Secret Service Secrets



Above: "This photograph taken from the same point where the amateur photographer took the movie of the assassination. This is the point of impact of the first bullet. Number 2 indicates the point of impact of the second bullet." (1-8-64 Secret Service report, CD87, p505-506.)

At right: "This photograph is taken from the same point where the amateur photographer made the movie. This photograph shows the point of impact of the third bullet." (1-8-64 Secret Service report, CD87, p507-508)

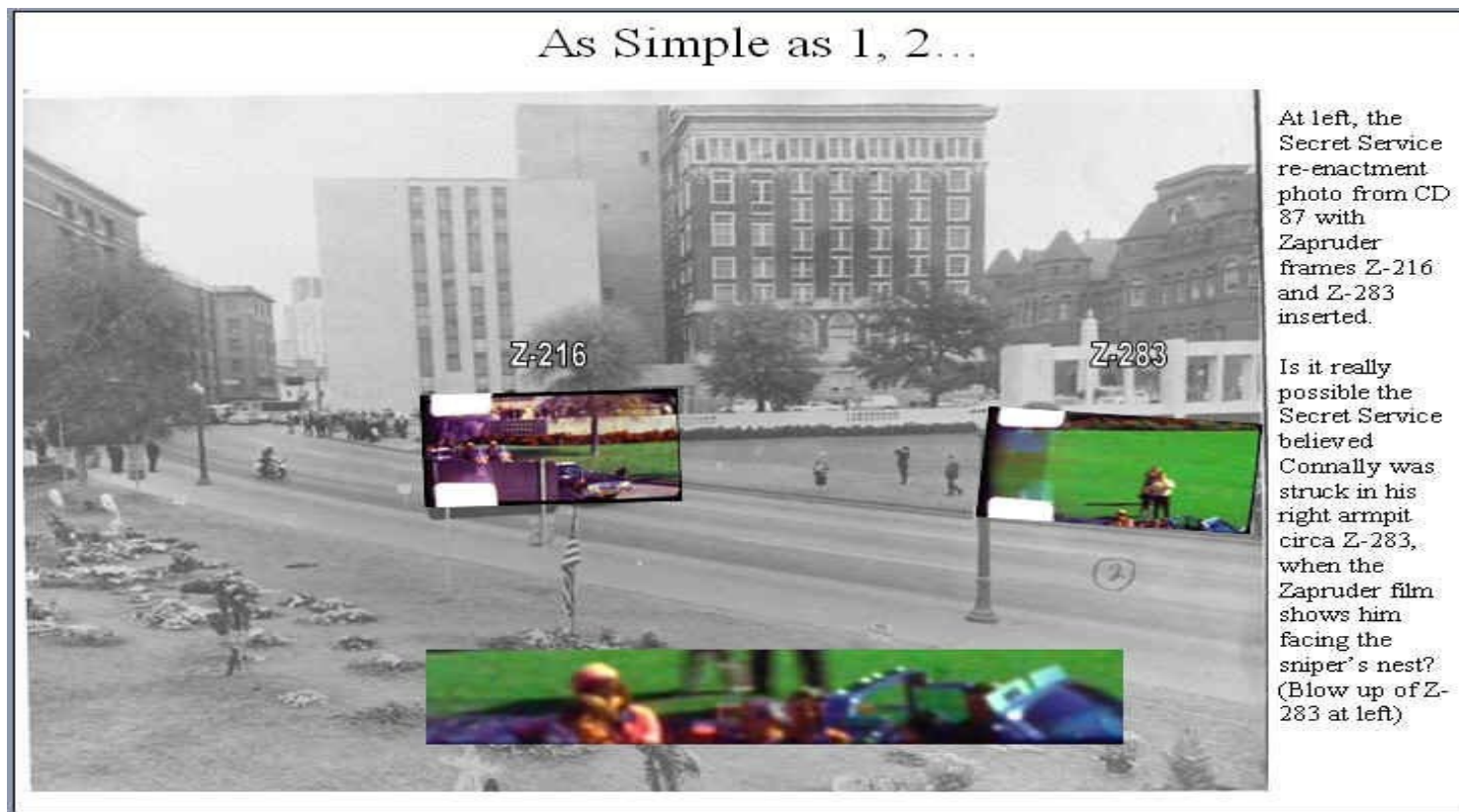
As one can see by the Secret Service's Final report of January 8, 1964, the Secret Service continued to tout that there were three shots, with one between the first shot and the head shot, long after their first re-enactment. The short elapsed time between the shots made such a shooting feat extremely difficult given Oswald's rifle. Was this why the Secret Service gave the shooter a little more time, and moved the head shot "a little further down the road" than at Z-313?



More Secret Service Secrets

As we weed through Commission Document 87, an over-thousand page Secret Service report detailing their investigation, we find more reasons to doubt the accuracy of the Secret Service's reports. We find pictures of a Secret Service re-enactment, taken from the location of Abraham Zapruder's camera. These were, apparently, taken during the 11-27 re-enactment. The captions to these photos indicate that the Secret Service has indeed concluded that the first shot hit Kennedy when he was behind the sign,

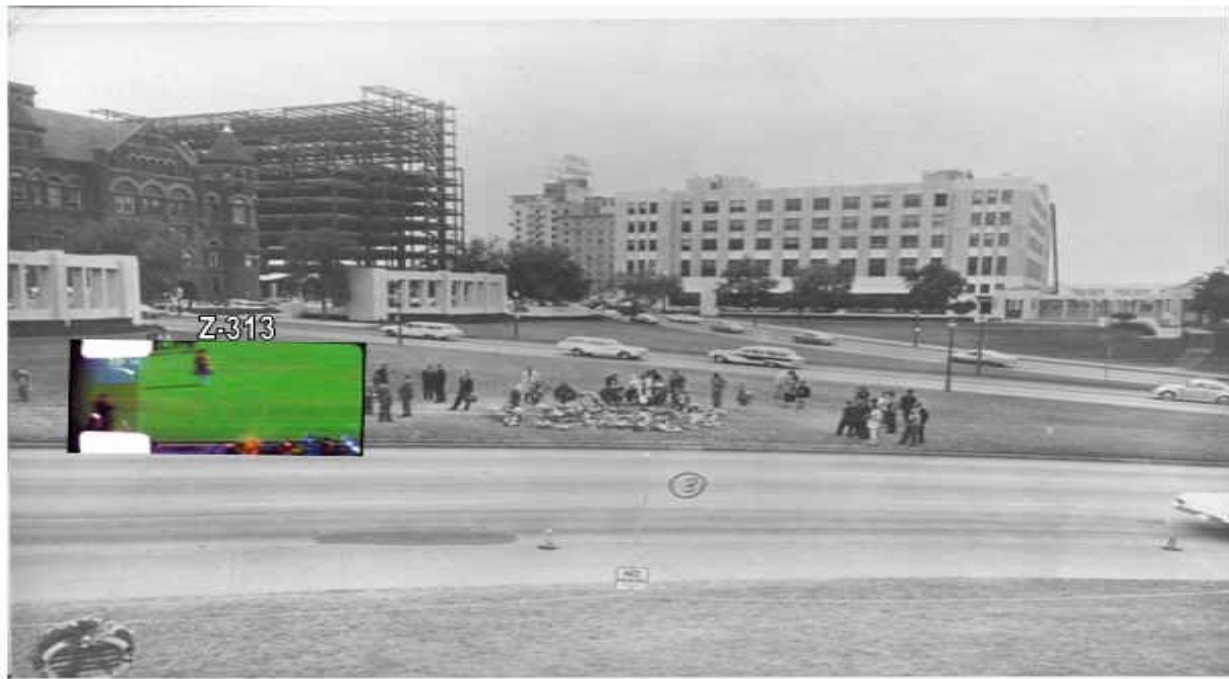
and that a second shot, presumably striking Connally, followed, which in turn was followed by the shot striking Kennedy's head. There is something wrong with these photos, however. The SS location for shot 2 seems way beyond the point where Connally is hit in the Zapruder film. The location for shot 3 is past Zapruder, when the head shot in the film comes just as the car pulls even with Zapruder.



As Simple as 1, 2...

We decide to super-impose some slides from the Zapruder film onto the photos taken from his location. While the first shot proposed by the SS takes place when Kennedy is behind the sign in the film, the second shot proposed takes place after Connally has obviously been hit, at a point when he is nearly facing Kennedy. It seems highly unlikely that a bullet coming from the sniper's nest at this moment could enter Connally's right armpit and exit the right front of his chest. We wonder why the Secret Service assumed Connally'd been turned to his right when hit. Perhaps they'd misunderstood his statements. If they had, they missed or ignored that he'd claimed to have yelled out after being shot, and that he'd already yelled out by frame 283.

3???



At left: the Secret Service re-enactment photo from CD 87 with Z-313 inserted.

Why did the Secret Service depict the head shot at a point past Zapruder, when, as determined by the angle of the back seat, the head shot occurred just before the limo pulled even with Zapruder?

3???

When we super-impose Zapruder frame 313, the frame depicting the head shot, onto the Secret Service photo for shot 3 we find that the amount of grass behind Kennedy in frame 313 is inconsistent with the amount of grass behind his purported location in the re-enactment photo. We try to convince ourselves this is a result of a slight difference in camera elevation, but the angle of the back seat to the camera also appears wrong. This leads us to believe the 12-5 survey inaccurately recorded and measured Kennedy's position at the moment of the head shot. We now wonder if Agent Howlett's earlier measurement for the distance of this shot wasn't more accurate, and why someone decided to change it.

We also notice some traffic cones in the photo. We recall a passage in the Secret Service's investigative file, CD 87, describing a short film of the 11-27 re-enactment. It proclaims: "Immediately after the motorcade passes out of view, Lt. Day of the Dallas Police Department walks onto the street from the right-hand side and places a traffic cone at the point of impact of the third shot. He then walks forward and places a traffic cone at the point of impact of the second shot and continues forward to place a traffic cone at the point of impact of the first shot and exits to the left." We recall also that Day had told the Dallas Times Herald that these locations had been established from watching a film, undoubtedly the Zapruder film. Well, this is a bit confusing. The cones in the 11-27 photos do not align with the shot locations Howlett reported to the FBI, nor to the shot locations determined by the Secret Service's 12-5 survey. We decide to ask a friend on the Dallas Police Department if he remembers what the cones in the photos were supposed to represent.

Our feeling that something is suspicious about the FBI and Secret Service's ever-changing interpretation of the shot locations is growing by the hour. A **1-9-64** newspaper column by Robert Allen and Paul Scott only feeds this feeling. It reports: "The FBI has been asked to conduct further tests on the time required to fire three shots. Reason for this is new evidence that the second and third shots came in exceptionally rapid succession. It was the third shot that shattered the back of the President's head and fragmented. This has made very difficult determining whether that round was fired by the

same rifle." Since it appears that someone either on the Commission or within the FBI has told Allen and Scott about this problem, we take heart that someone else has noticed what we thought only we had noticed--that the third shot in the re-enactment photos is much further down the street than the actual location where Kennedy was struck in the head, and that using the actual location puts the second and third shots far too close together to have both been fired by Oswald. We hope things get straightened out before the FBI submits their impression of the shot locations.

A few more witnesses are located, one of whose statements further support the "new evidence" discussed by Scott and Allen, that is, that the last two shots came in rapid succession.

Cecil Ault (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H534) "After the presidential car had turned the corner onto Elm Street, Mr. Ault heard three loud reports...the first and second shots sounded to him to be close together and the third shot was spaced more after the second shot, the first two shots sounding close enough to be from an automatic rifle...Following the first shot Mr. Ault noted that President Kennedy appeared to raise up in his seat in the Presidential automobile and after the second shot the president slumped into his seat." **Shot after the head shot. Lillian Mooneyham (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H531)** "Mrs. Mooneyham heard a gunshot and observed President Kennedy slump to the left of the seat of his car. At the time of the initial shot, Mrs. Mooneyham believed that a firecracker had gone off. Following the first shot, there was a slight pause and then two more shots were discharged, the second and third shots sounding closer together. Mrs. Mooneyham observed Mrs. Kennedy climb up on the back of the car...Mrs. Mooneyham estimated that it was about 4 ½ to 5 minutes following the shots fired by the assassin that she looked up towards the sixth floor of the TSBD and observed the figure of a man standing in the sixth floor window behind some cardboard boxes." **Double head shot.**

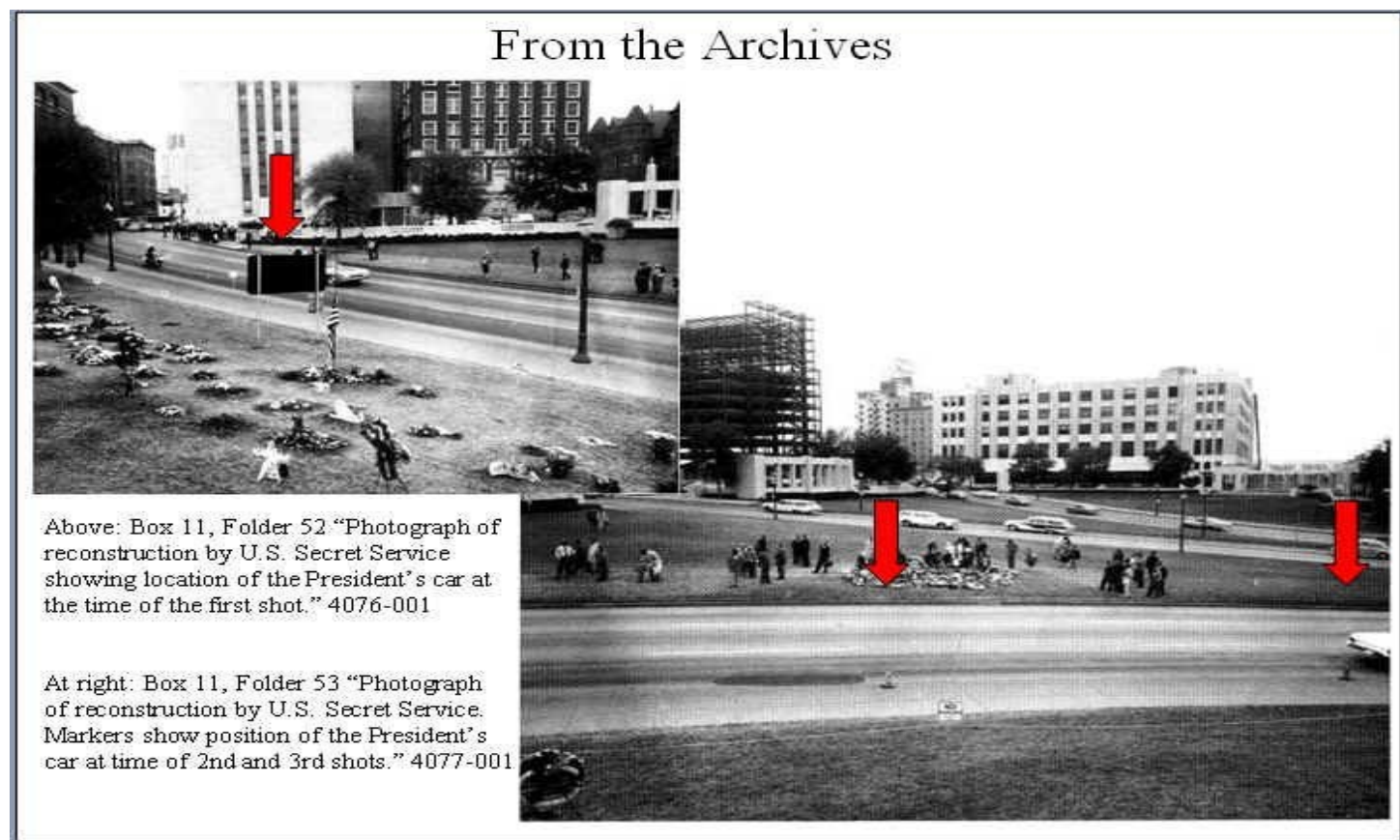
On **1-11**, Chairman Warren and General Counsel Rankin present their outline for the Warren Commission's investigation and report. The pre-planned conclusion is that Oswald killed Kennedy and that he acted alone.

On **1-11**, we learn that the FBI's exhibits are ready, and that the Director himself has inspected them and approved them. We wonder if they will satisfy the Commission, however. Apparently, someone on the Commission has read the eyewitness statements, and has realized that the last two shots were fired quite close together, and is openly talking about it. Today's syndicated newspaper column by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott reports that "The commission also wants more information about the alleged murder rifle. The FBI has been asked to conduct further tests on the time required to fire three shots. Reason for this is new evidence that *the second and third shots came in exceptionally rapid succession*. It was the third shot that shattered the back of the President's head, and fragmented. This has made very difficult determining whether that round was fired by the same rifle."

On **1-13** exhibits section chief Gauthier visits with the Warren Commission's chief counsel Lee Rankin, and Rankin requests 28 copies of a brochure of photos taken of these exhibits. A 1-14 memo on this meeting by Gauthier tells us further that "The Director firmly believes that the FBI should turn over full custody of these visual aids to the Commission as soon as possible in order that inquiries concerning these exhibits can be referred directly to Chairman Warren, particularly requests from news media to publicize the "new development."

We're also shown the FBI's Supplemental Report of **1-13-64**, reporting back on tests conducted since the 12-9 report. On page 3 it states "A motion picture of the assassination taken by an amateur photographer, Abraham Zapruder...was examined by the FBI Laboratory. The best estimate of the time interval of the shots fired is that approximately six seconds elapsed from the first to the final shot, with the second shot occurring approximately in the middle of the six second period. The firing period begins with the first shot, so that it is necessary to operate the rifle bolt only twice to fire three shots within a given period of time." This report reinforces what we already know--that, for Oswald to have

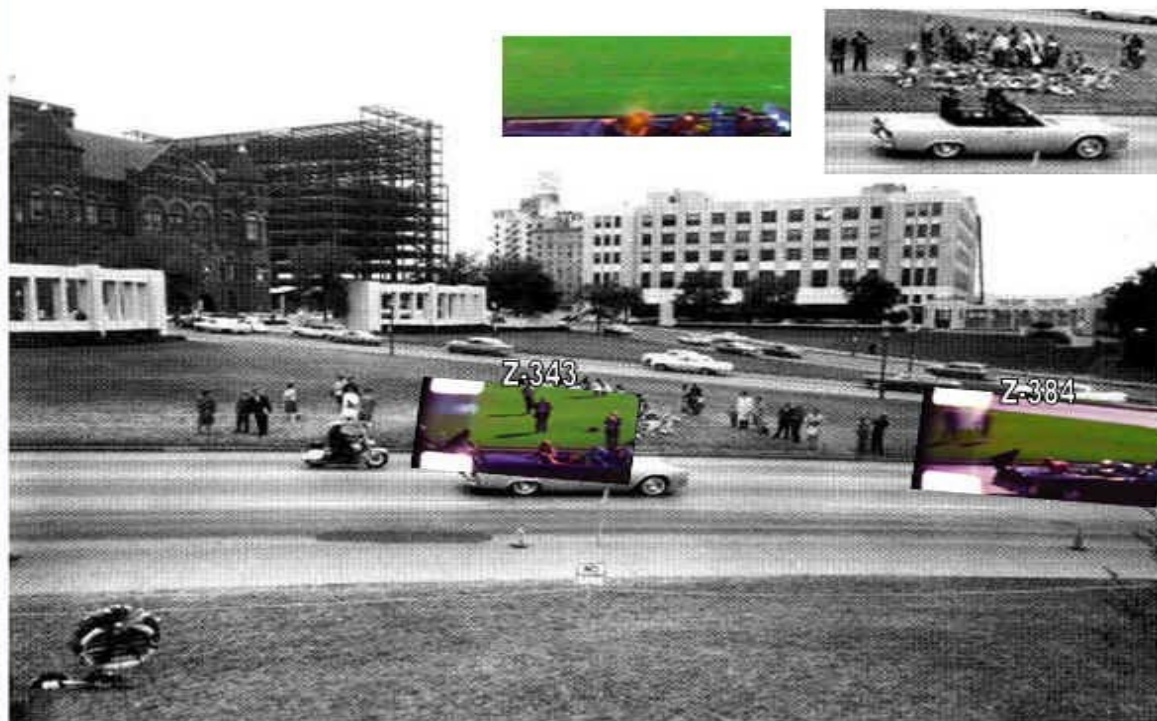
fired all the shots, the shot impacting Connally needed to have been fired 50 frames or so before or after the shots hitting Kennedy in the Zapruder film. Kennedy is undoubtedly hit at frame 313. Should the Secret Service have honestly believed Connally was hit circa frame 283, then they honestly should have concluded there had been more than one shooter. We hold out hope that the FBI's exhibits will be more accurate.



From the Archives

Our friend sends us copies of the DPD's re-enactment photos. These photos are identical to the photos provided by the Secret Service, with one notable difference. The caption to these photos states that the cones in the photos reflect the locations of the shots. Well, this is mighty curious. As the second cone is just past the location of the head shot, and the third cone is far past this point, this suggests the Secret Service initially concluded the head shot was the second shot, precisely as concluded in our analysis of the eyewitnesses.

The Third Shot Miss



Inserts at left: a comparison between Z-313 and the car in the photo below.

At left: document 4174-001 in Box 12, Folder 48 in the Dallas Municipal Archives: "Photograph reconstruction with Secret Service car and position with cones where second and third shots fired." Z-343 and Z-384 have been inserted to demonstrate the locations of the cones.

What made the Secret Service change their mind about the third shot?

The Third Shot Miss

When we superimpose frames from the Zapruder film onto the DPD photos, we discover that Lt. Day's and the Secret Service's original location for the second shot was circa frame 343, considerably past the head shot. The third shot, amazingly, comes at a point when Mrs. Kennedy is already on the trunk of the limousine. As Kennedy has been hit at least twice by this point, it seems likely the Secret Service concluded this third shot missed the President.

But then what happened to it? If Kennedy was hit in the back with the first shot, and hit in the head with the second shot, then this third shot MUST have hit Connally. Connally is laying down in his seat. His right armpit is exposed. A bullet hitting Connally at this moment MIGHT make sense. But that would mean Connally had lied when he'd said he was hit before the head shot. It would also mean that Connally, a former Secretary of the Navy, had crouched in self-protection a few feet from his President, when his President was under fire.

Fortunately, for those concerned with Connally's courage or lack thereof, you can see blood near his armpit as early as frame 340 of the Zapruder film, before either of the last two shots in the DPD and Secret Service re-enactment. Did the Secret Service agents running the re-enactment even look at the film to double-check this theory?

Apparently so. The photos with the cones were taken during the 11-27 re-enactment. The FBI, we should recall, reported Howlett's conclusions on this re-enactment in an 11-29 memo from Agent Barrett. Howlett's conclusions were reportedly that the first shot struck Kennedy at a distance corresponding to the limo's location circa frame 200 of the Zapruder film and that the second one to hit him did so from a distance corresponding to the limo's distance circa frame 313, with a shot hitting Connally in the middle. This suggests that Howlett used the cones during the re-enactment, compared these locations to the Zapruder film, and then decided the cones were placed in the incorrect locations.

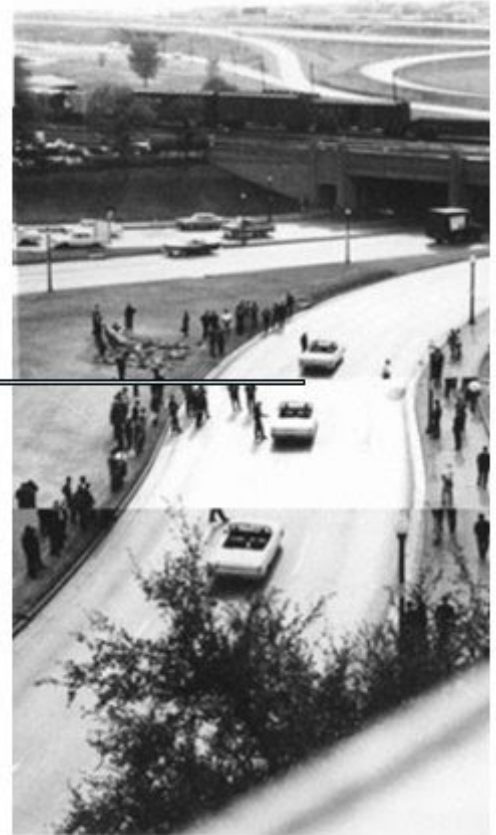
So then why, one might ask, did Elmer Moore re-consider the whole thing on 12-5? And create a new

and improved survey that was so obviously wrong?

The Missing Second Shot



When one compares the three stills from the 11-27 re-enactment film in which the shot locations are marked with a cone (which are combined into one frame above) with the three photos from the 12-05 re-enactment purported to indicate the shot locations (which are combined into one photo at right), one gets a surprise. The second shot was originally much further down Elm then later determined (as shown by the blue line).



Above: three photos from Warren Commission Document CD88 merged into one.

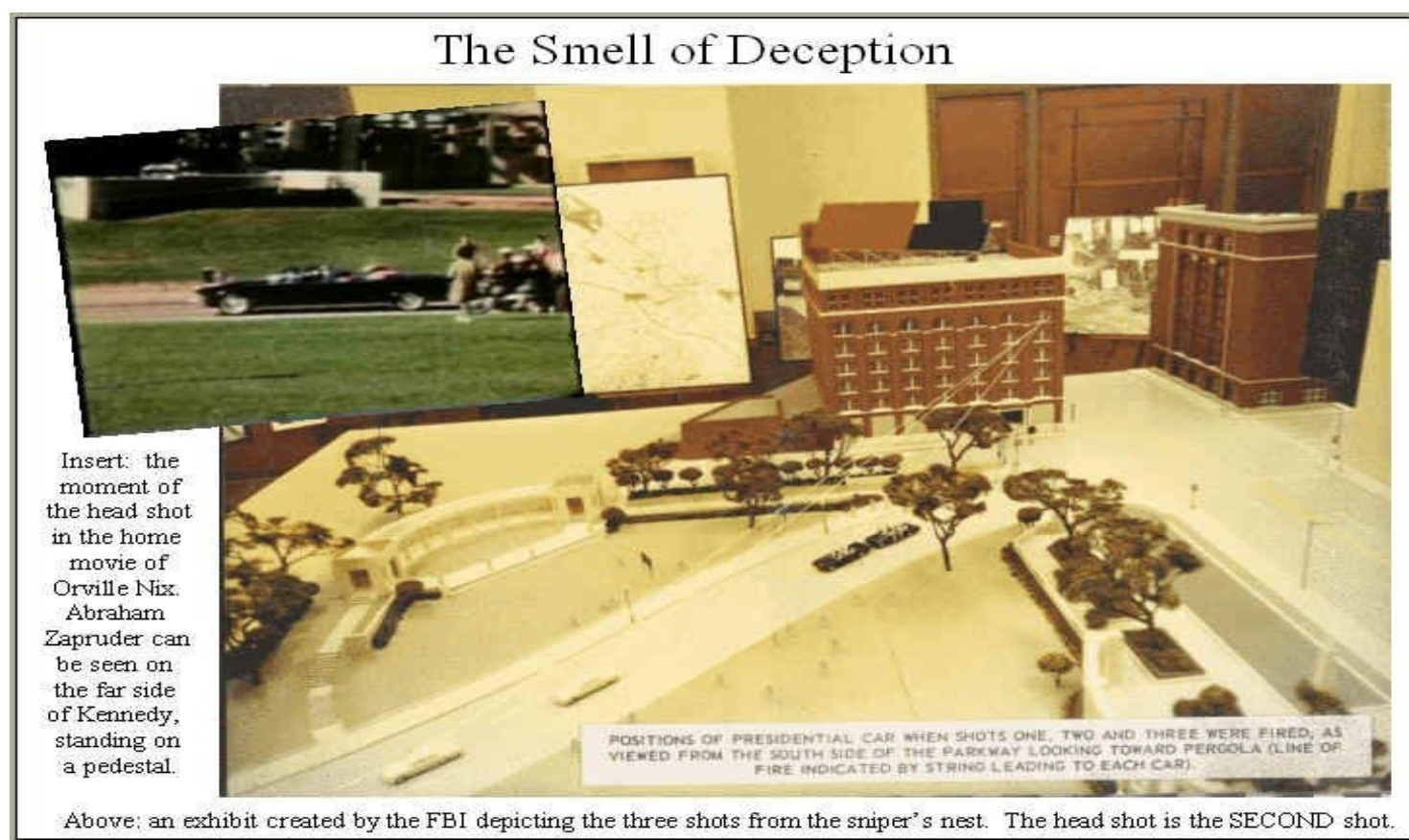
The Missing Second Shot

One possible answer to the "why try again?" question comes from watching the 11-27 re-enactment film. While Barrett's 11-29 memo said the Secret Service was unable to identify a moment for the second shot hitting Connally, the film shows Lt. Day of the DPD marking a location for the second shot. And it is clearly at the location of the head shot, and far too close to the location of the third cone to represent a separate shot from a bolt action rifle. From this it seems possible that Howlett reported this problem, that someone decided this problem needed to be "overcome", and that Elmer Moore was sent out to "fix" this problem.

It also seems more than a coincidence that 11-27, the day of the initial re-enactment, was also the day Governor Connally was first interviewed on television. As the 11-27 re-enactment reportedly concluded that the second shot to hit Kennedy was fired from a distance of 260 feet, corresponding roughly with frame 313 of the Zapruder film, the third cone in the re-enactment film, which was far further than 260 feet from the sniper's nest, quite possibly represented the presumed location of Connally at the time he was hit by a third bullet.

If so, it only makes sense then that the Secret Service decided to trash this conclusion once Connally--a close personal friend of the new President--told the nation he was hit by the second shot. Perhaps then Howlett called the FBI's Barrett and told him he'd changed his conclusions, and that he now believed Connally was hit by the second shot, which had been fired in-between the two shots striking Kennedy. Such a last minute change would explain why the FBI's report on the 11-27 re-enactment gave no approximate distance for this second shot.

But this problem defies an easy explanation.



The Smell of Deception

On 1-20-64, we receive another shock. On the first page of a 65-page packet of visual aids and memos from the FBI's Exhibits Section (CD 298) is a letter from J. Edgar Hoover himself, telling us that 28 copies of this packet have been sent out to Warren Commission counsel and staff per General Counsel Rankin's request. This amounts to Hoover's personal seal of approval. When we look inside, however, we find that Gauthier's Exhibits Section has stood by the strange numbers reported in his 12-9 memo. We can't believe it. His conclusions are similar to the original conclusions of the Secret Service, as depicted in the DPD photos. There is photo after photo of the FBI's model of Dealey Plaza, and photo after photo depicting the limousine in front of the concrete steps at the time of the third shot. At the end of the packet, moreover, is a summary of the Exhibit Section's findings. Under the heading "What was the aiming pattern of the assassin's target?" it reads:

- a. SHOT ONE hit the target from a distance of 167 feet, measured downward along a 23-degree angle from the horizontal.

(THIS IS THE LIMO'S APPROXIMATE POSITION AT FRAME 197 OF THE ZAPRUDER FILM,

WHEN A TREE OBSCURED THE SNIPER'S NEST'S VIEW OF THE LIMOUSINE. THIS IS A BIT OF A SURPRISE AS GAUTHIER'S 12-9 MEMO MADE A POINT OF STATING THAT "IT APPEARS THAT SHOT ONE STRUCK THE PRESIDENT MOMENTARILY AFTER HE CAME WITHIN GUN RANGE WHEN HIS CAR MOVED PAST THE TREE TOP AS VIEWED BY THE ASSASSIN." IT WOULD LATER BE DETERMINED THAT THE PRESIDENT DIDN'T MOVE PAST THE TREE TOP UNTIL FRAME 207 OF THE ZAPRUDER FILM.)

- b. SHOT TWO hit the target from a distance of 262 feet, measured downward along an 18-degree angle from the horizontal. The target moved forward 96 feet in 4.4 seconds at 15 mph (22fps) or 5.5 seconds at 12 mph (17.6 fps). Line of sight change from shot one: 5 degrees upward, 4 degrees to the right.

(THIS WOULD SEEM TO BE A REFERENCE TO FRAME 313 OF THE ZAPRUDER FILM, THE MOMENT OF THE FATAL HEADSHOT, A SHOT DETERMINED TO HAVE BEEN 260 FEET IN DISTANCE ON 11-27-63 AND EVENTUALLY DETERMINED TO HAVE BEEN 265 FEET IN DISTANCE.)

- c. SHOT THREE hit the target from a distance of 307 feet, measured downward along a 15 degree angle from the horizontal. The target moved forward 45 feet in 2.0 seconds at 15 mph (22 fps) or 2.5 seconds at 12 mph (17.6 fps). Line of sight change from shot two: 3 degrees upward, 1.5 degrees to the right.

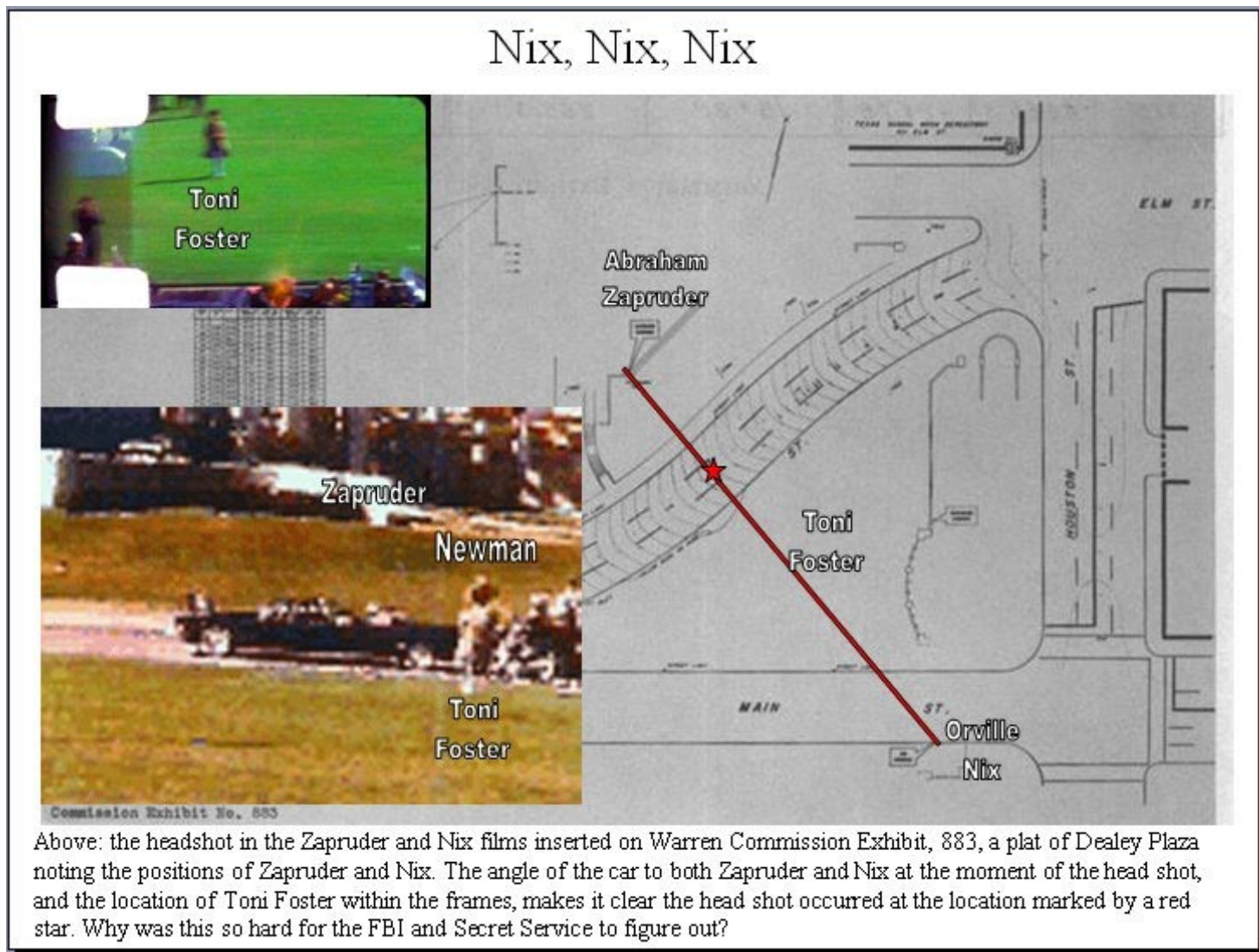
(THIS IS KENNEDY'S APPROXIMATE POSITION AT FRAME 358 OF THE ZAPRUDER FILM, APPROXIMATELY 2 1/2 SECONDS AFTER THE FATAL HEADSHOT.)

- d. ELAPSED TIME to hit targets two and three after hitting target one: 6.4 seconds at 15 mph (22 fps) or 8.0 seconds at 12 mph (17.6 fps).

(THIS PASSAGE IS MIGHTY CURIOUS. ON 1-07, THE FBI HAD PROVIDED THE COMMISSION CD 206, WHICH INCLUDED AN FBI LAB REPORT FROM 12-20, CLAIMING "The K51 8mm motion picture camera has been tested to determine the running speed of this camera, and it has been determined that this camera when operated at normal "RUN" speed operates at 18 1/3 frames per second." FURTHERMORE, ON 1-13,, THEY'D PROVIDED THE COMMISSION WITH A SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT TO THEIR ORIGINAL SUMMARY REPORT. IT CLAIMED "The best estimate of the time interval of the shots fired is that approximately six seconds elapsed from the first to the final shot, with the second shot occurring approximately in the middle of the six second period." SO WHAT'S WITH THEIR OFFERING ELAPSED TIMES FOR TWO DIFFERENT RUNNING SPEEDS? WELL, A CLOSE LOOK AT THE TESTIMONY OF THEIR CAMERA EXPERT LYNDA SHANEYFELT'S TESTIMONY ON 6-4-64 REVEALS THAT THE ESTIMATED RUNNING SPEED OF 18.3 FPS WAS AN AVERAGE. BASED ON THIS REPORT, THEN, ONE MIGHT GUESS THAT THE RANGE OF THE RESULTS AVERAGING OUT TO 18.3 WAS 17.6 TO 22. IN 1967, CBS PURCHASED FIVE IDENTICAL CAMERAS AND FOUND THAT THEY RAN 15.45, 17.7, 18.7, 19.25, AND 20.95 FRAMES PER SECOND, A SIMILAR RANGE WITH A SIMILAR AVERAGE OF 18.4 FPS. IF THE FIRST SHOT FROM THE SNIPER'S NEST WASN'T FIRED UNTIL AFTER KENNEDY HAD EMERGED FROM BEHIND A TREE, AROUND FRAME 210, AND IF THE LAST SHOT WAS THE HEAD SHOT, AT FRAME 313, AND SHOULD THE CAMERA HAVE BEEN RUNNING AS FAST AS 22 FPS, THE FBI'S FASTEST TIME, OR 20.95, CBS' FASTEST TIME, THE TIME-SPAN OF THE SHOOTING SEQUENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN UNDER 5 SECONDS, TOO SHORT A TIME-SPAN FOR OSWALD TO HAVE FIRED ALL THE SHOTS. ONE MIGHT SUSPECT THEN THAT THE EXHIBITS SECTION WAS WELL AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM AND THAT THIS INFLUENCED THEIR PLACEMENT OF THE THIRD SHOT.)

- e. CHANGE OF AIMING PATTERN from shot one to shot three: 8 degrees upward, 5.5 degrees to the right.

From this, we can see that the FBI's photos were not a mistake. The report of their Exhibits Section not only fails to mention the wounding of James Tague, if only to dismiss its relevance, but is in clear contradiction with the 12-20 report on the Zapruder film by the FBI crime lab, which claimed the timing of the first two shots couldn't be established, but that the third shot was the head shot. This new report, conversely, and surprisingly, seems to be claiming there was a shot after the head shot.



Nix, Nix, Nix

Since the head shot in the Nix film (and noted in the Exhibits Section's report) occurs when the limousine is in front of the pedestal, with Zapruder in the background, and since the Exhibits Section's report describes the Nix film as follows: "Nix, standing on the Plaza grass across the road from the Pergola (where Zapruder viewed the motorcade) photographed the motorcade as it approached the triple underpass" it certainly seems they knew Nix was standing across from Zapruder, and not far off to his right. As the third shot portrayed in their exhibits is considerably past Zapruder, and since Nix would have to have been in front of the limousine, with it heading his direction, in order for him to

catch Zapruder in the background of his film at this time, it only makes sense that the FBI Exhibits Section believed the head shot captured by Nix came earlier, and was in fact the second shot.

This becomes even more clear when one realizes that the head shot in the Nix film occurs just after the limo passes William and Gayle Newman on the North side of the street. Shortly after the shooting, William Newman was interviewed on television station WFAA. He reported: "as the car got directly in front of us well a gunshot apparently from behind us hit the President in the side of the temple."

So, establishing the location of Kennedy at the time of the head shot should have been a simple matter of establishing William Newman's location in the various films and photographs, and adding on 10 feet or so, based on Kennedy's distance from him at the moment of impact in the Nix film.

The Newmans Mark the Spot



Photographs by Art Rickerby, above, and Wilma Bond, right, prove that Bill and Gayle Newman, next to Kennedy at the time of the head shot, dived on the grass near the second lamp post.



So why did both the FBI, in CD298, the 1-20-64 report of its exhibits section, as shown at left, and the Secret Service, in its two re-enactments on 11-27-63 and 12-5-63, as shown above center and right, propose that TWO shots were fired after the limousine passed this lamp post? The only reasonable explanation is that they believed a shot was fired after the head shot. Right?

The Newmans Mark the Spot

Well, all the photos of Bill and Gayle Newman taken just after the shooting show them to be laying on the grassy knoll just west of the second lamp post. There is no evidence they ran after the shooting. Their statements indicate they dived down to cover their children where they'd been standing, and no one else ever claimed they'd ran before covering up their children. So, the Secret Service and FBI should have concluded the third shot struck Kennedy within a few feet of this location, should they have honestly believed the head shot was the third and final shot.

Since both the Secret Service and FBI concluded there was a shot after the shot fired when Kennedy was abreast of the Newmans, however, one might logically conclude that both agencies believed there to have been a shot fired after the head shot.

Or is that too logical?

The Question of Competence

Although, the photographic evidence seems overwhelming that the Secret Service and FBI at one time believed the head shot was the second shot, and that another shot followed, there is an equally compelling argument against this possibility. This argument is based upon the paper trail, and suggests that the Secret Service and FBI were simply incompetent.

Let's examine this first possibility. Could the FBI have concluded the second shot was the head shot?

Certainly not at first. Besides the 11-29 phone call from Director Hoover to President Johnson in which Hoover reported that Kennedy was "hit by the first and the third" shots, and that the "second shot hit the governor", and the 11-29 report by Agent Barrett on the 11-27 re-enactment, reporting that "Governor Connally was struck by the second shot", there is the 12-3 report by Agent Abernathy (CD385 p22), stating that the assassination sequence in Nix's film, which depicts the head shot, began "subsequent to the firing of the first two shots."

Well, then perhaps they came to this conclusion at a later date. The FBI's summary report of 12-9 (written around 12-4, after Gauthier's people had begun their work in Dallas) describes the shooting as follows: "As the motorcade was traveling through downtown Dallas on Elm Street about fifty yards west of the intersection with Houston Street (Exhibit 1), three shots rang out. Two bullets struck President Kennedy, and one wounded Governor Connally." Note that here Connally is mentioned last. This raises the possibility that, through their work in Dallas, the FBI's Exhibits Section Chief Leo Gauthier and his team had, if only for a spell, convinced the Bureau that the head shot was the second shot, and that Connally was wounded by the third shot. That the shot after the head shot didn't miss the car entirely is betrayed by the Exhibits Section's conclusion that each of the three shots "hit the target."

But then there's Gauthier himself, in his 12-9 memo, relating "Shot number two which is believed to have struck Governor Connally." And then there's the 12-20 report from the FBI crime lab, which makes it clear they believed the head shot was the third and final shot.

And then there's this. In another section of Gauthier's 1-20 report, in a brief description of the Zapruder film, it's made fairly clear the writer believed Connally'd been hit before the head shot. It relates: "The car momentarily became obscured from Zapruder's line of sight behind a road sign (refer to scale model). As it emerged from behind the sign, the Zapruder film reproduced the action of the occupants of the car as follows: The President is slumped forward in his seat with his right hand partly lowered from the previous waving position, he appears to be leaning toward his left nearer to Mrs. Kennedy; Governor Connally is seen turning his head to the right and rear, falling towards Mrs. Connally, as a circle of light resembling an explosive blast encircles the President's head." If the writer of this report felt Connally was not yet wounded and still under his own power at the moment of the head shot, it seems highly unlikely he'd describe him as "falling" towards his wife.

This convinces us that the first possibility is not true. Which leaves us with the second possibility: that the FBI of 1964 was largely incompetent...

And that the Secret Service was no better... Both the worksheets found at the National Photo Interpretation Center and the captions to the photos in the Secret Service's 1-8-64 report to the Warren Commission, after all, have shown us that the Service, too, has concluded that the final shot was the

head shot.

Yes, as hard as this may be to accept, the bulk of the evidence suggests that the FBI and Secret Service always believed Connally was hit by the second shot, and meant to express this in their exhibits, but failed to do so due to their collective incompetence. While this might sound unduly harsh, what other "innocent" conclusion can be reached from the undeniable fact the FBI and Secret Service each took measurements in Dealey Plaza, and studied two films of the shooting taken from opposite angles, but were nevertheless unable to locate Kennedy's position at the time of the head shot within 25 feet of his easily recognized position? What other "innocent" explanation is there for the FBI's concluding the first shot was 17 feet closer, the second shot 20 feet further, and the third shot 13 feet further from the sniper's nest than the Secret Service's "corrected" conclusions? While it seems possible that someone had fooled the FBI's Gauthier, a man of questionable competence (see below), with some "marks on the freeway" there can be no excuse for the Secret Service's similar mistakes. Someone's measurements were very wrong, or someone's eyesight was very bad, or both.

(In 1976, it would be revealed that FBI Exhibits Section Chief Leo Gauthier's job entailed such tasks as re-modeling FBI Director Hoover's home. This included replacing the patches of Hoover's lawn destroyed by doggy urine.)

The Question of Integrity

There is, of course, a third possibility, one not so "innocent." Perhaps the errors apparent in the 12-5-63 Secret Service Survey and the exhibits prepared by the FBI are not confusing at all, but clear reflections that the Secret Service and FBI were both trying to make sure that, no matter the speed of the camera, no matter the order of the shots, Oswald had enough time to fire the shots.

This makes a great deal of sense. Back in December, when the Secret Service and FBI created their horribly inaccurate exhibits, no one seriously considered that the Warren Commission would actually double-check their work. It was, in fact, widely assumed they'd rubber-stamp their findings. It was assumed, furthermore, that the Zapruder film would never be shown to the public. The combination of these assumptions, therefore, would make it mighty tempting for anyone trying to use the film to suggest Oswald acted alone to quietly fudge his findings. Particularly when there was already so much evidence to suggest Oswald's guilt. After all:

1. Most witnesses heard three shots.
2. Three shells were reportedly found in the sniper's nest.
3. Three hits would help explain the two reported entrances on Kennedy and the three impact locations on Connally.
4. Oswald was a communist-sympathizer. Such a man, in the minds of many Americans, including FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, was imbalanced. To their mind, Oswald didn't need a rational motive for his actions because, as a communist sympathizer, he was inherently irrational.
5. President Johnson was anxious for the case to be settled. Johnson, the State Department, and the business community were all anxious to show the world that the United States was a stable and strong democracy. Dragging out a criminal investigation would hurt U.S. business interests, jeopardize the country's international relations, and allow communists worldwide a powerful propaganda tool. A long and involved investigation could also be used by Johnson's right-wing opponents to damage him domestically; it might even lead to his downfall. Word had to get out and get out quick that Johnson was definitely not involved, and the easiest way to do that was to say that Oswald acted alone, and concoct a scenario by which he may have acted alone.

Under such circumstances, it certainly seems reasonable to assume both the Secret Service and FBI

were fudging their investigations to cover that Oswald may not have had enough time to have fired all of the shots. Consider that Gauthier's 12-9 memo was written under the assumption the limousine was traveling 15 mph, and that his final report included this assumption as a possible scenario. (The speed of the limousine was eventually determined to have been 11.2 mph.)

This raises the question of why Gauthier even considered the possibility the limo was moving at such a speed. Well, FBI agents Sibert and O'Neill's 11-29 report on an interview of the limo's driver, William Greer, indicated Greer had been driving 15-20 mph when the shots were fired. Their interview of Agent Kellerman, riding next to Greer on the limousine's front seat, furthermore, indicated that the limousine had been traveling "approximately 15 miles per hour." Well, this would make Gauthier suspect the limousine was traveling 15 mph, right? Now let's consider that agent Barrett's 12-4 report on an interview with Zapruder indicated that Zapruder's film of the assassination was recorded at 24 frames per second. This film shows the limousine traveling approximately 136 feet in the 152 frames between Z-162 and Z-313. This means that, if the camera was recording 24 frames per second, as claimed, then the limousine was traveling at just under...21.5 feet per second, or 14.65 mph, which rounds up to 15 mph. This approximation of 15 mph confirms Greer's and Kellerman's estimate. One can only assume then that Gauthier was well aware of these memos when conducting his tests. Now consider that the Secret Service's own undated report on Greer, written by Greer himself, indicated he'd been driving 12-15 mph, and was packaged together in the Secret Service report with reports written on 11-29 and afterward. This suggests that they too would be conducting their 12-5 re-enactment under the belief the limo was traveling approximately 15 mph, even if they were unaware of Barrett's 12-4 report suggesting the camera was recording 24 frames per second. (The test results demonstrating that the camera was recording 18.3 frames per second, and that the limo was therefore traveling approximately 11.2 miles per hour were not released until 12-20.)

This leads us to a disturbing possibility... If BOTH the FBI and Secret Service in the first weeks of December were operating under the assumption the limousine was traveling 15 mph and/or that the camera recorded 24 frames per second, as one might reasonably suspect, then they would BOTH have been conducting their investigation under the assumption the limousine traveled about 22 fps. In such case, as the original reenactment by Howlett on 11-27 had determined that the third shot was fired when the limousine was but 90 feet further down the road than its location at the time of the first shot, they would BOTH have been forced to conclude Oswald would not have had enough time to fire all the shots. 90 feet divided by 22 fps equals 4.09 seconds, after all, presumably less than whatever time the Secret Service had determined Oswald would have needed to fire three shots and far less than the 5.6 seconds or so Agent Frazier had determined would be the minimum time required to fire Oswald's rifle three times at a moving object.

Well, is it really a coincidence then that BOTH the Secret Service and FBI rejected Howlett's conclusions and inaccurately represented the head shot location in their subsequent reports? On 12-5 the Secret Service inaccurately determined that the location formerly believed to be 260 feet from the sniper's nest was really 294 feet from the sniper's nest, and that the limo traveled roughly 110 feet between the first and third shots, not 90. 110 feet, not surprisingly, translates to a 5 second shooting scenario, should the limo have been traveling 15 mph as presumed. (While less than the 5.6 seconds later mentioned by Frazier in his Warren Commission testimony, this 5 second scenario was still more than the 4.6 seconds it took Frazier to fire at three stationary targets in his tests with Oswald's rifle. It follows, then, that the Secret Service in December 63 would have believed 5 seconds to have been more than enough time for Oswald to have fired all the shots.)

But, should the Secret Service have deliberately fudged its numbers in order to buy Oswald more time, they were not to be outdone by the FBI, which actually claimed the limo traveled 140 feet further from the sniper's nest between the first and third shots. This shooting scenario, which began and ended with

the same shots described by Howlett in his 11-27 reenactment, was nevertheless determined to have involved more than 50% more of Elm Street. This translated to a 6.36 second shooting scenario, even if the limo was traveling 22 fps...

It would appear then that the Secret Service and FBI both deliberately fudged their numbers in order to conceal from the Warren Commission the possibility Oswald could not have fired all the shots.

If they assumed the Warren Commission was not gonna double-check their work, however, they were wrong...

Within just a few days of receiving Gauthier's exhibits section's report the Warren Commission counsel tasked with investigating the shooting realized that the FBI had fed them a big steaming pile of nonsense. A 1-23 memo from Gauthier to his boss Nicholas Callahan reveals that on this day he met with Warren Commission counsels Ball, Belin, Eisenberg and Redlich, as well as Inspector Thomas Kelley of the Secret Service, and that the six men spent three hours "re-enacting" the shooting in Dealey Plaza using Gauthier's scale model of the plaza and model cars. (This memo can be found in FBI file 62-109090 Sec. 2 p 143-146). Gauthier reports that Kelley "stated that the versions of the FBI and Secret Service were good approximations" and that "The staff is hoping to eventually be in a position to say exactly where the shots occurred on the Parkway with a plus or minus factor of several feet." He then reports that they will meet again on 1-27, at which time they will view the Zapruder and Nix films and try to come to some sort of agreement on the location of the limo during the shots. Not surprisingly, given the FBI's concern about the Commission, in the comments section of this memo Gauthier (or is it Callahan?) tries to assure his superiors that no one is second-guessing their inept work, although, clearly, they were. He writes: "The points on the Parkway as defined by the FBI are considered to be the best approximations possible and in line with the Secret Service version. Inspector Kelley shares the same views. The FBI has the first shot occurring just before the President's head emerges from behind the sign while the Secret Service approximates the location moments after the President emerges. Approximately one second is involved between the two versions. The Commission realizes that there is no material difference between the FBI's and Secret Service's approximations; however, they wish to attempt to fix shooting sequence with a great degree of accuracy with a plus or minus factor of a few feet." (This is already surprising. How could the Secret Service NOT see that Kennedy was hit before he came out from behind the sign in the Zapruder film?)

Attached to Gauthier's memo is a further comparison of the FBI and Secret Service proposed shooting scenarios. It reads:

- Shot One: It occurred when the Presidential car was unobserved by Zapruder for approximately twenty feet while moving behind a road sign. Shot one was approximately fixed on the model at a point directly behind the center of this sign. The movie reveals that prior to reaching this sign the President was seen waving and moments later after emerging from behind the sign he was slumped forward. The position on the Parkway where shot one occurred as approximated by the Secret Service varies about one car length (13 feet) or about one half second at 15 mph. The FBI's estimate places the President approximately one-half second nearer to the assassin when shot one was fired.

(THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIRST SHOT ON THE 12-5 SECRET SERVICE PLAT AND GAUTHIER'S 1-20 EXHIBITS SECTION REPORT WAS 17 FEET, NOT 13 FEET. CLEARLY, GAUTHIER AND KELLEY ARE NOT RELYING ON THEIR PREVIOUS STUDIES. THAT GAUTHIER BELIEVES SHOT ONE RANG OUT WHEN THE MODEL WAS BEHIND THE CENTER OF THE SIGN, WHEN HE'D PREVIOUSLY APPROXIMATED THIS DISTANCE AS 167 FEET, SUGGESTS THAT HIS MODEL OF DEALEY PLAZA WAS INACCURATE. THE WARREN COMMISSION WOULD LATER DETERMINE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS 167 FEET FROM THE SNIPER'S NEST

BEFORE HE WENT BEHIND THE SIGN. IT IS ALSO INTRIGUING THAT HERE, A MONTH AFTER THE SPEED OF THE Z-FILM AND LIMO WERE RE-INTERPRETED, GAUTHIER IS STILL REPEATING THAT THE LIMO WAS TRAVELING 15 MPH.)

- Shot Two: It occurred approximately at the time Governor Connally was turning his head to the right rear. This point was established through the interpretation of the relative location of trees, shrubs, street lights, curbing, etc, appearing in the movie. The position on the Parkway approximated by the FBI and the Secret Service varies about 1.5 car lengths (22 feet) or about one second at 15 mph. The FBI's estimate places the Governor approximately one second further away from the assassin when shot two was fired.

(GAUTHIER HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID THIS SHOT WAS FIRED WHEN THE LIMO WAS 262 FEET FROM THE SNIPER'S NEST. ON 12-5 THE SECRET SERVICE HAD APPROXIMATED THE DISTANCE FOR THIS SECOND SHOT AS 242 FEET, 20 FEET CLOSER.. NOW, GAUTHIER TELLS US THAT THEY ARE EVEN FURTHER APART, 22 FEET. THIS IS INCREDIBLY PROBLEMATIC. IF ONE PROPOSES THAT GAUTHIER'S MEASUREMENTS ARE WRONG, IT STILL DOESN'T EXPLAIN WHY, EVEN AFTER COMPARING SHOOTING SCENARIOS ON HIS MODEL OF DEALEY PLAZA WITH THE SECRET SERVICE, HE STILL HOLDS THAT THIS SHOT WAS FIRED WELL AFTER THE SECRET SERVICE'S SHOT. EVEN STRANGER, GAUTHIER HAS ALREADY SAID THE FIRST SHOT WAS FIRED WHEN THE LIMO WAS BEHIND THE CENTER OF THE SIGN--WHICH IS AT APPROXIMATELY FRAME 210 OF THE ZAPRUDER FILM--AND HAS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED THAT THE SECOND SHOT WAS AT LEAST 4.4 SECONDS AFTER THE FIRST, WHICH WOULD EQUATE TO ABOUT 80 FRAMES. THIS PLACES THE SECOND SHOT IN GAUTHIER'S ANALYSIS AT FRAME 290--AT THE VERY EARLIEST. THIS, OF COURSE, IS WITHIN TWO SECONDS OF THE OBVIOUS HEAD SHOT AT FRAME 313, AND IS WAY TOO CLOSE IN TIME TO FRAME 313 FOR BOTH SHOTS TO HAVE BEEN FIRED BY OSWALD'S BOLT ACTION RIFLE. GAUTHIER'S INABILITY TO REALIZE THIS, OR HIS DELIBERATE IGNORANCE OF THIS FACT, DOES NOT REFLECT WELL ON THE BUREAU AND ITS COMMITMENT TO THE TRUTH.)

- Shot Three: It occurred approximately at the time a circle of light resembling an explosive blast encircles the President's head. The position on the Parkway approximated by the FBI and the Secret Service varies about 2/3 car length (14 feet) or about 2/3 second at 15 mph. The FBI's estimate places the President approximately 2/3 second nearer to the assassin when shot three was fired.

(APPROXIMATELY? WHO IS HE KIDDING? THE MAN'S HEAD EXPLODES. AND WHAT'S ALL THIS ABOUT A "CIRCLE OF LIGHT"? IS GAUTHIER AFRAID TO REPORT THAT BLOOD AND BRAIN ARE VISIBLE IN THE FILM? WHY? AND WHY, WHEN THE SECRET SERVICE'S 12-5 PLAT HAS THE THIRD SHOT AT 294 FEET, AND GAUTHIER'S 1-20 REPORT HAS IT AT 307 FEET, DOES HE STATE THAT THE FBI'S THIRD SHOT IS 14 FEET CLOSER TO THE ASSASSIN THAN THE SECRET SERVICE'S THIRD SHOT? DOES HE MEAN BY THIS THAT THE SECRET SERVICE'S THIRD SHOT IS NOW 321 FEET FROM THE SNIPER'S NEST? OR THAT HE NOW BELIEVES THE THIRD SHOT WAS ABOUT 280 FEET FROM THE SNIPER'S NEST, JUST 18 FEET PAST HIS PREVIOUSLY DETERMINED LOCATION FOR THE SECOND SHOT? NEITHER OF THESE SCENARIOS, UNFORTUNATELY, MAKES MUCH SENSE.)

The final words of Gauthier's memo speak volumes, and read like a really lame alibi, somewhat akin to "the dog ate my homework".

- Comments: The FBI's analysis of the shooting sequence was determined independently of a similar study made of the movie by the Secret Service. "WHERE ON THE PARKWAY WAS

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAR EXPOSED TO GUN FIRE?" The answer to this question is subject to varying factors such as the speed of the vehicle, the firing position of the assassin and the position of Zapruder. It is a matter of accepting the fact that there will be as many versions as there are analysis made of the shooting sequence. The FBI bases its approximations on an interpretation of the Zapruder movie re-enacted on a scale model, The Secret Service has also used the movie to approximate the shooting sequence; eyewitnesses may vary in locating the car at the time of the shooting; members of the Commission may also have differing opinions regarding this matter.

- The Zapruder movie was utilized by the FBI as the best medium for approximating the points on the Parkway where the shooting occurred.

(IF THE ZAPRUDER FILM AND SCALE MODEL WERE USED AS PURPORTED, THEN WHY DID THE FBI EITHER 1) PLACE THE HEADSHOT FAR PAST ZAPRUDER, BY THE STEPS, WHEN THE FILM SHOWS KENNEDY TO BE ABREAST OF ZAPRUDER AT THE MOMENT OF IMPACT; OR 2) MISTAKENLY BELIEVE ZAPRUDER WAS FILMING FROM ON TOP OF THE BLOCK WALL CLOSEST TO THE STEPS, INSTEAD OF HIS EASILY ASCERTAINED ACTUAL LOCATION BY THE ARCADE? COULD THEY REALLY HAVE BEEN SO INCOMPETENT?)

While it's unclear if the commission really understood how incredibly daft or dishonest the FBI and Secret Service would have to have been to make the mistakes and errors just discussed, it is clear they were largely unimpressed with the work of the FBI and Secret Service. At a pivotal point in the **12-16** executive session, Congressman Hale Boggs voiced his disappointment with the FBI's report of 12-9. He complained: "Everyone has all kinds of questions, reading that FBI report leaves a million questions." After discussing the Commission's need to interview the closest witnesses in order to determine which shots actually struck the President, Boggs returned to this theme, declaring "Well, this FBI report doesn't clear it up." To this complaint, Chief Justice Earl Warren chimed in: "It doesn't do anything." Boggs then observed: "It raises a lot of new questions in my mind."

After reading such a discussion, one might assume that the Warren Commissioners would make certain that their report, issued over nine months later, would be clear about which shots hit the President. One might also assume that these conclusions would be in sync with the recollections of the closest eyewitnesses. But one would be wrong.

Chapter 3: Looking through Arlen Specter's Eyes

The beginning of our look at the Warren Commission's investigation and analysis of the evidence, to determine whether their ultimate conclusions were correct, or just politically expedient.

The Vanishing Act



At left: Zapruder frame 225.

At top: the Bronson photo, taken between frames 220 and 225 of the Zapruder film. After the FBI's rushed investigation, one might think the Warren Commission would want to talk to all the bystanders in the photo. In time, they talked to two: Abraham Zapruder and Jean Hill.



Above: a crop from the Bronson photo, confirming that Mrs. Kennedy had already turned to her husband before she could have heard a shot at Z-224.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

The Vanishing Act

It is now late-January. The Warren Commission's staff has trickled in from throughout the country and quietly begun their work, which at this point entails reading through the many reports on the assassination previously written by the FBI, Secret Service, and CIA. Howard Willens--an employee of the Justice Department--is serving as General Counsel Rankin's administrative assistant and link to other government agencies. He is also largely responsible for the selection of the commission's staff, and the assignment of their duties. He has divided the staff into teams of Junior and Senior Counsel, and assigned these teams specific areas of investigation.

- Area 1: Francis Adams and Arlen Specter are charged with establishing the "basic facts of the assassination." (It's notable that Specter is an old college chum of Willens', whose loyalty to the commission would later be called into question by commissioner John McCloy.)
- Area 2: Joseph Ball and David Belin are charged with establishing the "identity of the assassin." (Assassin...singular...well, guess who that is...)
- Area 3: Albert Jenner and J. Wesley Liebler are charged with establishing "Oswald's background." (Researcher Tom Scully would later research Jenner's own background, and come to conclude he'd had significant ties to organized crime.)
- Area 4: William Coleman and W. David Slawson are charged with investigating "possible conspiratorial relationships." They are thus tasked with investigating Oswald's actions in Russia and Mexico.
- Area 5: Leon Hubert and Burt Griffin are charged with investigating "Oswald's death," and establishing both whether Ruby knew Oswald, and if Ruby had help in killing Oswald.
- Area 6: Samuel Stern is charged with researching the history of Presidential protection, so that

the commission could make appropriate recommendations.

- Norman Redlich is charged with supervising the investigations of all these areas, and with the subsequent writing of their report. His assistant--the man directly overseeing much of the investigation--is Melvin Eisenberg.

On 1-23 we see a "Statement of Objectives," a memo written by Arlen Specter to General Counsel J. Lee Rankin of the Warren Commission. This memo spells out which aspects of the case Area 1 Junior Counsel Specter and Senior Counsel Francis Adams hope to clear up, and how they plan on clearing them up. Among their objectives: (my comments in italics)

- **g)** There would seem to be considerable amount of confusion as to the actual path of the bullets which hit President Kennedy, particularly the one which hit the right side of the back. *(It would eventually be decided that the Warren Report should refer to this wound as a wound at the base of the neck or a neck wound, and not as a back wound.)*
- **i)** Consideration should be given to taking the sworn testimony of the bystander witnesses. *(Very few bystanders not already questioned by the FBI by 12-9 were identified and interviewed for the Warren Commission, and many of those who were contacted were not asked to describe what they'd witnessed. Even worse, very few of those interviewed by the FBI by 12-9 were asked to testify under oath before the commission, even though a number of those who were asked to testify disputed the FBI's reports on their earlier statements.)*
- **m)** Consideration should be given to obtaining the camera to determine if the speed of the vehicle can be ascertained and the timing between shots from a review of the film. *(The speed of the camera and therefore the vehicle had been determined by the FBI more than a month before this memo was written. Perhaps this is an indication that, as late as 1-23, the FBI was still withholding important information from the Warren Commission.)*
- **n)** The FBI should obtain statements from certain bystanders, identified in prior reports, who have not been interviewed. *(This was done selectively. Key witnesses such as James Chaney--the motorcycle officer riding in the motorcade off Kennedy's right shoulder--and Marilyn Sitzman--Abraham Zapruder's secretary--were never interviewed for the commission.)*
- **o)** Newspaper reports of November 22nd through the next few days should be reviewed to consider questions in the public mind and to determine whether there is any competent evidentiary basis for allegations of fact which differ from the FBI or Secret Service reports. *(The numerous reports of shots fired after the head shot and shots fired closely together were largely ignored by the Commission.)*
- **p)** Obtain expert opinions from medical personnel and professionals in weaponry field to explain the path of the bullet in President Kennedy's body. *(It was decided that the military doctors who'd performed Kennedy's autopsy would serve as the Warren Commission's medical experts as well. Curiously, the wound ballistics experts who served as advisers to the commission were also all affiliated with the military. A truly independent investigation would have contacted civilian experts as well as military experts.)*
- **q)** Obtain the transcript of the television interview by the doctors at Parkland Hospital on the evening of November 22nd. *(This was not done.)*

In the 1-27 Executive Session of the Commission, General Counsel J. Lee Rankin discusses a serious problem with the medical evidence: a "picture" created at the autopsy has the back wound entrance lower than the throat wound exit, when the Zapruder film shows Kennedy sitting up in his seat when first hit, and the bullet is believed to have come from sharply upwards of the President, from the sixth floor of the School Book Depository. He concludes his discussion of the problem by informing the commission he will be seeking "help" from the doctors. (Much more on this later.)

The next day a new witness is brought forward. **F. Lee Mudd (1-28-64 FBI report, 24H538)** "he was watching the parade from a position on the north side of Elm Street and some 75 to 100 feet west of a building, which he later learned was the Texas School Book Depository. He saw the president's car approaching from the east on Elm Street in the parade, and he recognized President Kennedy and saw him waving to the crowd. When the President's car was some 50 feet or more away from him, he heard what sounded to him like two gunshots, and he saw the President slump. Immediately thereafter, he observed the President's car pull out of the line of the parade and continue west on Elm Street toward the underpass. When the President's car came abreast of Mudd, he could see the President slumped down toward his wife, who was leaning over him...Mr. Mudd stated he definitely recalls hearing two shots probably less than a second apart...he said there may have been a third shot fired, but he could not be sure of this. He stated that immediately after the shots were fired, some of the spectators along the side of the street dropped to the ground, and he did so himself." **Double head shot.**

On **1-27** and **1-28**, FBI Exhibits Chief Leo Gauthier watches the Zapruder and Nix films with representatives of the Commission, along with Thomas Kelley of the Secret Service. On **1-28-64**, he writes another memo to his superior Nicholas Callahan, and informs him that, while the Warren Commission staff members are in basic agreement with the location of the FBI and Secret Service's proposed first shot, they have "individual views concerning where Connally was shot" (the second shot), and will agree with neither the FBI nor Secret Service's determination as to the moment of the second shot's impact (which are "13 frames" apart) until they can "obtain a layman's report of the medical account describing the Governor's wounds in order that the turning action of the Governor as viewed in the movie can be used to more nearly fix the position he was in at the time the bullet struck him in the back." (This memo can be found in FBI File 62-109090, sec. 2, p. 248-250). In other words, they've already made up their minds that the shot came from the school book depository, and are waiting to figure out the moment in which Connally's wounds best align with a shot from the depository, before declaring that to be the moment of impact.

The next paragraph in Gauthier's report is also intriguing. He writes: "One staff member, according to Inspector Kelley, quietly spoke about the 'outside' possibility of shot one going through the President with sufficient velocity remaining to penetrate Connally's body, wrist, and leg. Inspector Kelley mentioned this to me confidentially. He was of the opinion that this was a personal remark made on the spur of the moment. Shot two under those ridiculous facts would have gone completely 'wild' according to Kelley." Thus, the single-bullet theory is already on somebody's mind, and is being ridiculed by the FBI. This confirms that, despite the FBI's knowledge of the wounding of bystander James Tague by a stray bullet or bullet fragment, neither the Secret Service nor FBI have seriously considered that one of the shots missed, and thus that one of the other shots must have struck both men. Some investigation.

Gauthier's discussion of the third shot is even more intriguing. Here he acknowledges that the FBI and Secret Service "approximations" for the head shot location "differ between one second (18 frames) and 1.5 seconds (29 frames). Staff members are endeavoring to pinpoint the third shot (frame 89) on the Parkway. The Nix film of the third shot clearly locates Zapruder across the roadway. An approximation which occurs 1.2 seconds before the FBI's approximation is being considered as a tentative location for shot three as re-enacted on the scale model again with a minus or plus factor of 1/3 second (6 feet) either direction. Attorney Norman Redlich asked Secret Service to determine from Orville Nix the exact position at the time he made the movies especially whether he was moving at the time he photographed the Presidential car."

This is beyond bizarre. Gauthier admits that the head shot is at frame 89--which one can only assume means frame 313, 89 frames after Kennedy came out from behind the sign at frame 224--and yet finds nothing strange about his earlier "approximation" of the clear moment of impact being 29 frames off the Secret Service's "approximation" of the clear moment of impact, and at least 1.2 seconds (or 22

frames) past the new "tentative location" for the clear moment of impact. Either he was banking that no one reading this report would ever see the Zapruder film, and thus know how impossible it would be for the Secret Service and FBI to disagree on the location of the head shot in the film, or he was so inept and confused that he spoke of a disagreement on the limo's physical location in the plaza at specific frames of the film in terms of the presumed elapsed time and number of frames it would take to travel the distance between these locations. This, of course, makes little sense, but it makes more sense than the alternative--that there was an actual dispute between the Secret Service and FBI over what frame of the Zapruder film displayed the moment of impact for the head shot.

There is, of course, a third alternative, previously discussed. This holds that both the FBI and Secret Service deliberately misrepresented the location of the head shot as part of an attempt to stretch out their proposed shooting scenarios and make Oswald's purported feat more believable. Under this theory, their "different" interpretations of the head shot location are just cover to hide that they knew where it was all along, and knew its proximity to the locations of the earlier shots was inconsistent with the premise that Oswald acted alone.

A 1-28 memo to FBI Crime Lab Chief Ivan Conrad on this same meeting with the Warren Commission offers another unadulterated view into the soul of the FBI. (FBI File 62-109090, sec. 2, p. 246) Here, Agent W.D. Griffith presents the perspective of the FBI's photographic expert Lyndal Shaneyfelt, who also attended the meeting, and notes that the Commission representatives *"asked whether or not an examination of the Nix camera and film could establish similar distances and car speeds, as well as the location of the Nix camera during the filming which has not been determined."* Griffith then notes *"It is not clear just what the accurate determination of the speed of the car will contribute to the case, since it is known that the car was traveling relatively slowly; however, Commission representatives have requested that this be established as accurately as possible. SA Shaneyfelt stated that this could be done based on an examination of the films and cameras involved, accompanied by a survey of the actual site in Dallas. They requested that the FBI obtain the Nix camera and make the study of the Nix and Zapruder films as set out above."*

This reveals that, amazingly, there seems to be no appreciation by those overseeing the FBI's investigation that the speed of the camera and the limousine can be used to establish the precise timing of the shots, and thus whether or not Oswald's purported shooting feat was even possible. Underlining the incredible apathy and/or malevolence of the FBI, as evidenced by their inability or refusal to accurately place the location of the shots, is a note added to the bottom of this memo by the man himself, J. Edgar Hoover. He writes: *"It sounds like a lot of poppycock to me."*

On 6-4-64, Shaneyfelt, would be asked to testify about these sessions, and his subsequent experiences with the Commission and the film.

Mr. Specter. Now, how many occasions were you a participant in an analysis of these various films which you have just described?

Mr. Shaneyfelt. Seven.

Mr. Specter: And when was the first time that you were a participant in such an analysis?

Mr. Shaneyfelt: On January 27, 1964.

Mr. Specter: And who else has been with you at the time you analyzed those films just stating in a general way without identifying each person present on each of the occasions?

Mr. Shaneyfelt: On most occasions, Mr. Gauthier of the FBI was present, I was present, Mr. Malley of the FBI was present. Inspector Kelley from Secret Service, and Mr. John Howlett from Secret Service. Representatives of the Commission were always present--normally Mr. Redlich, Mr. Specter, or Mr. Eisenberg were present. On several occasions Mr. Ball and Mr. Belin were present. Mr. Rankin was present on some. I believe Mr. McCloy was present on one. Various representatives of the Commission were present.

Mr. Specter. *And how long did those sessions ordinarily last?*

Mr. Shaneyfelt: *They would normally last most of the day, about all day.*

Mr. Specter. *And what would be done during the course of those analytical sessions?*

Mr. Shaneyfelt. *In each case we would take the film and run it through regular speed, slow motion, we would stop it on individual frames and study it frame by frame, trying to see in the photographs anything that would give any indication of a shot hitting its mark, a reaction of the President, a reaction of Mr. Connally or Mrs. Connally, reaction of the Secret Service agents, reaction of people in the crowd, relating it to all the facts that we felt were important. When we obtained the slides from Life magazine, we went through those very thoroughly, because they gave so much more detail and were so much clearer and analyzed again all these things about the reaction of the President and Mr. Connally, trying to ascertain where he was reacting--whether either one was reacting to being Of course the only shot that is readily apparent in any of the films, and it appears in the Zapruder, the Nix, and the Muchmore film, is the shot that hit the President in the head.*

Mr. Specter. *Why do you say that is readily apparent?*

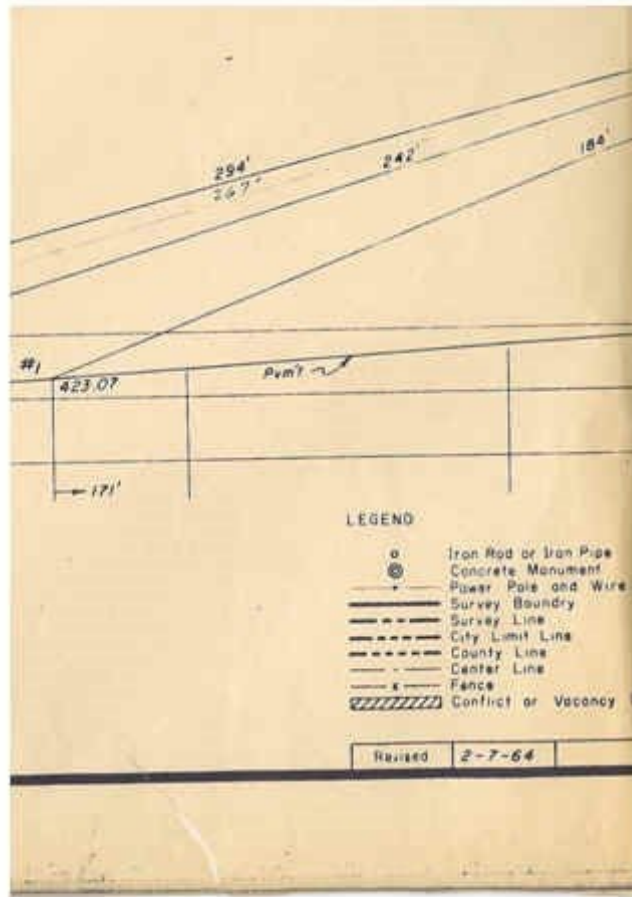
Mr. Shaneyfelt. *Because on the film there is practically an explosion of his head and this is obviously the shot that hit the President in the head. It is very apparent from the photograph.*

On **1-29-64** the FBI contacts Orville Nix and establishes the location from which he shot his film. This report notes that Nix was "about 20 feet west of Houston Street on the south side of Main Street" at the moment of the fatal head shot. This fact, which should have been obvious from viewing the film, proves the fatal shot occurred closer to the corner of Houston and Elm and thus closer to the first shot fired than most recently proposed by the FBI and Secret Service.

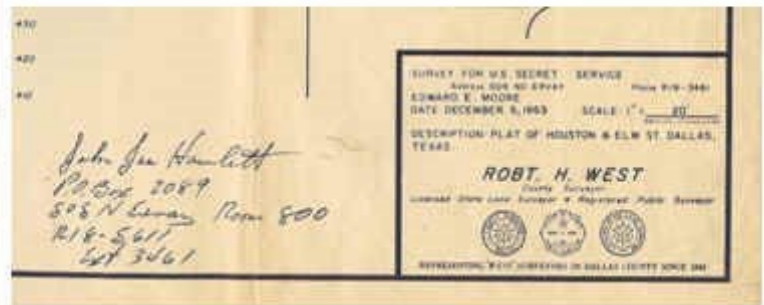
On **1-30-64**, Lyndal Shaneyfelt takes some notes on the Zapruder film that establishes, finally, that the "Third Shot" impacted at frame 313. This obvious conclusion, along with the "new" information regarding the Nix film, assures us that the location of the limo at the time of the head shot will soon be re-appraised.

Also on **1-30-64**, one of the Warren Commission counsel responsible for establishing Oswald's guilt, David Belin, writes a memo regarding Oswald's intent. He presents three possibilities: "Oswald was shooting at Connally and missed two of the three shots, the two misses striking Kennedy; Oswald was shooting at both Kennedy and Connally and all three shots struck their intended target; Oswald was shooting at Kennedy and the second bullet missed its intended target and hit Connally instead." A bullet's missing the limousine was not to be considered. Yet.

Never Mind



At left, the shot trajectories on a survey plat in the possession of researcher Tom Purvis, dated 2-7-64. Note that the third shot now reflects a distance of 267 feet. This confirms that the FBI re-appraised the trajectories and shot locations included in the Exhibits Section's presentation to the Warren Commission, just two weeks before.



Above, a hand-written address near the bottom right corner of the plat, confirming that surveyor Robert West sent a copy of this plat to Secret Service Agent John Joe Howlett. Howlett had worked with West during the Secret Service's original survey of 11-27-63. What did Howlett want with this plat? Were the FBI and Secret Service finally sharing their conclusions, trying to get their stories straight?

And where are the memos about this "re-appraisal" in the Warren Commission's files?

Never Mind

On 2-7-64, apparently at the bidding of the FBI, whose earlier depiction of the shots would have to be seen as an embarrassment, surveyor Robert West revises his 12-5-64 plat of Dealey Plaza, and adds a trajectory line corresponding to a bullet strike on Kennedy's position at Z-313. (West would later claim this was done on behalf of the FBI. If so, this means the FBI has finally acknowledged that Kennedy's location at the time of the head shot, which only 2 weeks prior they'd asserted was 307 feet from the sniper's nest, was really 40 feet closer.) Only adding to the mystery surrounding this plat (which West would eventually provide researcher Tom Purvis) is that the name and address on the plat are those of Secret Service Agent John Joe Howlett, who first used West's services during the Secret Service's 11-27-63 re-enactment in Dealey Plaza. (Documents in the possession of Purvis indicate that the plat used in the 11-27 re-enactment was actually commissioned by Time/Life, Inc., and created by West employees G.H. Breneman and Paul Hardin on 11-26-63.) It's hard to know what to make of this. Perhaps the revision of this plat and its shipment to Howlett indicates that, by 2-07-64, the FBI and Secret Service had finally reached some sort of agreement on the shot locations.

Ironically, this only causes more problems for the Warren Commission. As the distance between the second and third shots is now much too close together for both to have been fired by Oswald, the

Warren Commission is forced to either concede there was a second shooter, or re-interpret the location of Connally at the time of the second shot.

It is also ironic that, at this late date, weeks after the public has been reassured by the media that Oswald acted alone, new evidence is still rolling in. UPI, in collaboration with American Heritage Magazine, has put out a collector's book on the assassination and its aftermath entitled *Four Days*. It has been available to the public since mid-January. It features a number of stills depicting Kennedy and the grassy knoll behind him at the moment of the fatal head shot. They are not from the Zapruder film. They are not from the Nix film. No, they are from a film unbeknownst to both the FBI and Warren Commission.

This is brought to the FBI's attention. A quick investigation leads the FBI to Marie Muchmore. Although her film had been shown on TV within days of the shooting, and she'd sold her film to UPI on 11-25, just three days after the shooting, and UPI published frames from her film in, amongst other places, the San Francisco Chronicle, on 11-27, five days after the shooting, a 12-4 report by the FBI's Robert Bashman reflects that she'd told him she'd taken no photographs of the shooting. (Despite what would seem to have been either total incompetence on the part of Agent Bashman, or Ms. Muchmore's deliberate deception, no investigation is performed to determine who is responsible for the inaccurate report.)

Despite the fact Mrs. Muchmore was clearly looking through her viewfinder at the time of the shots, and was thus one of the best witnesses to the shooting, moreover, her interview on 2-14 by the FBI's Robert Barrett and Ivan Lee is of little value. **Marie Muchmore (2-18-64 FBI report, CD 735 p.8)** "Mrs. Muchmore stated that after the car turned on Elm Street from Houston Street, she heard a loud noise which at first she thought was a firecracker but then with the crowd of people running in all directions and hearing the two further noises, sounding like gunfire, she advised that she began to run to find a place to hide." (As the FBI acquired a copy of her film, and thus came to know what Ms. Muchmore observed, it seems possible they'd decided not to push Ms. Muchmore for a more detailed description of her recollections. Still, as she was clearly looking at the grassy knoll at the moment of the fatal impact, and saw people in that vicinity react to the shooting, it seems possible she saw something suspicious after the shooting she was afraid to talk about. In any event, Mrs. Muchmore was never called before the Warren Commission, and never spoke on the subject again.)

On **2-21-64**, Rankin assistant Norman Redlich writes a memo explaining the basic duties of Melvin A. Eisenberg. It states "The areas in which Mr. Eisenberg are working are as follows...2. Working with me on the problem of studying the assassination films to locate car position when bullets hit President Kennedy and Governor Connally." As this had previously been considered part of Area 1, the responsibility of Francis Adams and Arlen Specter, this reveals that a decision had been made not to trust them entirely on this point. Since Adams stopped showing up around this time, and as Adams reportedly told writer Edward Epstein that "he thought the FBI Summary and Supplemental Reports should have been verified immediately," the possibility exists that Adams simply had no stomach for second-guessing Hoover, and opted out on what he knew would be a politically nasty experience.

But if Redlich and Eisenberg no longer trusted Specter and Adams, a **3-7-64** memo from Eisenberg to Rankin reveals that they no longer trusted anything but their unjustified belief there was but one shooter.

Eisenberg begins: *"Among the most crucial questions to be considered in determining the identity of the President's assassin or assassins are the number of shots fired in the course of the assassination, the spacing between the shots, and the location of the site or sites from which the shots were fired. A great deal of evidence is relevant to these questions, for example, the number of wounds, the path of the missiles causing each wound, the position of the rifle believed to have fired the recovered bullet and*

bullet fragments, the position and number of empty cartridge cases believed to have been fired in this rifle, the number of recovered bullet and bullet fragments and visual observations of bystanders. (Note: by the term "bystanders" I mean everyone but the assassin (s) and the victims.) In addition, a mass of evidence has been collected concerning the aural observation of bystanders. The purpose of this memorandum is to point out that very little weight can be assigned to this last category of evidence."

Well, this is disconcerting. This suggests that Eisenberg is well aware that the bulk of the witnesses believed the last two shots were fired close together, and that this rules out Oswald's having acted alone. His desire to point out that this evidence should be given "little weight" then seems as much as a confession that he knows this evidence suggests there was two shooters...and that he wants Rankin to know that he has found a way to ignore this evidence.

Eisenberg then quotes a textbook on firearms claiming that *"little credence...should be put in what anyone says about a shot or even the number of shots."* This is misleading in that no textbook ever written would say that "little credence...should be put in what *the majority* says about a shot or even the number of shots." It is also misleading in that the Commission's operating thesis--that three shots were fired--has largely been derived by what the majority of witnesses have said about the number of shots.

Eisenberg then asserts that, since *"the sound of a shot comes upon a witness suddenly and often unexpectedly, the witness is not 'ready' to record his perception."* He then asserts, seemingly without foundation, that *"The same is usually true of subsequent shots following hard on the heels of the first."* Thus, he has given himself and the Commission carte blanche to ignore any statements they don't like. He then adds insult to injury by citing anecdotal evidence to support his claim, mentioning that the firearms book he is citing (Firearms Investigation, Identification, and Evidence) presents as an example an instance where a hunter, asked the number of shots fired by a nearby hunter, said he'd heard five shots when the man had fired but two. This is offensive. That Eisenberg is so desperate to write off statements in conflict with his proposition that Oswald acted alone that he will compare the observations of Secret Service agents under fire to the casual observations of a hunter in the woods is an offense against common sense, and indicative of his naked desire to deceive.

Over the course of the next two paragraphs, Eisenberg continues to cite reasons to doubt both the witnesses' perception of distance, and their perception of the weapon fired. It appears, from this, that Eisenberg is trying to cover all the bases, and to make sure Rankin tells the Commissioners they should feel free to disregard any witness statement that conflicts with their foregone conclusion. In an apparent effort to drive this home, Eisenberg then adds *"Obviously, during the assassination the surprise, emotion, confusion and noise were much greater than is even usually the case, and bystanders' aural perception of the gunshots is therefore to be accorded even less weight than is usually the case."*

He then discusses how acoustics may have led these witnesses to incorrectly perceive the direction of the shots. He then relates *"It must be emphasized that the above discussion is not merely theoretical, but is based upon the analysis and observations of professional criminal investigators. Furthermore, this discussion is borne out by the very fact that the testimony of the bystanders to the assassination varies enormously. (Similar variations occur in the testimony relating to the Tippit killing.)"*

Wow. This is not only disconcerting, it is thoroughly misleading. Eyewitness evidence is not routinely overlooked just because it "varies". It is in fact the job of investigators like ourselves to collate this evidence and determine just what happened. Eisenberg's apparent reluctance to do so then can be taken as an indication that he knows what's coming, and is afraid that the recollections of the witnesses will prove to be at odds with what he personally has come to accept.

This is borne out by the next paragraph. Eisenberg writes: *"In my opinion in examining the Secret Service agents the utmost care should be taken to avoid giving the Commission the impression that the aural perception of these agents have much validity. These witnesses may or may not be more familiar*

with the sound of gunshots fired in the open than the other bystanders. Probably they are not." Now, this is absurd on its face. It's hard to understand how Eisenberg could possibly believe that agents of the Presidential Detail of the Secret Service would have no more credibility regarding the number and spacing of the shots fired at the limousine than bystanders who'd never undergone their training.

Eisenberg then writes *"The fact is, that the contemporaneous reaction of the two agents in the President's car does not indicate that they immediately were aware that the sounds that they heard were gunshots."* Eisenberg fails to note how this affects their credibility regarding the number and spacing of the sounds they heard.

He then cites inconsistencies in the statements of agents Kellerman and Greer and the statements of these agents as presented by the FBI. Tellingly, in order to damage the credibility of these witnesses, he accepts that the FBI's reports are accurate.

He then concludes: *"Even if agents do have more familiarity with such sounds, many of the other factors which sap the credibility of aural perception of gunshots would still be applicable...I do not mean to imply that the agents should not be examined on this subject but no impression should be given that their testimony is sacrosanct. I intend in the near future to analyze the recorded testimony of bystanders as to the number of shots, etc. giving particular attention to factors which may have affected their perception. In addition I think we should have expert testimony on the subjects discussed in this memorandum."* (Neither Eisenberg's analysis of the eyewitness and earwitness testimony nor the testimony of any experts claiming that earwitness testimony can routinely be ignored can be found in the Commission's records.)

Well, this is disappointing. It seems clear from this memo that Eisenberg has made up his mind about what happened, and is determined to make sure the Commissioners stay on board. We thought we were through with this nonsense when we signed on with the commission. But it's beginning to look as though the commission's investigation is as much a whitewash as the FBI's initial investigation, only with more smoke and lawyers.

A few days later, the Commission finally starts questioning witnesses. Confirming Eisenberg's fears, the first of the Secret Service agents questioned by Arlen Specter re-enforce that the last two shots were bunched together. **Roy Kellerman (3-9-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H61-112") *"So, in the same motion I come right back and grabbed the speaker and said to the driver, "Let's get out of here, we are hit!," and grabbed the mike and I said, "Lawson, this is Kellerman,"--this is Lawson, who is in the front car. "We are hit; get us to the hospital immediately." Now, in the seconds that I talked just now, a flurry of shells come into the car."* Specter also asks Kellerman about the location of the wound on Kennedy's back, and is told *"The upper neckline, sir; in that large muscle between the shoulder and the neck, just below it."* **William Greer (3-9-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H112-132 *"I glanced over my shoulder. And I saw Governor Connally like he was starting to fall. Then I realized there was something wrong. I tramped on the accelerator, and at the same time Mr. Kellerman said to me, "Get out of here fast." And I cannot remember even the other shots or noises that was. I cannot quite remember any more. I did not see anything happen behind me any more, because I was occupied with getting away."* (When asked how many shots he heard) *"I know there was three that I heard - three. But I cannot remember any more than probably three. I know there was three anyway that I heard...I knew that after I heard the second one, that is when I looked over my shoulder, and I was conscious that there was something wrong, because that is when I saw Governor Connally. And when I turned around again, to the best of my recollection there was another one, right immediately after."* (When asked how much time elapsed between the first and second shots.) *"It seems a matter of seconds, I really couldn't say. Three or four seconds."* (When asked how much time elapsed between the second and third shots.) *"The last two seemed to be just simultaneously, one behind the other..."* **Double head shot. (Previously Too vague)**

Specter then questions agent Clint Hill, who raced for the limousine from the Secret Service back up car but arrived too late. At one point Specter asks Hill to describe the sound he heard at the time of the head shot--the sound Kellerman has just described as a "flurry" of shots and the sound Greer has just described as two shots fired "simultaneously." Clint Hill (3-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H132-144) *"it had a different sound, first of all, than the first sound that I heard. The second one had almost a double sound--as though you were standing against something metal and firing into it, and you hear both the sound of a gun going off and the sound of the cartridge hitting the metal place, which could have been caused probably by the hard surface of the head. But I am not sure that that is what caused it."* Specter then asks Hill about the President's wounds. He replies: *"I saw an opening in the back, about 6 inches below the neckline to the right-hand side of the spinal column."*

It's not as if Specter gave a damn what Hill had to say, mind you. In keeping with Eisenberg's 3-7-64 memo suggesting that the testimony of the Secret Service agents not be taken seriously, Specter sends a memo to J. Lee Rankin on 3-11-64, in which he asserts that *"All four witnesses (Note: he means Kellerman, Greer, Hill, and Johnson bodyguard Rufus Youngblood) impressed me as being credible...In my opinion all these witnesses did their very best to recount the situation as they recollected it. Notwithstanding that, it is my conclusion that they do not accurately recall many of the details on the precise time or sequence of shots or their exact movements and reactions during the crucial 5 or 6 seconds."*

If the testimony of these Secret Service witnesses suggests that there are some issues which can never be resolved, however, testimony taken on this very day positively proves it. On 3-11-64, the Warren Commission calls Buell Frazier to the stand, to see if they can succeed where the Dallas Police, the FBI, and the Secret Service have failed; that is, to see if they can get him to agree that the paper bag Oswald brought to work was big enough to have held the rifle. No such luck. Frazier tells them the bag covered *"I would say roughly around 2 feet of the seat...If, if you were going to measure it that way from the end of the seat over toward the center, right. But I say like I said I just roughly estimate and that would be around two feet, give and take a few inches."* Counsel Joe Ball then asked him its width. He replies: *"Well, I would say the package was about that wide...Oh, say, around 5 inches, something like that. 5, 6 inches or there. I don't--"* He then described its appearance: *"You have seen, not a real light color but you know normally, the normal color about the same color, you have seen these kinds of heavy duty bags you know like you obtain from the grocery store, something like that, about the same color of that, paper sack you get there."* Frazier later describes Oswald's walk into the depository: *"He got out of the car and he was wearing the jacket that has the big sleeves in them and he put the package that he had, you know, that he told me was curtain rods up under his arm, you know, and so he walked down behind the car...he had it up just like you stick it right under your arm like that...The other part with his right hand...Right, straight up and down."*

Under repeated questioning from Ball, Frazier gives a little but not enough. He testifies: *"I didn't pay much attention to the package other than I knew he had it under his arm."* Ball eventually shows him the bag found by the sniper's nest. Ball asks him if the bag he saw in Oswald's possession was about the same length. Frazier responds *"No, sir."* Ball asks him if it was about the same width. Frazier responds: *"Well, I would say it appears to me it would be pretty close but it might be just a little bit too wide. I think it is, because you know yourself you would have to have a big hand with that size but like I say he had this cupped in his hand because I remember glancing at him when he was a walking up ahead of me."* Ball asks him if the bag he saw was the same color as either the bag found in the sniper's nest or the replica bag created on 12-1. Frazier replies: *"It would be, surely it could have been, and it couldn't have been. Like I say, see, you know this color, either one of these colors, is very similar to the type of paper that you can get out of a store or anything like that, and so I say it could have been and then it couldn't have been."* Ball keeps pressing, and asks Frazier what he told the FBI on 12-1, when first

shown the bag. Frazier answers: *"I told them that as far as the length there, I told them that was entirely too long."* He's then asked about the width. Frazier relents: *"Well, I say, like I say now, now I couldn't see much of the bag from him walking in front of me. Now he could have had some of it sticking out in front of his hands because I didn't see it from the front, The only time I did see it was from the back, just a little strip running down from your arm and so therefore, like that, I say, I know that the bag wouldn't be that long. So far as being that wide like I say I couldn't be sure."* Ball then pounces and asks if the bag carried by Oswald could have been as wide as the bag from the sniper's nest. Frazier admits: *"Right."* Ball then tries to get Frazier to admit that he wasn't sure about the length either. Frazier cuts him off: *"What I was talking about, I said I didn't know where it extended. It could have or couldn't have, out this way, widthwise not lengthwise."* (2H210-245). When it came to the length of the bag, Frazier hadn't budged an inch. Which meant the package he saw was still 11 inches too small to be the bag found in the sniper's nest. His story was as problematic as ever.

Frazier's sister, Linnie Mae Randle, follows him to the stand. Her description of the bag is almost as problematic as his, seeing as it confirms his opinion that the package was too small to conceal the rifle. She describes her sighting of Oswald on the morning of the assassination: *"He was carrying a package in a sort of a heavy brown bag, heavier than a grocery bag it looked to me. It was about, if I might measure, about this long, I suppose, and he carried it in his right hand, had the top sort of folded down and had a grip like this, and the bottom, he carried it this way, you know, and it almost touched the ground as he carried it..."* (She later compared it to the replica bag) *"Well, it wasn't that long, I mean it was folded down at the top as I told you. It definitely wasn't that long...The width is about right...What he had in there, it looked too long."* Counsel Ball then asks *"This package is about the span of my hand, say 8 inches, is that right? He would have about this much to grip?"* She responds: *"What I remember seeing is about this long, sir, as I told you it was folded down so it could have been this long."* He then asks: *"I see. You figure about 2 feet long, is that right?"* She answers: *"A little bit more."* Ball measures out the length on the replica sack. He asks *"Is that about right? That is 28 1/2 inches."* She answers: *"I measured 27 last time."* (2H245-251). The Warren Commission thus goes 0 for 2. Two witnesses saw Oswald with a bag on the morning of the 22nd. Two witnesses testified the bag was too small to conceal the rifle. The bag found in the sniper's nest was 38 inches long and would have appeared about 10 inches wide when holding a rifle, much larger than the bag described by Randle, and more than twice as big as the bag described by Frazier. This issue has never been resolved.

(Frazier would eventually discuss the pressure put on him and his sister by the Warren Commission. In a 2-16-87 interview with Gus Russo first published in 1998, Frazier complained: *"They had me in one room and my sister in another. They were asking us to hold our hands apart to show how long the package was. They made me do it over and over--at least ten times. Each time they measured the distance, and it was always 25 inches, give or take an inch. They did the same with my sister and she gave the same measurement...But I don't understand what the problem is--Lee could have taken the rifle in on another day and hidden it in the warehouse. Why did he have to take it in on Friday?"* Many years later, Frazier returned to this question, telling Hugh Aynesworth in a November 16, 2008 Dallas Morning News article: *"I know what I saw, and I've never changed one bit"* and declaring, when asked his response to the Warren Commission's disregard of his testimony, *"I wasn't surprised. They seemed to have a pre-arranged agenda when they questioned Linnie and me. Our refusal to agree with their agenda simply caused them to state that we were mistaken."* And this wasn't his last word on the subject. An April 1, 2013 article in the Dallas Morning News described a recent appearance of Frazier, along with Aynesworth, at the Irving Central Library, and noted *"To this day, Frazier insists that the package Oswald took to work wasn't long enough or big enough around to hold a rifle — even if its stock had been disassembled from the barrel."*

What Frazier fails to appreciate, it seems, is that Oswald hadn't been to the Paine residence, where his

rifle had been in storage, for more than a week, and that the paper bag purportedly found in the depository on 11-22 and believed to have held Oswald's gun, had been made with paper believed to have come from the roll of paper in use on 11-22-63. As these rolls were replaced every few days, the commission had little choice but to propose that Oswald had made the paper bag at work on the 21st, transported it to the Paine residence after work, and used it to transport the rifle into the building on the 22nd. There were but two roadblocks to their selling this scenario: Frazier and his sister, and the Warren Commission couldn't accept them at their word without simultaneously calling into question the progeny of the paper bag supposedly found in the sniper's nest, and submitted into evidence by the DPD and FBI. In retrospect, he should see, he never stood a chance.)

After the testimony of Frazier and Randle, FBI agent Cortlandt Cunningham testifies, and reveals yet another problem with the "Oswald brought the rifle in the bag" theory. In order to fit the rifle in the bag, the rifle would have to have been dismantled. If it was dismantled to fit in the bag, however, it would have to have been re-assembled before it could be fired. Cunningham testifies that the rifle could be re-assembled in two minutes using a screwdriver. No screwdriver was found in the sniper's nest. No screwdriver was found on Oswald. No screwdriver was found in Oswald's rented room. To the Commission's credit, they ask Cunningham if the rifle could be assembled without the use of a screwdriver. He says it could be assembled with a dime. They time him assembling it with a dime. It takes him six minutes. (2H251-253).

(Note: there is reason to believe Cunningham rehearsed this assembly, in order to get it "right." As reported in a November 1994 article, and in a subsequent book *No Case to Answer*, Ian Griggs, a former policeman, bought an M/C rifle and familiarized himself with its parts before attempting to replicate Cunningham's purported assembly of an M/C rifle using only a dime in six minutes. He was unable to do so. While he concluded the assembly of a rifle of this type using only a dime was possible, he reported that it was quite difficult for him to turn the screws, and that he, in fact, gave up after running overtime on several attempts and developing two blood blisters on his fingers, and a cut on his right thumb.)

In any event, Bonnie Ray Williams was on the sixth floor only a few yards away from the sniper's nest until about 10 minutes before the assassination. He said he heard nothing from that direction. Not the rustling of the paper as the dismantled rifle was removed from the bag. Not the sounds of someone assembling a rifle made of metal and wood with a dime. If Oswald had put the rifle together somewhere else in the building, why would the bag be found in the sniper's nest? And if he put the rifle together in the sniper's nest, why didn't Williams hear him? Did he finish putting the rifle together just before Williams arrived? Or did he have just enough time to put the rifle together after Williams left? This issue has, as one might expect, never been resolved.

But there is another aspect to Cunningham's testimony that is even more troubling. Cunningham worked in the FBI's ballistics department. He test-fired the rifle numerous times. Since, as anyone familiar with guns knows, the assembly of a rifle inevitably affects its accuracy, why hadn't Cunningham test-fired the rifle immediately after its re-assembly, to see if it remained accurate enough to hit the shots purportedly made by Oswald? And, assuming he hadn't thought of it, why didn't the Warren Commission ask him to perform the tests anyway? Certainly someone on the Commission must have realized that what they were asking of this rifle--that it be disassembled, wrapped up in a paper bag, carried around, re-assembled with a dime, and still fire accurately from its very first shot--was highly unlikely? This issue, not surprisingly, has never been resolved.

But if the behavior of Eisenberg and Ball is questionable, it's not because they are the only staff members to have already made up their minds. In mid-March, a memo to Rankin from Commission historian Alfred Goldberg regarding a proposed outline for the final report reflects that "*Part IV: Analysis of Theories and Rumors should be relatively brief because it will deal with the great variety of*

the autopsy, the FBI's report repeating their conclusions on the autopsy, nor Specter's memo discussing their recollections, will be published by the Commission in its 26 volumes of evidence in November. Only after researchers uncover and publish the FBI's differing account of the wounds, in 1966, does J. Edgar Hoover come forward and admit the FBI neglected to read the autopsy report in a timely fashion, and that this led them to base their findings on the initial statements of the doctors to Agents Sibert and O'Neill at the autopsy. Sibert and O'Neill, however, never change their minds about the back wound, and to the present day insist the back wound was a shallow wound below the shoulder line and that there was no path connecting it to the throat wound. One can only wonder then what would have happened had Specter called them before the Commission.)

On 3-16, Specter takes the testimony of the three autopsy doctors, **Dr. James J. Humes, Dr. J. Thornton Boswell, and Dr. Pierre Finck**. As requested by Specter on 3-11, Dr. Humes brings along three drawings created by a young Navy artist, Skip Rydberg. These drawings portray the back wound at the base of the neck and significantly higher than the throat wound and suggestive of a shot from above and behind. The location of this back wound is also, most obviously, at odds with the previously received testimony of agents Kellerman and Greer, and the recently-reviewed report of agents Sibert and O'Neill. Humes testifies that *"We had made certain physical measurements of the wounds, and of their position on the body of the late president, and we provided these and supervised directly Mr. Rydberg in making these drawings."* We have reason to believe this is untrue. The autopsy protocol written by Humes and in our possession reports "Situated in the upper right posterior thorax just above the upper border of the scapula there is a 7 x 4 millimeter oval wound. This wound is measured to be 14 cm. from the tip of the right acromion process and 14 cm. below the tip of the right mastoid process." We do a quick measurement and see that the wound at the base of the neck in the drawing is no more than 10 cm below the mastoid process. We also look up the word "thorax" in some medical dictionaries. Gray's Anatomy specifies that "The thorax or chest, is an osseo-cartilaginous cage containing and preserving the principle organs of respiration and circulation...The upper opening of the thorax is ...formed by the first dorsal vertebrae behind, the upper margin of the sternum in front, and the first rib on each side." Blankiston's Pocket Medical Dictionary describes it as "The chest; the portion of the trunk above the diaphragm and *below the neck*." The Human Organism defines "thorax" as "The Chest, the portion of the trunk that contains the heart and lungs." Ottenheimer's Medical Dictionary defines it simply as "The chest." As the wounds in Rydberg's drawings are in the muscles at the base of the neck, and could not reasonably be described as on the back of the chest, we conclude Humes misrepresented the location of the back wound in the drawings.

While questioning Humes, moreover, Specter inquires about a wound in the "upper part of the back" or "the President's back or lower neck" and asks Dr. Finck about a "back wound." Humes, however, repeatedly describes the back wound as a wound in the "low neck," "low neck," "low posterior neck," or as being "low in the neck." This seems to be a deliberate ploy, on Humes' part, to sell that this wound, formally described as a back wound, was really a wound low on the back of the neck.

We wonder if Specter is orchestrating Humes' deception. Something is rotten in Denmark and Specter has to smell it.

(His partner in the investigation, Francis Adams, almost certainly smelled something. In Specter's 2000 autobiography Passion for Truth he claimed that, although he hadn't been around much in the previous weeks or even participated in a brief discussion with the autopsy doctors a few days before, Francis Adams showed up to work for the commission on the day the doctors were to be questioned, only to leave for good after Chief Justice Warren mistook him for one of the doctors. While Specter makes out that Adams' unhappy departure was ultimately due to his refusal to commit to the large workload needed to perform the tasks before him, there's almost certainly more to it, as Specter in his book approvingly quotes fellow counsel David Belin's assertion Warren's decision not to replace

*Adams as both "political" and "chilling." I mean, if it was just a matter of Adams' being too busy, why would Warren dump his work on Specter, forcing Specter to leave many of the tasks he'd outlined in his February memos undone? Why wouldn't he have just split these responsibilities up among others? What was Warren trying to hide? Perhaps this...surprise, surprise, Specter was not telling the truth in his self-serving autobiography *Passion for Truth*. Adams did not just disappear after March 16. Adams, in fact, re-appeared on May 25, 1964, to conduct the lengthy and involved questioning of Kennedy assistant Lawrence O'Brien. This, then, suggests that Adams did not stop working for the commission on March 16, as claimed by Specter, but instead stopped working with one person in particular...Arlen Specter. Well, why? One can only guess. But Specter's having met with the autopsy doctors without Adams' being present, and convincing them to have schematics made depicting the shooting (in which the wound below the shoulder described in both the autopsy report and the FBI report on the autopsy suddenly and mysteriously transformed itself into a wound at the base of the back of the neck) may have been too much for Adams, a successful and wealthy attorney in his own right, without the driving political ambition of his much-younger colleague.)*

We try to talk to Rydberg about his drawings, but he tells us he's been sworn to silence by his and Humes' Commanding Officer, Captain John Stover. A few weeks later, however, he shows us a 3-27 commendation letter from Stover that tells us all we need to know. It says, in part "During the period 12 to 15 March 1964 you were called upon to prepare, on extremely short notice, highly technical medical illustrations, using *only verbal directions* given you by officers of this Command...The illustrations thus produced *most accurately depicted the situation required* and immeasurably assisted the medical presentation."

(While there is no reason to believe anyone working for the Commission actually saw this letter, published online by Barry Keane, an April 30 memo from Specter to General Counsel J. Lee Rankin reveals that he suspects or knows that the location of the back wound in Rydberg's drawings is inaccurate, and that he wishes to establish the actual location. Much, much more on this in the Examining the Examinations chapter.)

The Sin of Pride

A storm is brewing. On 3-11, Warren Commission Counsel Melvin Eisenberg and David Belin visit the FBI crime lab. An internal FBI memo to FBI crime lab chief Ivan Conrad reflects the growing tension: "*During the further course of the discussion, Mr. Belin advised that inasmuch as it appeared that almost all of the investigation in this matter had been conducted by the FBI, and since the firearms identification was crucial to the case, the Commission felt that there was merit in having the firearms evidence examined by some other organization and was considering making such a request. Under any other circumstances a comment of this kind would have been the basis for an immediate discontinuance of FBI Laboratory cooperation and service; however, Belin was merely advised in this instance that any decision as to such course of action, of course, was strictly up the Commission.*" To this memo FBI Director Hoover adds that it is "*getting to be more and more intolerable to deal with this Warren Commission.*"

This problem comes to a head a few weeks later. According to a 3-24 memo from Alex Rosen to Alan Belmont: "*This matter was discussed with J. Lee Rankin, General counsel, the President's Commission, in the early evening of March 23, 1964. Mr. Rankin was advised that in view of the action taken by the Commission concerning the firearms evidence, it was obvious the Commission does not have confidence in the FBI Laboratory, and that in view of the independent examinations being requested, it would appear desirable for the Commission to have whatever examination they desire from independent experts made and for the Bureau to step out of the picture from the standpoint of Laboratory examinations. It was pointed out to Mr. Rankin that our Laboratory was greatly burdened with a large volume of work and that if the examinations that we made were not going to be accepted,*

it would appear that there would be no reason for our Laboratory experts to be tied up on these examinations in utilizing the time it requires to furnish testimony concerning matters where independent examinations are being made...Throughout the discussion, Mr. Rankin seemed to be a little disturbed over the Bureau pointing out to him that the Commission obviously lacked confidence in our Laboratory and he repeatedly commented that the independent examinations of evidence were being made at the instructions of the seven members of the Commission. He gave no indication, however, whether this was the desire of certain members of the Commission and others were going along, or whether the Commission was in full agreement concerning this matter."

It is clear from these memos that the FBI considers itself above the Commission, and answerable to the "President's Commission" only as a courtesy. The Commissioners, no doubt, know that dumping the FBI as their main investigative agency would be a political nightmare, and that Hoover would use his media sources to make it look like the Commissioners had gone overboard, and were wasting taxpayers' money. And Rosen knows the Commissioners know this. His threats, then, are really a warning: stop requesting outside help, which could only hurt the reputation of the FBI, or else.

(These threats were far from idle, and, although the Commission proceeded to use a few outside experts, they seem to have had an effect on the Commission's investigation. By way of example...On 3-26, while preparing for the testimony of the FBI's fingerprint expert, Sebastian Latona, the Commission realizes that there were 19 fingerprints and 6 palm prints found on the cardboard boxes of the sniper's nest that were not Oswald's prints. J. Lee Rankin then writes Director Hoover a memo and asks him if they could "please determine, as far as may be possible without the taking of new fingerprints, whether any of these latent prints were made by persons employed in the TSBD building on November 22, 1963." Notice that he doesn't ask them to run the prints through their files and find out whose prints these actually are--the entire FBI's Most Wanted list could have been in the sniper's nest, and he cared not a wit--he only asks them to check them against Oswald's co-workers, and then only if the FBI already has their prints. This suggests that Rankin is more concerned with not causing Hoover any unnecessary inconvenience than with finding out who was in the sniper's nest on 11-22-63. For his part, on 3-30, Hoover writes back, and tells Rankin "For your information, employees of the Texas School Book Depository were not fingerprinted or palm printed by this Bureau, the United States Secret Service or the Dallas Police Department." He then tells Rankin that the FBI checked their files and found the fingerprints for 16 individuals believed to have been depository employees, and that none of them matched the 19 unidentified prints. And that's that. On 4-2, Latona testifies that the prints are unidentified. It's not until late August that Rankin realizes the magnitude of this over-sight, and asks the FBI to identify the prints.)

On with the Show

On **3-18**, two of the three men on the floor below the sniper's nest testify they heard the last two shots the same way as the two men in the front seat of the limousine--with the last two shots close together. The third man's earlier statements suggested this as well. **James Jarman (3-18-64** statement to the FBI, 22H655) "At the time President Kennedy was shot I was at the third window from the east side on the fifth floor. I was with Harold Norman...and Bonnie Ray Williams." (**3-24-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H198-211) "After the motorcade turned, going west on Elm, then there was a loud shot, or backfire, as I thought it was...A backfire or an officer giving a salute to the President. And then at that time I didn't, you know, think too much about it. And then the second shot was fired, and that is when people started falling on the ground and the motorcade car jumped forward, and then the third shot was fired right behind the second one...after the third shot was fired, I think I got up and I run over to Harold Norman and Bonnie Ray Williams, and told them, I said, I told them that it wasn't a backfire or anything, that somebody was shooting at the President...I couldn't say that I saw him actually hit, but after the second shot I presumed that he was...I saw him lean his head." **Harold**

Norman (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H666) “I was with James Jarman and Bonnie Ray Williams watching the motorcade bearing President John F. Kennedy pass the Texas School Book Depository Building when I heard three shots fired from, I believe, the floor directly above me.” **(3-24-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H186-198) “About the time that he got past the window where I was, well, it seems as though he was, I mean you, brushing his hair. Maybe he was looking at the public...I can’t remember what the exact time was but I know I heard a shot, and then after I heard a shot, well, it seems as though the President, you know, slumped or something, and then another shot and I believe Jarman or someone told me, he said “I believe someone is shooting at the President,” and I think I made a statement “it is someone shooting at the President, and I believe it came from up above us. Well, I couldn’t see at all during the time but I know I heard a third shot fired, and I could also hear something sounded like the shell hulls hitting the floor and the ejecting of the rifle.” **Bonnie Ray Williams (3-24-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H161-184) “After the President’s car the last thing I remember seeing him do was, you know—it seemed to me he had a habit of pushing his hair back. The last thing I saw him do was he pushed his hand up like this. I assumed he was brushing his hair back. And then the thing that happened then was a aloud shot—first I thought they were saluting the President, somebody even maybe a motorcycle backfire. The first shot—there was two shots rather close together. The second and the third shot was closer together than the first shot and the second shot, as I remember...the first shot—I really did not pay much attention to it, because I did not know what was happening. The second shot it sounded like it was right in the building, the second and third shot. And it sounded—it even shook the building.”

Throughout March, the FBI interviews just about everyone who was up on the railroad bridge watching the motorcade. While Frank Reilly, George Davis, Clemon Johnson, Walter Winborn, Nolan Potter, James Simmons, Ewell Cowsert, Curtis Bishop, and Thomas Murphy don’t tell us much of about the shots, two other railroad bridge witnesses confirm the statements of Sam Holland and Royce Skelton, and describe a shot after the head shot **Richard Dodd (3-18-64** FBI report, 22H835) “when the motorcycle escort and the automobile carrying President Kennedy approached the area where he was standing his attention was directed on President Kennedy...he saw president Kennedy slump forward and simultaneously heard shots ring out. He stated he did not know how many shots were fired, but that the sounds were very close together.” **Double head shot. J.W. Foster** was the police officer on top of the railroad bridge. **(3-26-64** FBI report, CD897 p.20-21) “Just as the vehicle in which President Kennedy was riding reached a point on Elm Street just east of the underpass, Patrolman Foster heard a noise that sounded like a large firecracker...he realized something was wrong because of the movement of the President. Another report was heard by Patrolman Foster and about the same time the report was heard, he observed the President’s head appear to explode and immediately thereafter, he heard a third report which he knew was a shot.” **(4-9-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H248-253) “After he came onto Elm...I heard a loud noise, sounded like a large firecracker. Kind of dumbfounded at first, and then heard the second one. I moved to the banister of the overpass to see what was happening. Then the third explosion.” **Shot after the head shot.**

During this same period the FBI questions just about everyone who worked in the Texas School Book Depository. Strangely, even though a number of these witnesses admit they were standing on Elm Street when the motorcade passed by, very few of them are asked what they witnessed. Based upon their statements, in fact, it seems all the FBI wanted to know from these witnesses was where they were when the shots rang out and if they knew Oswald. Among the women not saying much of anything: Gloria Holt, Sharon Simmons, Stella Jacob, Carol Reed, Karen Hicks, Gloria Calvery, Billie Clay, Peggy Hawkins, Mary Sue Dickerson, Mary Lea Williams, Betty Thornton, Jane Berry, and Karen Westbrook.

One witness, however, tells us something. **Georgia Ruth Hendrix (3-24-64** statement to the FBI,

22H649) reveals "At approximately 12:15 PM on November 22, 1963, I left the Depository Building and took up a position along the parade route along Elm Street about 150 feet west from the Depository Building entrance and viewed the presidential motorcade... I recall that just a few seconds after the car in which President John F. Kennedy was riding passed the position where I was standing, I heard a shot. At first I thought it was salute to the President, but when the second shot was fired and I saw the President fall down in the car I knew someone was shooting at him. When I heard the third shot I turned and fled back into the Depository Building." **Shot after the head shot.**

In March we also get the sworn testimony of the one man to ever claim he saw Oswald fire the rifle. **Howard Brennan (3-24-64)** testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H140-161) "I told Mr. Sorrels and Captain Fritz at that time that Oswald--or the man in the lineup that I identified looking more like a closest resemblance to the man in the window than anyone in the lineup...I saw his picture twice on television before I went down to the police station for the lineup...I told them I could not make a positive identification...I believe some days later--I don't recall exactly--and I believe the Secret Service man identified himself as being Williams, I believe, from Houston. I won't swear to that--whether his name was Williams or not...Well, he asked me he said, 'You said you couldn't make a positive identification.' He said, 'Did you do that for security reasons personally, or couldn't you?' And I told him I could with all honesty, but I did it more or less for security reasons--my family and myself...I believed at that time, and I still believe it was a Communist activity, and I felt like there hadn't been more than one eyewitness, and if it got to be a known fact that I was an eyewitness, my family or I, either one, might not be safe...After Oswald was killed, I was relieved quite a bit that as far as pressure on myself of somebody not wanting me to identify anybody, there was no longer that immediate danger...(When asked if he could have sworn that Oswald was the shooter when he saw Oswald in the line-up) I could at that time I could, with all sincerity, identify him as being the same man."

We have reason to doubt Brennan's story. First, by his own admission, he lied to the Dallas Police and Secret Service and said he could not identify Oswald when he could. Second, he says he felt relief when Oswald was killed, even though Oswald's death at the hands of Ruby made a conspiracy, communist or otherwise, only more likely. Third, the whole series of events surrounding Brennan just doesn't ring true. On 11-22 Brennan had signed a statement (19H470), asserting "I believe that I could identify this man if I ever saw him again." He then refused to ID Oswald in a line-up. An 11-23-63 FBI report (CD5 p12) confirms "He advised he attended a lineup at the Dallas Police Department on November 22, 1963 on which occasion he picked Lee Harvey Oswald as the person most closely resembling the man he had observed with the rifle in the window of the Texas School Book Depository building. He stated, however, he could not positively identify Oswald as the person he saw fire the rifle." This means, if Brennan's testimony is to be believed, that he lied to the FBI as well as the Dallas Police and Secret Service.

To make things worse, Brennan didn't admit his deception until weeks after Oswald's death, after the nation had been assured of Oswald's sole guilt by the FBI's leaks to the media, and he did so then only at the urging of the government. A 12-18-63 FBI report on a 12-17 interview (CD205, p15) relates that Brennan "now can say that Lee Harvey Oswald was the person he saw in the window at the time of the President's assassination. He pointed out that he felt a positive identification was not necessary when he observed Oswald in the police line-up at the Dallas Police Department at about 7 P.M., November 22, 1963, since it was his understanding Oswald had already been charged with the slaying of Dallas Police Officer J.D. Tippit. He said that another factor which made him hesitate to make a positive identification of Oswald in the police line-up was that prior to appearing at the police line-up on November 22, 1963, he had observed a picture of Oswald on his television set at home when his daughter asked him to watch it. He said that he felt that since he had seen Oswald on television before picking Oswald out of the line-up at the police station that it tended to "cloud" any identification of

Oswald at that time." The problem with this report is that it leaves out a couple of the important elements of Brennan's testimony. For one, it fails to report that Brennan was coerced to come forward by a government agent. For two, it fails to relate that Brennan had failed to identify Oswald because he'd been in fear for his life. Instead it explains that Brennan had seen Oswald on television and that he was afraid that this had "clouded" his judgment. Pathetically, it even blames his viewing Oswald on his daughter. What it does not relate--which is key--is Brennan's response to seeing Oswald on television. Clearly, if his eventual testimony is to be believed, he would have to have had an immediate response to seeing Oswald on television. If he felt Oswald was the man from seeing him on television, then why didn't he say so later? And if he knew Oswald was the shooter from the first time he saw him on television, then why is his seeing Oswald on TV before the line-up even an issue?

That the FBI refused to put much stock in Brennan's subsequent positive ID of Oswald is confirmed by a 1-10-64 report based on a 1-07-64 re-interview of Brennan (CD329 p7). It concludes: "Mr. Brennan added that after his first interview at the Sheriff's office, on November 22, 1963, he left and went home at about 2 P.M. While he was at home, and before he returned to view a lineup, which included the possible assassin of President Kennedy, he observed Lee Harvey Oswald's picture on television. Mr. Brennan said that this, of course, did not help him retain the original impression of the man in the window with the rifle; however, upon seeing Lee Harvey Oswald in the police line-up, he felt that Oswald most resembled the man whom he had seen in the window." (This wasn't saying much, as the other men only marginally resembled Brennan's earlier description of the man in the window.) Here, there is no mention of Brennan's telling an agent almost a month after the shooting that "Oh, by the way, I knew it was Oswald all the time!" and that he did so now at a government agent's urging. Here, there is still no hint that Brennan had been too frightened to identify Oswald on the 22nd. As a result, it seems likely that Brennan was unable to ID Oswald based on the picture he saw on television, and was unsure whether his subsequent belief that Oswald, of the four divergent men in the line-up, "most resembled" the shooter, was based on his own recollections, or by his seeing Oswald on television. This makes his subsequent positive Identification of Oswald, at a government agent's urging, essentially worthless.

Even so, Brennan proves he has some credibility by refusing to say he heard two shots fired from the sniper's nest before he saw Oswald fire his last shot. When taken with the statements of all the other witnesses, this suggests that one of the last two shots came from somewhere else. Brennan testifies: "after the President had passed my position, I really couldn't say how many feet or how far, a short distance I would say, I heard this crack that I positively would say was a backfire... Well, then something, just right after this explosion, made me think it was a firecracker being thrown from the Texas book store. And I glanced up. And this man I saw previous was aiming for his last shot... it appeared to me he was standing up or leaning against the left window sill, with gun shouldered to his right shoulder, holding the gun with his left hand and taking positive aim and fired his last shot. As I calculate a couple of seconds. He drew the gun back from the window as though he was drawing it back to his side and maybe paused for another second as though to assure himself that he hit his mark and then he disappeared. And at the same moment, I was diving off of approximately that firewall and to the right for bullet protection of this stone wall that is a little higher on the Houston side... I don't know what made me think that there was firecrackers throwed out of the book store unless I did hear the second shot, because I positively thought the first shot was a backfire, and subconsciously I must have heard a second shot but I do not recall it. I could not swear to it."

Time Out: A Quick Glimpse of the Warren Commission at Work.

On **3-30-64**, Dr. Malcolm Perry testifies before the Warren Commission. Despite his stated objective of finding a transcript for Dr. Perry's November 22nd press conference, Arlen Specter has failed to obtain one, and instead interviews Dr. Perry about his *recollections* of the press conference. Not

surprisingly, Perry's memory is that he made no solid statements about Kennedy's wounds, and that the media misrepresented what he said. While it might sound overly-conspiratorial to suggest that Specter and the Warren Commission would deliberately mislead the public by using the flawed recollections of witnesses when concrete evidence was available, the fact is they have employed this technique before. On 3-16-64, when the autopsy doctors testified about Kennedy's wounds, they were asked to do so without referring to the autopsy photos and x-rays taken for the express purpose of assisting them with their testimony. Even worse, Specter asked them to create drawings based purely upon their *recollections* of the President's wounds, and then placed these drawings into evidence.

Here, then, is Dr. Perry's testimony about the press conference:

Dr. Perry - *Mr. Specter, I would preface this by saying that, as you know, I have been interviewed on numerous occasions subsequent to that time, and I cannot recall with accuracy the questions that were asked. They, in general, were similar to the questions that were asked here. The press were given essentially the same, but in no detail such as have been given here. I was asked, for example, what I felt caused the President's death, the nature of the wound, from whence they came, what measures were taken for resuscitation, who were the people in attendance, at what time was it determined that he was beyond our help.*

Mr. Specter - *What responses did you give to questions relating to the source of the bullets, if such questions were asked?*

Dr. Perry - *I could not. I pointed out that both Dr. Clark and I had no way of knowing from whence the bullets came. (This is not true. At one point, Dr. Perry said "There was an entrance wound in the neck. As regards the one on the head, I cannot say.")*

Mr. Specter - *Were you asked how many bullets there were?*

Dr. Perry - *We were, and our reply was it was impossible with the knowledge we had at hand to ascertain if there were 1 or 2 bullets, or more. We were given, similarly to the discussion here today, hypothetical situations. "Is it possible that such would have been the case, or such and such?" If it was possible that there was one bullet. To this, I replied in the affirmative, it was possible and conceivable that it was only one bullet, but I did not know.*

Mr. Specter - *What would the trajectory, or conceivable course of one bullet have been, Dr. Perry, to account for the injuries which you observed in the President, as you stated it?*

Dr. Perry - *Since I observed only two wounds in my cursory examination, it would have necessitated the missile striking probably a bony structure and being deviated in its course in order to account for these two wounds.*

Mr. Specter - *What bony structure was it conceivably?*

Dr. Perry - *It required striking the spine.*

Mr. Specter - *Did you express a professional opinion that that did, in fact, happen or it was a matter of speculation that it could have happened?*

Dr. Perry - *I expressed it as a matter of speculation that this was conceivable. But, again, Dr. Clark and I emphasize that we had no way of knowing.*

Mr. Specter - *Have you now recounted as specifically as you can recollect what occurred at that first press conference or is it practical for you to give any further detail to the contents of that press conference?*

Dr. Perry - *I do not recall any specific details any further than that--*

Representative Ford - *Mr. Specter was there ever a recording kept of the questions and answers at that interview, Dr. Perry?*

Dr. Perry - *This was one of the things I was mad about, Mr. Ford. There were microphones, and cameras, and the whole bit, as you know, and during the course of it a lot of these hypothetical situations and questions that were asked to us would often be asked by someone on this side and recorded by some one on this, and I don't know who was recorded and whether they were broadcasting*

it directly. There were tape recorders there and there were television cameras with their microphones. I know there were recordings made but who made them I don't know and, of course, portions of it would be given to this group and questions answered here and, as a result, considerable questions were not answered in their entirety and even some of them that were asked, I am sure were misunderstood. It was bedlam.

Representative Ford - *I was thinking, was there an official recording either made by the hospital officials or by the White House people or by any government agency?*

Dr. Perry - *Not to my knowledge.*

Representative Ford - *A true recording of everything that was said, the questions asked, and the answers given?*

Dr. Perry - *Not to my knowledge.*

Mr. Dulles - *Was there any reasonably good account in any of the press of this interview?*

Dr. Perry - *No, sir.*

Representative Ford - *May I ask--*

Dr. Perry - *I have failed to see one that was asked.*

Representative Ford - *In other words, you subsequently read or heard what was allegedly said by you and by Dr. Clark and Dr. Carrico. Were those reportings by the news media accurate or inaccurate as to what you and others said?*

Dr. Perry - *In general, they were inaccurate. There were some that were fairly close, but I, as you will probably surmise, was pretty full after both Friday and Sunday, and after the interviews again, following the operation of which I was a member on Sunday, I left town, and I did not read a lot of them, but of those which I saw I found none that portrayed it exactly as it happened. Nor did I find any that reported our statements exactly as they were given.*

They were frequently taken out of context. They were frequently mixed up as to who said what or identification as to which person was who.

Representative Ford - *This interview took place on Sunday, the 24th, did you say?*

Dr. Perry - *No, there were several interviews, Mr. Ford. We had one in the afternoon, Friday afternoon, and then I spent almost the entire day Saturday in the administrative suite at the hospital answering questions to people of the press, and some medical people of the American Medical Association. And then, of course, Sunday, following the operation on Oswald, I again attended the press conference since I was the first in attendance with him. And, subsequently, there was another conference on Monday conducted by the American Medical Association, and a couple of more interviews with some people whom I don't even recall.*

Representative Ford - *Would you say that these errors that were reported were because of a lack of technical knowledge as to what you as a physician were saying, or others were saying?*

Dr. Perry - *Certainly that could be it in part, but it was not all. Certainly a part of it was lack of attention. A question would be asked and you would incompletely answer it and another question would be asked and they had gotten what they wanted without really understanding, and they would go on and it would go out of context. For example, on the speculation on the ultimate source of bullets, I obviously knew less about it than most people because I was in the hospital at the time and didn't know the circumstances surrounding it until it was over. I was much too busy and yet I was quoted as saying that the bullet, there was probably one bullet, which struck and deviated upward which came from the front, and what I had replied was to a question, was it conceivable that this could have happened, and I said yes, it is conceivable. I have subsequently learned that to use a straight affirmative word like "yes" is not good relations; that one should say it is conceivable and not give a straight yes or no answer. "It is conceivable" was dropped and the "yes" was used, and this was happening over and over again. Of course, Shires, for example, who was the professor and chairman of the department was identified in one press release as chief resident.*

(Dr. Perry's insistence that his words were taken out of context at the press conference is self-serving and inaccurate. Nobody trapped him into saying anything that he didn't suggest with his own statements. From the transcript: "DR. MALCOM PERRY... There are two wounds, as Dr. Clark noted, one of the neck and one of the head. Whether they are directly related or related to two bullets, I cannot say. QUESTION- Where was the entrance wound? DR. MALCOLM PERRY- There was an entrance wound in the neck. As regards the one on the head, I cannot say. QUESTION- Which way was the bullet coming on the neck wound? At him? DR. MALCOLM PERRY- It appeared to be coming at him..)

Moments later, Arlen Specter returns to the topic of the November 22nd press conference:

Mr. Specter - *"we have been trying diligently to get the tape records of the television interviews, and we were unsuccessful. I discussed this with Dr. Perry in Dallas last Wednesday, and he expressed an interest in seeing them, and I told him we would make them available to him prior to his appearance, before deposition or before the Commission, except our efforts at CBS and NBC, ABC and everywhere including New York, Dallas and other cities were to no avail. The problem is they have not yet cataloged all of the footage which they have, and I have been advised by the Secret Service, by Agent John Howlett, that they have an excess of 200 hours of transcripts among all of the events and they just have not cataloged them and could not make them available.*

(Howlett was, intriguingly, the same Secret Service Agent who ignored all the eyewitness testimony, even the testimony of his fellow agents, and determined the order of the shots simply by watching the Zapruder film.)

Mr. Dulles - *Do you intend to catalog them?*

Mr. Specter - *Yes, they do, Mr. Dulles. They intend to do that eventually in their normal process, and the Secret Service is trying to expedite the news media to give us those, and it was our thought as to the film clips, which would be the most direct or the recordings which would be the most direct, to make comparisons between the reports in the news media and what Dr. Perry said at that time, and the facts which we have from the doctors through our depositions and transcript today.*

Representative Ford - *Can you give us any time estimate when this catalog and comparison might be made?*

Mr. Specter - *Only that they are working on it right now, have been for sometime, but it may be a matter of a couple of weeks until they can turn it over.*

(These last few exchanges are priceless. Dulles asks Specter if he plans on going through the transcripts and he responds by saying that the Secret Service is going to help him. He then estimates that it should only take a few weeks. The Commissioners were, in fact, never provided with the transcript, and one was not uncovered for more than a decade. It was created by the White House staff and was found, not surprisingly, in the LBJ Library. No one knows what became of the original recordings seized by the Secret Service. But it seems quite possible they were made to disappear.)

(Discussion off the record.) (God only knows what they talked about.)

Mr. McCloy - *Mr. Chairman, I have some doubt as to the present propriety of making, of having the doctor make, comments in respect to a particular group of newspaper articles. There have been comments, as we all know, around the world, of great variety and great extent, and it would be practically impossible, I suppose, to check all of the accounts and in failing to check one would not wish to have it suggested that others, the accuracy of others was being endorsed. I would suggest that the staff make an examination of the files that we have of the comments, together with such tape recordings as may have been taken of the actual press conferences, and after that examination is made*

we can then determine, perhaps a little more effectively, what might be done to clarify this situation so that it would conform to the actual statements that the doctor has made.

Mr. Dulles - Well, Mr. McCloy, it is quite satisfactory with me and I agree with you we cannot run down all of the rumors in all of the press and it is quite satisfactory with me to wait and see whether we have adequate information to deal with this situation when we get in the complete tapes of the various television, radio and other appearances, so that we have a pretty complete record of what these two witnesses and others have said on the points we have been discussing here today. So I quite agree we will await this presentation to the doctors until we have had a further chance to review this situation. What I wanted to be sure was that when we are through with this we do have in our files and records adequate information to deal with a great many of the false rumors that have been spread on the basis of false interpretation of these appearances before television, radio, and so forth and so on.

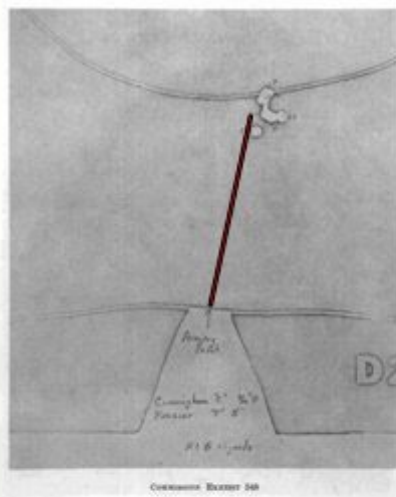
And with that, Dr. Perry's public and properly quoted description of Kennedy's throat wound as an "entrance wound" is successfully disposed of as a "false rumor" spread by an over-zealous media...

Chapter 3b: Men at Work

A look at the Commission's attempts to get their story straight...

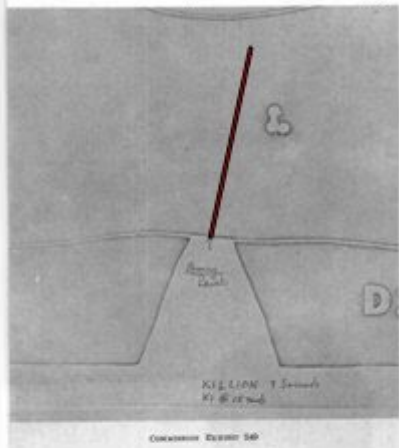
High and to the Right

A comparison of Warren Commission Exhibits CE 548, 549, and 550 indicates that something was amiss with Robert Frazier's 3-31-64 testimony before the Warren Commission.

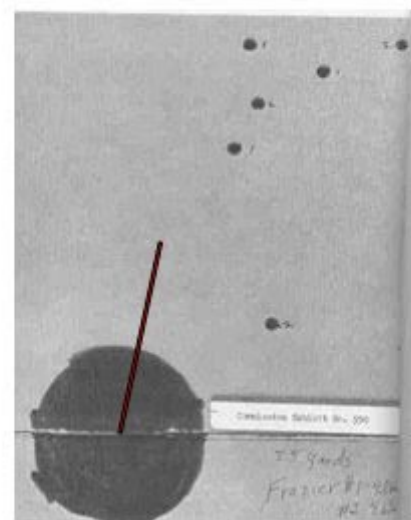


On 11-27-63, in order to determine the accuracy and speed of the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found in the depository, the FBI ran a series of tests. Agents Cunningham and Frazier fired three rounds each on CE 548, above, in 8 and 5.9 seconds, respectively. These shots landed 4 inches high and 1 inch to the right, a distance depicted by the red line.

Red lines stretch approximately 4 inches above and 1 inch right of the aiming point



Agent Killion then fired three rounds on CE 549, above, in 9 seconds. His shots landed approximately 2 1/2 inches high and 1 inch to the right. As the shots fired on CE 548 and CE 549 were fired from but 15 yards away, it's clear the rifle, while consistent, was misaligned. It was then decided to further test the speed at which the rifle could be fired.



And so Frazier fired two sets of three shots each on CE 550, above, from 25 yards. He did this in 4.8 and 4.6 seconds. While Frazier would later testify that these shots, save one, landed "4 to 5 inches high", and that the first three landed "1 to 2 inches to the right of the aiming point," it's clear he was incorrect. A comparison with CE 548 and 549 proves the bulk of the shots landed 6 to 8 inches high, and that all of them landed between 2 and 5 1/2 inches to the right of the center of the circle.

High and to the Right

On 3-31-64, the testimony of two weapons experts casts grave doubt on the theory that Oswald fired all the shots. Under questioning by Melvin Eisenberg, FBI ballistics expert **Robert Frazier** testifies that on 11-27-63 he and two other ballistics examiners fired the rifle found in the depository in order to judge both the speed at which three shots could be fired, and the accuracy of those shots. He relates that, when firing on targets but 15 yards away, agent *"Killion fired in 9 seconds... (agent) Cunningham fired his three shots in 8 seconds and I fired my three shots in 5.9 seconds."* He testifies further that, after moving to a 25 yard range, he attempted to fire the rifle as rapidly as possible, and was able to fire three times in 4.6 seconds, and then 4.8 seconds. He then relates that on March 16, 1964, after adjusting the rifle to make it fire as accurately as possible while using the scope, he fired on outdoor targets at 100 yards, and was able to fire three shots in 5.9, 6.2, 5.6, and 6.5 seconds, respectively. When asked by counsel Eisenberg if firing at a moving target would have lengthened these times, he states *"It would have lengthened the time to the extent of allowing the crosshairs to pass over the moving target."* When asked how long this would take, he answers *"Approximately 1 second. It would depend on how fast the target was moving."* When asked if increased familiarity with the rifle would have helped him shorten his time, he replies *"Oh yes"* but then talks about how it would improve his accuracy. He eventually answers the question in the negative by replying *"4.6 is firing this weapon as fast as the bolt can be operated, I think."*

(The date of this last test is intriguing. Let's recall that a January 9, 1964 column by Allen and Scott reported that the FBI had been asked to conduct more tests on the speed at which the rifle could be fired. Well, here are the tests, only two months later... Hmmmm... This gives us something to think about. Let's reflect...should these March tests have proved that Oswald could not have acted alone, would Hoover have even allowed this information be given to the Commission? Would he have risked criticism that he'd dragged his feet while Oswald's accomplices escaped? One can only assume "No". Then what follows is that Hoover and the FBI knew that no matter what these tests showed, they were not to be used to suggest that more than one shooter was involved.)

But if Frazier's testimony raises questions about Oswald's ability to fire all the shots, and the FBI's honesty about this ability, it raises even more questions about the accuracy of the weapon purportedly used by Oswald. Frazier tells the Commission that the first six shots fired by the FBI on 11-27 hit 4 inches high and 1 inch to the right at only 15 yards. He says the next three hit 2 1/2 inches high and 1 to the right at 15 yards. He then discusses the next six shots fired with the weapon, fired from 25 yards in an effort to fire the rifle as rapidly and accurately as possible. He claims *"The first series of three shots were approximately--from 4 to 5 inches high and from 1 to 2 inches to the right of the aiming point...The second series of shots landed--one was about 1 inch high, and the other two about 4 or 5 inches high..."* A close look at the target used for these six shots, and a comparison of this target with the targets created from 15 yards, is most revealing, however. It shows that Frazier was way off, and that the shots he claimed landed 4 to 5 inches high in fact landed 6 to 8 inches high, and 2 1/2 to 5 inches to the right of the aiming point. This confirms that the shots from 15 yards were not an anomaly, and that the scope was, in fact, considerably misaligned.

So misaligned, apparently, that the FBI and Warren Commission felt the need to cover up. At one point in Frazier's testimony regarding the scope and scope mount, almost certainly to downplay that the rifle was so woefully inaccurate, Frazier interjects *"apparently the scope had even been taken off of the rifle, in searching for fingerprints on the rifle. So that actually the way it was sighted-in when we got it does not necessarily mean it was sighted-in that way when it was abandoned."*

Well, this is suspicious on three fronts. The first is that the scope, while being removed from the rifle in Dallas, was almost certainly never taken off the barrel with which it is aligned. Lt. Day, who inspected the rifle in Dallas, never admitted removing the scope. No one ever claimed to see him remove the

scope. No report exists, furthermore, in which his removal of the scope is described. (This, of course, failed to prevent Frazier from continuing to claim Day had removed the scope. As late as three decades later, in David Fisher's *Hard Evidence*, a 1995 defense of the FBI crime lab, Frazier would claim *"The scope of the rifle had been taken off by the Dallas police to search for latents, and when we got it, it was loose; we had to tighten the screws down. I think there were shims under the scope when it was used and the Dallas police lost them when they took it off."*)

What Frazier fails to say leads to more suspicion. While in his Warren Commission testimony Frazier sets up his claim the scope had been removed by offering that the mount holding the scope on the rifle *"was loose on the rifle when we received it,"* he later admitted *"The mount is not screwed to the rifle in such a fashion that it points the scope at the target closely enough to permit adjusting the crosshair to accurately sight-in the rifle."* He then claimed that one could fix this problem *"merely by putting shims under the front of the scope and over the back of the scope to tip the scope in the mount itself, to bring it into alignment."* As the problem with the rifle was that it fired high and to the right...consistently...one can hardly claim this was caused by the looseness of the two mount screws. They are mount screws, after all; they either hold down the scope or do not. If they are loosened, the scope does not automatically point downward. If they are tightened, the scope does not suddenly rise back up and align with the aiming point of the rifle. Separate adjustment screws serve this purpose.

We should recall here that Frazier's co-worker Cunningham has already testified that the bag supposedly used to conceal the rifle was too small to conceal the rifle unless it was disassembled, and that no screwdrivers were found in Oswald's possessions, and that this had led the FBI to assume the rifle had been assembled with a dime. Well, if the simple loosening of a mount screw could lead the rifle to be as inaccurate as Frazier had found it on 11-27, how can Frazier simultaneously pretend that the rifle would fire accurately after being assembled with a dime? He can't. This should make us suspect then that Frazier's reference to "loose" screws was meant not as a suggestion the scope would have been aligned if not for these screws, but that the looseness of these screws had made him suspect someone had removed the scope in Dallas, and that this someone had, in the process, lost the shims needed for the rifle to fire accurately. That he failed to come out and say this, moreover, should make us suspect he'd been coached not to do so. Perhaps we should recall here that the Warren Commission has cut a deal with Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr "to be fair to Texas," else risk a Texas-based investigation that might not be "fair" to the Federal Government, including the Secret Service, the CIA, the FBI, and the current President.

Which brings us to the third front on which Frazier's testimony is suspicious... When we study Frazier's testimony it becomes clear that he is trying to give the Commission reasons to believe the scope had been damaged after the shooting, even though he himself suspected that NOTHING had happened to knock it out of alignment. In his testimony, Frazier not only admits that when the FBI eventually tried to sight-in the rifle and make it fire as accurately as possible, he found that the scope was mounted in such a manner that accurate shooting was impossible (as the rifle still fired 4-5 inches high and an inch to the right at 100 yards) but that it took 5 or 6 shots to stabilize the crosshairs on the scope after an adjustment. This, of course, is problematic for the Warren Commission's belief Oswald used the scope. They suspect, after all, that Oswald had only decided to kill the president a few days before the shooting, and that he hadn't practiced with his rifle. Well, this problem with the crosshairs suggests then that he'd either adjusted his scope before the shooting, and fired his shots with an unstable scope, or fired his shots without making any adjustment whatsoever. Both situations require more than a bit of luck. This makes it unsurprising then that, after dropping this bombshell, Frazier quickly offers *"on the back end of the scope tube there is a rather severe scrape which was on this weapon when we received it in the laboratory, in which some of the metal has been removed, and the scope tube could have been bent or damaged."*

But there's a problem with this proffered explanation. A big problem. While Frazier no doubt understood that the bumping of the scope he'd suggested would destabilize the scope, he would later admit *"When we fired on November 27th, the shots were landing high and slightly to the right. However, the scope was apparently fairly well stabilized at that time, because three shots would land in an area the size of a dime under rapid-fire conditions, which would not have occurred if the interior mechanism of the scope was shifting."*

Hmmm... Let's try and sort this all out. While Frazier had fired two comparison bullets on the 23rd, he later found it took 5 or 6 shots to stabilize the crosshairs in the scope. It follows then that, absent Frazier's unstated and unfounded belief shims were removed from the rifle, the scope was at least somewhat misaligned at the time of the shooting, and that, absent both his speculation regarding the shims and the equally unstated and unfounded speculation that the Dallas Police had fired three or more shots with the rifle before sending it on to Washington, the scope was not only erratic and bound to cause the shooter problems, but was as woefully misaligned at the time of the shooting on 11-22 as it was on 11-27, when Frazier first tested its accuracy...

Questions about the scope dominate Frazier's testimony. Counsel Melvin Eisenberg eventually asks Frazier a series of questions about the sniper's having to lead his target, in order to hit his target. He gives some specifics, telling Frazier: *"I would like you to make the following assumptions in answering these questions: First, that the assassin fired his shots from the window near which the cartridges were found--that is, the easternmost window on the south face of the sixth floor of the School Book Depository Building, which is 60 feet above the ground, and several more feet above the position at which the car was apparently located when the shots were fired. Second, that the length of the trajectory of the first shot was 175 feet, and that the length of the trajectory of the third shot was 265 feet. And third, that the elapsed time between the firing of the first and third shots was 5 1/2 seconds. Based on those assumptions, Mr. Frazier, approximately what lead would the assassin have had to give his target to compensate for its movement--and here I would disregard any possible defect in the scope."*

Well, this is interesting. Eisenberg is telling Frazier that, in the opinion of the Commission, the limousine traveled but 90 feet between the first and third shots. This is in keeping with the findings of Secret Service Agent Howlett on 11-27, but is a total refutation of the FBI's later claim the limousine traveled 140 feet between the shots. Perhaps Eisenberg, then, is telling Frazier to play ball, or else the Commission will expose the FBI's scandalous deception regarding the distance the limo traveled.

If so, it worked. Well, sort of... Frazier at first testifies that the proper lead for the target at 175 feet would be 6 to 8 inches. But there's a problem with this. Frazier can't leave well enough alone. Dissatisfied with Eisenberg's asking him to disregard the misalignment of the scope in making his calculation, he offers: *"the gun, when we first received it in the laboratory and fired these first targets, shot high and slightly to the right. If you were shooting at a moving target from a high elevation, relatively high elevation, moving away from you, it would be necessary for you to shoot over that object in order for the bullet to strike your intended target, because the object during the flight of the bullet would move a certain distance. The fact that the crosshairs are set high would actually compensate for any lead which had to be taken. So that if you aimed with this weapon as it actually was received at the laboratory, it would be necessary to take no lead whatsoever in order to hit the intended object. The scope would accomplish the lead for you."*

Uhhh,,,there's a problem with this. It's nonsense! If the rifle was firing 4 inches high and 1 inch to the right at only 15 yards, as suggested by Frazier's own testimony, then it follows that it would fire 24 inches high and 6 inches to the right at 90 yards, the approximate location of Kennedy at the time of the head shot. If the proper lead for this shot was 6.1 inches, as Frazier later specified, it follows that, in order to hit Kennedy in the head at frame 313 of the Zapruder film, the sniper would have to 1) know

that the rifle was firing significantly high, and 2) aim almost 18 inches LOW, at the middle of Kennedy's back.

But there's a problem with this as well. The middle of Kennedy's back was obscured by the backseat of the limo. That's right. If one assumes that the rifle as fired on 11-22 was in the same condition it was on 11-27, one has to acknowledge that the sniper hitting Kennedy in the head was actually aiming at the backseat of the limo. This is counter-intuitive.

And it's actually understating the case. It is believed that Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was sighted-in to strike targets at 200 meters. At 200 meters gravity will have taken effect and the bullet will no longer be flying in a straight path. As a result, the bullet of a rifle sighted in at 200 meters will start out low, gradually lift above its line of sight, and then slowly drop back to the line of sight, and hopefully the center of its target, at 200 meters. Frazier testified that a bullet sighted in such a manner at 200 yards would land about a half-inch high at 100 feet, two inches high at 200 feet, and three inches high at 300 feet. This suggests that a bullet fired from 265 feet, a la the fatal bullet if fired from the sniper's nest, would land about 2 1/2 inches high.

And Frazier was probably understating the case. Ballistics calculators (such as those found online at Hornady ammunition website) and charts (such as those found in the book American Ammunition and Ballistics) suggest that the bullet fired in Oswald's rifle would actually have been around 5 inches above the line of sight at 265 feet.

And even this is understating the case. If one accepts Frazier's testimony regarding the inaccuracy of the weapon on 11-27 and the stabilizing effect of shots on the scope, and then considers that the fatal bullet was heading on a downward path, and not be subject to the usual amount of gravity, it seems likely that the fatal bullet supposedly fired from Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano on 11-22-63 would have landed even greater than 23 inches higher than aimed (29 inches minus the 6 inches or so traveled by the limousine between the moment the rifle was fired and the moment the bullet struck) and that the only way for the sniper to have hit Kennedy in the head was for him to have aimed at the trunk of the car.

The confusion related to leading a moving target by firing below or behind the target becomes even more confusing when we consider Frazier's next statement. He added *"I might also say that it also shot slightly to the right, which would tend to cause you to miss your target slightly to the right."* Uhhh... he said the rifle shot but an inch to the right at 15 yards...which translates to 6 inches to the right at 90 yards. Although Frazier has supplied the Warren Commission with no information regarding the left-right lead necessary to hit the target, photos taken from the sniper's nest suggest that the left-right lead would be about the same as the vertical lead. This would be about 6 inches. This suggests that, while the rifle was firing high and to the right, the sniper would need to make a large adjustment for the former--an adjustment which Frazier denies--but no adjustment at all for the latter--which Frazier also denies.

Something is just askew with Frazier's testimony. First, he under-reports how badly the rifle performed during his 11-27 tests of the rifle from 25 yards. Then he conjures up imaginary incidents--the Dallas Police Department's removal of shims from under the scope, the scope's being damaged after the shooting--in an attempt to explain the problems with the scope. Then he under-reports the adjustment needed to overcome the problems with the scope, and actually suggests the misalignment of the scope was an advantage to the sniper. What is he doing? Is he deliberately trying to conceal that such a large adjustment for the rifle's shooting high would have been necessary? If so, then why did he turn around and make it sound like the rifle's shooting right was the bigger problem? Is he simultaneously trying to conceal that the limo was not heading straight away from the sniper, but moving left to right? Or is he just following orders to the best of his ability?

We suspect the latter. On 3-26-64, J. Edgar Hoover sent J. Lee Rankin a letter discussing the accuracy

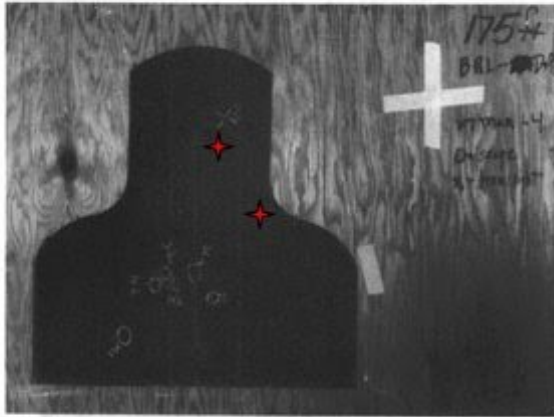
of the rifle. This letter was published as Commission Exhibit 2724. Most of the information contained in this letter was repeated in Frazier's testimony. But not all of it. While Frazier had accidentally indicated that the condition of the scope had probably not changed between 11-22 and 11-27, Hoover would have no part of it. He wrote *"It is pointed out that the grouping of the shots in the targets shows an inherent capability of great accuracy under rapid fire conditions. No other significance whatever can be attached to these tests since there is no way of determining whether the present condition of the telescopic sight is the same as at the time of the assassination. It is to be noted that at the time of firing these tests, the telescopic sight could not be properly aligned with the target since the sight reached the limit of its adjustment before reaching accurate alignment."* (Now here comes the spin.) *"The present error in alignment, if it did exist at the time of the assassination, would be in favor of the shooter since the weapon is presently grouping slightly high and to the right with respect to the point of aim, and would have tended to reduce the need for "leading" a moving target in aiming the rifle."*

Well, I'll be. Hoover said that the present error in alignment--which would mean the alignment demonstrated on 3-16 AFTER the scope had been sighted in as accurately as possible--would be an advantage, and Frazier testified that the misalignment of the rifle as received by the laboratory would be an advantage. There's a huge difference. And Hoover, for once, was right. The misalignment of the scope on 11-27, when Frazier first tested the accuracy of the rifle, was in no way an advantage. It is of no help at all to a sniper to have to aim at a car trunk to hit a man in the head. But the slight misalignment of the rifle on 3-16, after it was sighted in, would be a slight advantage to someone tracking an object moving left to right and away, provided the person is aware of this misalignment. This leads us to suspect that Frazier was given specific orders on how to testify, and screwed them up.

This gives us plenty to think about. IF the scope was severely misaligned on 11-22, as suggested by Frazier's testimony, then the shooter was either 1) a marginally talented shooter, like Oswald, who was just firing in the President's general direction and got "lucky", 2) an expert marksman well acquainted with the rifle's tendency to fire high and to the right, and talented enough to compensate for this tendency, or 3) someone familiar enough with Oswald's rifle to know the scope was nearly worthless and yet talented enough to accomplish the shooting without the use of the scope. (Testimony of Robert Frazier, 3H390-441).

(FWIW: subsequent to my writing this section, I became aware of an old letter in the FBI's files addressing some of the problems with Frazier's testimony we've examined. This letter was written in March 1969 by a Richard Bernabei on the stationery of Queen's University, London, Ontario. Bernabei's conclusions were similar to my own, with the notable exception that while I presumed the rifle--should it have been in the condition Frazier received it when fired on 11-22-63--would have fired a bit more than 23 inches high at 90 yards, Bernabei--presumably not taking into account that the president was moving away from the shooter--concluded it would have fired about 29 inches high at 100 yards. He claimed, furthermore, that he'd actually tested this using a 6.5 mm Mannlicher-Schoenauer rifle, and had found that the bullets landed 28 1/2 inches high of the point of aim at 100 yards. FBI file 62-109060 Sec 170 p 45-55.)

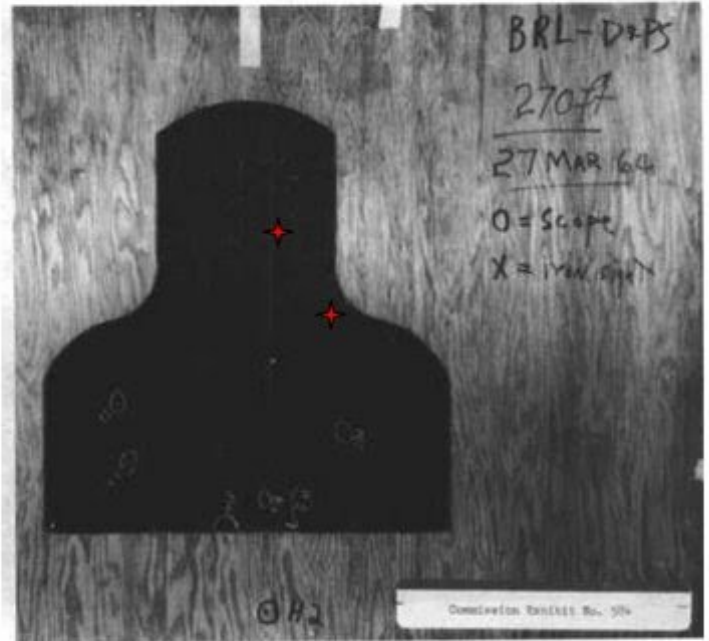
In the Interests of Accuracy



COMMISSION EXHIBIT 582



COMMISSION EXHIBIT 583



On 3-27-63, the Warren Commission, unsatisfied with the FBI's results, had the Army conduct their own tests on the rifle. They had three Master rifleman fire on three stationary targets at the distances presumed for the shots in Dealey Plaza. (Exhibits 582 and 583, left, and 584, above) Shims were added to the scope mount to bring it in alignment. Even so, in 7 runs of 8.25, 7, 6.75, 6.45, 4.6, 5.15, and 4.45 seconds, NOT ONE of the 14 shots rapid fired by these Masters hit as close to the center of the target as the TWO hits attributed to Oswald (as depicted by the red stars).

In the Interests of Accuracy

After Frazier, **Ronald Simmons**, the Chief of the Weapons Evaluation Branch of the Ballistics Laboratory of the Department of the Army, testifies, and things only get worse. He states that Oswald's rifle was as accurate as the current standard issue rifle of the U.S. Army, the M-14, but acknowledges that his three test shooters "*could not sight the weapon in using the telescope and no attempt was made to sight it in using the iron sight. We did adjust the telescopic sight by addition of two shims, one which tended to adjust the azimuth, and one which adjusted an elevation.*" He was thereby acknowledging that the scope and rifle as discovered were fatally out of alignment, and that this misalignment was not the result of a Dallas police officer bumping the scope or some such thing.

Simmons also discusses a simulation of the shooting performed by these shooters. He relates that they made seven attempts to replicate the shooting by rapid firing on three stationary targets at the presumed distances of the shots in Dealey Plaza. Simmons details: "*All firers hit the first target, which was emplaced at 175 feet...for the first four attempts, the firers missed the second target...there were only two rounds which did not hit the target at 270 feet...*" He then gives the time it took for his shooters to fire these shots: "*Mr. Hendrix fired twice. The time for the first exercise was 8.25 seconds; the time for the second exercise was 7.0 seconds. Mr. Staley, on the first exercise, fired in 6 3/4 seconds; the second*

attempt he used 6.45 seconds. Specialist Miller used 4.6 seconds on his first attempt, 5.15 seconds in his second attempt, and 4.45 seconds in his exercise using the iron sight..."

He then discusses Mr. Miller's shots in more detail: *"Mr. Miller succeeded in hitting the third target on both attempts with the telescope. He missed the second target on both attempts with the telescope but he hit the second target with the iron sight. And he emplaced all three rounds on the target, the first target...On the third target he missed the boards completely. And we have not checked this out. It appears that for the firing posture which Mr. Miller--Specialist Miller uses, the iron sight is not zeroed for him, since his impacts on the first and second targets were quite high, and against the third target we would assume that the projectile went over the top of the target, which extended only a few inches over the top of the silhouette."* When asked what preparation these shooters were allowed to undertake, before attempting these shots, Simmons then relates: *"They had each attempted the exercise without the use of ammunition, and had worked the bolt as they tried the exercise. They had not pulled the trigger during the exercise, however, because we were a little concerned about breaking the firing pin."*

Simmons eventually concludes that *"in order to achieve three hits, it would not be required that a man be an exceptional shot. A proficient man with this weapon, yes."* (Testimony of Ronald Simmons, 3H441-451)

Curiously, there is no evidence that Oswald was proficient with his weapon. Prior to 11-22-63, the only time Oswald was believed to have fired his rifle at a living thing was back in April, 1963. And that purported shot, fired at a right-wing fanatic named General Walker as he sat at a desk in his home, *missed*. There is no record of Oswald firing his rifle in the months leading up to the assassination. The rumors of his practicing at various shooting ranges around Dallas were all discredited by the FBI. Furthermore, there were no rifle-cleaning supplies or even extra ammunition found among his possessions. Thus, when Simmons testifies that Oswald's rifle was substandard and that only someone with a lot of experience with the rifle could compensate for its shortcomings, he is unwittingly arguing for Oswald's innocence. Particularly in that Simmons knew full well his test shooters did not fire nearly as well as claimed...

When one looks at the targets his men fired upon, Commission Exhibits 582-584, it's startlingly clear Simmons' definition of a hit is not what any reasonable person would consider a hit. Oswald was purported to have hit Kennedy once in the base of the neck and once in the head in 6 seconds or less. The targets the Army shooters fired upon were not only stationary targets, they were far larger than the small area on Kennedy hit by the sniper...twice. While one might claim the shooters were merely interested in hitting the targets, and not specific points on the targets, one cannot reasonably claim they would deliberately not hit this target in as central a location as possible. Thus, a re-examination of the Army's targets, counting as hits only those hits landing between the extended sides of the neck on the target, indicates that the Army's shooters hit the first shot 6 of 7 times, the second shot 3 of 7 times, and the third shot but 2 of 7 times, with both hits landing on the back.

When one looks even closer, and considers that the Army's shooters would also be trying to hit the center of the target vertically, and compares their hits between the neck lines on the targets to the purported location of the hits on Kennedy, it gets even worse. (Simmons, in fact, testified that he'd assumed the shooters were firing at the intersection of lines at the center of the target.) Only one or two of the hits on the first target, when the shooters had ALL THE TIME IN THE WORLD, landed as close to the center of the target as the two hits purportedly rapid-fired by Oswald. Even worse (yes, even worse), NOT ONE of the 14 shots rapid fired on the last two targets landed anywhere near as close the center of the target as the two hits attributed to Oswald.

The Army shooters' failure to replicate the fatal head shot, even though the rifle had been re-aligned just for this purpose, and even though their target was quite stationary, is incredibly problematic for the

Commission, and should force them to re-evaluate Oswald's presumed ability with a rifle. They must know the public will not buy that such fantastic shots with such a mediocre rifle were fired by a man who hadn't practiced in months, and was never very good to begin with. They must know that the only way they can maintain any credibility is to stand by the incredible, and insist that, no matter how difficult the shots, Oswald somehow just got "lucky". Or so one would assume...

On **4-2-64**, just two days after the FBI's Frazier had asserted that the scope had been removed by someone in Dallas looking for fingerprints, (and slyly suggested that this person had lost the shims needed for the scope to be effective), Lt. J.C. Day, who'd inspected the rifle in Dallas, is called to testify. Amazingly, however, he is never asked about the scope, let alone about the shims. He does state, however, that after removing the barrel from the wood stock and trying to photograph the palm print on the underside of the rifle barrel which had immediately attracted his attention, he was told to stop working on the rifle, and that he *"did not process the underside of the barrel under the scopic sight, did not get to this area of the gun."* (4H249-278) This undoubtedly suggests the scope was not removed. So much for Frazier's speculation. So much for his and the commission's belief the scope was of assistance on 11-22-63.

Later that day, in Dallas, Postal Inspector **Harry Holmes**, the last man to interview Oswald, testifies before the Commission. It turns out that he'd watched the assassination through binoculars from his office on the south side of Dealey Plaza. (**4-2-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H289-308) *"the motorcade turned north on Houston and went to Elm and turned left on Elm where it started on a downgrade to what we refer to as a triple underpass. As it turned in front of the school book depository, I heard what to me sounded like firecrackers, and it was my recollection that there were three of them. I had my binoculars on this car, on the presidential car at the time. I realized something was wrong but I thought they were dodging somebody throwing things at the car like firecrackers or something, but I did see dust fly up like a firecracker had burst up in the air."* (When asked where he saw the dust) *"Off of President Kennedy and I couldn't tell you which one of the cracks of the firecracker resulted in this."* **Too vague.** (Years later, however, Holmes would make clear that while he couldn't remember which of the cracks of the "firecracker" brought "dust off" the President, he couldn't remember if it was the first shot or the second shot. In Larry Sneed's "No More Silence" Holmes distinctly recalls hearing a shot after the head shot.)

Many others are brought in to testify during March and April. For the most part, their statements are consistent with the statements they'd made in November and December. One "new" witness to testify is the motorcycle officer riding just behind the limousine on the far left. Strangely, the two escorts to the right of the limousine were never called to testify, and not even interviewed. **B.J. Martin** (**4-3-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H289-293): *"one of the agents got off of the car after the first shot...I looked to my right (after the first shot)...I looked at the President after I heard the (first) shot and he was leaning forward—I could see the left side of his face. At the time he had no expression on his face"* (Then I heard) *"Two more shots...immediately after the first shot I saw him (the President) and after that I couldn't see him."* **Double head shot.** (While many will say that "two more shots" is too vague to assume the shots came together, a better way of looking at it is that "two more shots" is too vague to assume they're not together. Law enforcement professionals like Martin knew that they were expected to describe what happened as accurately as possible. Consequently, if there was an appreciable delay between the last two shots we can expect he would have said so, and then described what he observed between the shots.)

A **4-4** FBI memorandum from Rosen to Belmont reveals that the strain between the Bureau and the Commission, so readily apparent in the weeks leading up to the testimony of the FBI's experts, has failed to dissipate now that some of the experts have testified. In this memorandum, Rosen writes that J.Lee Rankin *"stated that he would appreciate the Director being advised of the very favorable*

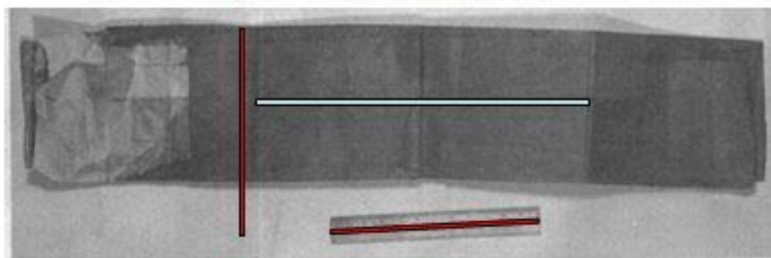
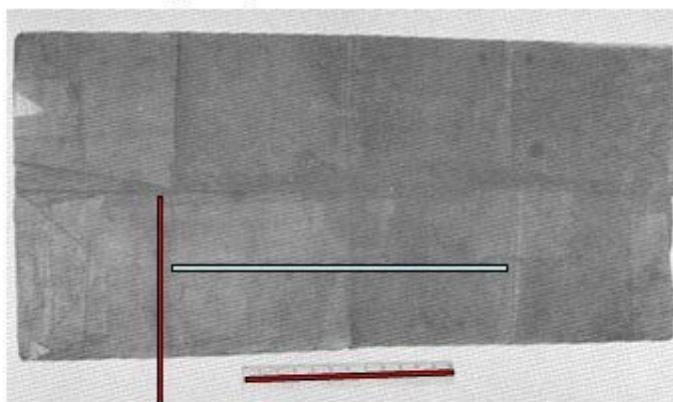
impression the Bureau experts made and that Chief Justice Earl Warren had made favorable comments and had asked Mr. Rankin to make known to the Director his feelings concerning the Bureau experts' testimony...Mr. Rankin advised that the testimony of the Bureau personnel was far superior to testimony received from anyone else that has appeared before the Commission, each of the Bureau employees testified with complete confidence and their testimony was given in such a manner that any possible doubt that anyone had had been completely removed by the Bureau experts' testimony." Hoover, still fuming over the Commission's use of outside experts, however, is not impressed. In the margins of this memo, he writes: "I place no credence in any complimentary remarks made by Warren nor the Commission. They were looking for FBI 'gaps' and having found none yet they try to get 'syrupy.'"

Ye Olde Switcheroo?



Red lines = 12 inches.
Blue lines = 19.25 inches.

At left: a Dallas Times-Herald photo of the paper bag found in the sniper's nest as it was removed from the depository by Dallas detectives L.D. Montgomery and Marvin Johnson on 11-22-63.



At top: Exhibit 4 from the FBI Summary Report of 12-9-63. Directly above: Warren Commission Exhibit 142. A comparison of matching blue and red lines suggests that, while the bag at top has been split open and the bag at bottom has been unfolded at the top, they are probably the same bag. The length of this bag appears to match the length of the bag at left. Not so the width.

Ye Olde Switcheroo?

On **4-6-64**, the Commission takes the testimony of Dallas Detective Robert Studebaker. He briefly discusses the finding of the bag found in the sniper's nest. He offers no explanation for why he failed to photograph this bag where it was found. A 3-10 interview of Studebaker by the FBI is equally unclear, stating "According to Studebaker, the paper bag was removed prior to taking photographs of the southeast corner." (FBI file 105-82555 section 142 p9) This bag, we should recall, is believed to have been used by Oswald to bring the assassination rifle in to work. The only witnesses to Oswald with a

bag, however, have insisted the bag carried by Oswald was far smaller than this bag. Studebaker testifies that the bag he found was *"I would say, 3 1/2 to 4 feet long"* and *"Approximately 8 inches"* wide. (7H137-149). This catches our attention. On 3-11-64, Counsel Joe Ball had been able to get one of the two witnesses to see Oswald with a bag, Buell Frazier--who'd previously said the bag he saw was 5 or 6 inches wide--to agree that the bag he saw could have been as wide as the bag found in the sniper's nest. Ball then got the second witness, Linnie Mae Randle, to testify that the width of the bag found in the sniper's nest was *"about right."* Of the bag found in the sniper's nest, Ball said, furthermore, that *"This package is about the span of my hand, say 8 inches."* This suggests the package shown both Frazier and Randle was about 8 inches wide.

There's a huge problem with this. An FBI memo on the creation of a replica bag states that the paper used was 24 inches wide (CD7, p292). One can only assume that this paper would have been folded in half to make the bag, and that the resulting bag would be about 12 inches wide. Sure enough, photographs of the bag pulled from the sniper's nest on the day of the assassination suggest it was about a foot wide. So why was the bag shown to Frazier and Randle during their testimony barely 8 inches wide?

The words of a 12-2-63 FBI report on the showing of this replica sack to Randle are also telling. When discussing her impression of the package she saw on 11-22, it states *"Her designation on the replica sack was found to be 8 1/2 inches for the width of the original package she'd seen Oswald carrying."* (CD7, p299). She couldn't have designated an 8 1/2 inch width on a package only 8 inches wide, now could she? From this it seems clear that someone or some group, possibly the FBI in unison with the Warren Commission, has pulled some evidentiary origami, and has altered the proportions of the bag between early December, 1963, and March, 1964.

That someone might be James Cadigan, the FBI's paper expert, who testified only 3 days before Studebaker. When asked if he found any marks inside the bag on 11-23 that could tie it to the rifle, he testified: *"I couldn't find any such markings."* When asked if one could make an inference from this he testified further that: *"I don't know the condition of the rifle. If it were in fact contained in this bag, it could have been wrapped in cloth or just the metal parts wrapped in a thick layer of cloth, or if the gun was in the bag, perhaps it wasn't moved too much. I did observe some scratch marks and abrasions but was unable to associate them with this gun. The scratch marks in the paper could come from any place. They could have come from many places. There were no marks on this bag that I could say were caused by that rifle or any other rifle or any other given instrument."* When asked further if, assuming the rifle had not been wrapped in cloth, it should have left marks of some sort, he replied: *"The absence of markings to me wouldn't mean much. I was looking for markings I could associate. The absence of marks, the significance of them, I don't know."* (4H89-101). Clearly, Cadigan and his superiors were not the curious sort. They had Oswald's rifle. Within a few more days they had a replica bag. All they had to do was put the rifle in the bag and re-enact Oswald's trip to work and see if the bag was scratched or marked by the grease on Oswald's gun. That they failed to do so, and that the Warren Commission failed to ask them to do so, reveals either their incredible incompetence or deliberate negligence.

One might suspect the latter. While Cadigan has testified that the tape found on the paper bag was 25/1000 of an inch wider than a tape sample taken from the depository on 11-22, only to say that this doesn't really matter, he has failed to provide any measurements for the bag he studied, both inside and out. Why wasn't he asked this? Why has Ball asked Studebaker to guess about the size of an object he only saw for a minute, when only days before he had Cadigan, who'd studied this object in detail, at his disposal, and had failed to ask him its actual size? And is it a coincidence that Studebaker has said the bag he found in the sniper's nest was 8 inches wide, and that the bag now being shown to witnesses is 8 inches wide, when the bag pulled from the sniper's nest was clearly much wider? Has someone pulled a switcheroo? Are the FBI and the Dallas detectives in cahoots? Is Ball in on it? The testimony on the

bag couldn't smell any worse if the bag had been wrapped around day-old fish.

The next week, **Nelson Delgado**, a Marine who'd served with Oswald, testifies about Oswald's proficiency with a rifle. (4-16-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 8H228-265): *"he didn't show no particular aspects of being a sharpshooter at all...He always got gigged for his rifle (meaning that he got in trouble for keeping it in poor condition)...we were on line together, the same time, but not firing at the same position, but at the same time, and I remember seeing his. It was a pretty big joke because he got a lot of "Maggie's drawers," you know, a lot of misses, but he didn't give a darn...he was a couple of targets down. It was very comical to see."*

The week after that, the Connallys finally testify, confirming their earlier statements. **Nellie Connally** (4-21-64) testimony before the Warren Commission, 4H146-149) *"I heard a noise...I turned over my right shoulder and looked back, and saw the President as he had both hands at his neck...he made no utterance, no cry. I saw no blood, no anything. It was just sort of nothing, the expression on his face, and he just sort of slumped down. Then very soon there was the second shot that hit John. As the first shot was hit, and I turned to look at the same time, I recall John saying, "Oh, no, no, no." Then there was a second shot, and it hit John, and as he recoiled to the right, just crumpled like a wounded animal to the right, he said, "My God, they are going to kill us all" ...I never again looked in the back seat of the car after my husband was shot...The third shot that I heard I felt, it felt like spent buckshot falling all over us, and then, of course, I too, could see that it was the matter, brain tissue, or whatever, just human matter, all over the car and both of us."* **Governor John Connally** (4-21-64 testimony 4H129-146) *"I reclined with my head in her lap, conscious all the time, and with my eyes open, and then, of course, the third shot sounded, and I heard the shot very clearly. I heard it hit him. I heard the shot hit something...I heard it hit. It was a very loud noise, just that audible, very clear...Immediately, I could see on my clothes, my clothing, I could see on the interior of the car...brain tissue...on my trousers there was one chunk of brain tissue as big as almost my thumb."*

We also finally hear from the fourth occupant of the lead car. **Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry** (4-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 4H150-202) (When asked where the President's car was at the time of the first shot) *"I would say it was approximately halfway between Houston Street and the underpass, which would be, I would say probably 125- 150 feet west of Houston Street...(when asked how far it had gone by the time of the second shot) "perhaps 25 or 30 feet further along" (and the third shot) "A few feet further, perhaps 15-20 feet further" (when asked the duration of the shots) "perhaps 5 or 6 seconds...I heard three shots. I will never forget it."* Although he doesn't describe the head shot, we can't help but notice that Curry's statement that the car traveled much further between the first and second shots than between the second and third shots and is suggestive that the last two shots were fired closer together.

Time Out: The Warren Commission at Work Part II

Two FBI memos on an April 14 conference

April 15, 1964

Memorandum

To: Mr. Callahan

From: L.J. Gauthier

Subject: Assassination of President John F. Kennedy

Examination of Visual Aids by President's Commission

Reference memo Gauthier to Callahan 4-7-64

Staff members of the President's Commission and specialists of the armed services, Dr.s Humes, Heany, Fink, Light and Olivia (ph.) attended a conference on 4-14-64 for purposes of reviewing motion pictures and slides of the assassination site. Representatives of the Secret Service and FBI were present to assist in projecting the film and the use of the scale model.

Dr. Humes, U.S. Navy Commander, who performed the autopsy on the President, appeared to lead the discussion throughout the 4-hour session. All of his associates were generally in agreement with previous findings of the Commission as to where shots 1, 2, and 3 approximately occurred.

The most revealing information brought out by the doctors is as follows:

1. That Shot 1 struck the President high in the right shoulder area, penetrating the torso near the base of the neck damaging the flesh of the throat but not tearing the throat wall. This bullet, according to the doctors, continued and entered Governor Connally's right shoulder, emerging below the right nipple. The velocity of the missile, according to the doctors, apparently was snagged in the coat and shirt, eventually falling out on Connally's stretcher.

2. That Shot 2 struck the wrist of the Governor, continuing on into his thigh.

3. That Shot 3 struck the right side of the President's head, carrying much bone and brain tissue away, leaving a large cavity. There is nothing controversial about where Shot 3 occurred inasmuch as the Zapruder movie indicates with much clarity where this happened.

Heretofore it was the opinion of the Commission that Shot 1 had only hit the President, that Shot 2 had entered the Governor's right shoulder area penetrating his torso through the chest area emerging and again entering the wrist and on into his leg.

Staff attorneys of the Commission extensively questioned the doctors concerning their conclusions and their views were made a matter of record by Attorney Melvin Eisenberg.

Mr. Eisenberg advised that Governor Connally would be in Washington on Tuesday April 21, 1964, to assist the Commission in describing as to where the three shots occurred and that he, Eisenberg, would request that Shaneyfelt and Gauthier be available to assist them in handling visual aids while the Governor's views are obtained.

Mr. Eisenberg also inquired whether Special Agent Shaneyfelt of the FBI Laboratory, Special Agent John Howlett of the Secret Service and Gauthier would be able to arrange for a re-enactment of the shooting scene in Dallas using the data collected by the Commission, to make movies of the areas where each shot occurred using Zapruder's camera, to have people simulate the positions of the occupants of the President's car in a car similar to the one used by the President, which would be furnished by the Secret Service, to take ground measurements from the Texas School Book Depository from each points where shots occurred to determine the distances between gun muzzle and target, etc.

Mr. Eisenberg inquired as to whether I had any suggestions concerning his request. He was advised that, of course, the FBI would do whatever possible to assist in this matter; however, it was felt that as he, Eisenberg, had a good working knowledge of what the Commission desired it would appear to me to be the advantage to the Commission if he, Eisenberg, would be present in Dallas to insure the development of the desired technical data. He and his immediate superior, Attorney Norman Redlich, agreed to this suggestion. Without saying as much, it was felt that considerable publicity will definitely stem from this type of operation in Dallas and a representative of the Commission should be present to handle the inquiries of the press concerning the fact that this was a Commission field operation and not an operation of the FBI or Secret Service.

Mr. Eisenberg stated he would make his proposal for this field trip known to the members of the Commission recommending that the FBI and Secret Service assist the Commission's legal staff in gathering on-site data relating to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

RECOMMENDATION: None--for information only

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE:

ADDENDUM: AHB:hw 4-15-64

It is questionable what the Commission expects to gain by an additional re-enactment of the scene of the assassination, bearing in mind that Secret Service has already gone through this exercise at least once, and Inspector Gauthier made actual models of the assassination area. It is inevitable that there will be considerable publicity attendant to the proposed re-enactment of the scene.

It is our opinion that it would be undesirable for the FBI to become involved as the speed of the car, protection measures, etc, were the basic responsibility of the Secret Service at the time. We would prefer not to become identified with the actual scene and happenings at the assassination in the minds of the public.

It is recommended that Inspector Malley advise Mr. Rankin that this proposal appears to be without merit; that the FBI has done its utmost to be of assistance by providing models of the area, technical data, and technical advice in assisting the Commission to interpret events as they occurred. Mr. Malley should advise Rankin that we suggest that if such a re-enactment of the scene is considered desirable by the Commission, it should be carried out by Secret Service which has already gone through this exercise at least once.

4/15/64

Memorandum

To: Mr. Belmont

From: A. Rosen

Subject: Assassination of President Kennedy

Request of the President's Commission

In accordance with the request of the President's Commission, Bureau personnel, including Mr. Shaneyfelt of the the Laboratory, Mr. Gauthier of the Exhibits section, and Mr. Malley were present at which time certain slides printed from the Abraham Zapruder movie film depicting the assassination of President Kennedy, which were obtained by the Bureau from "Life" Magazine, were shown. Also present at the Commission office were the following:

Commander James J. Humes, Director of Laboratories, Navy Medical School, U.S. Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Maryland;

Commander J. Thornton Boswell, Chief Pathologist, U.S. Navy Medical School, Bethesda;

Colonel Pierre A. Finck, Chief of Wound Ballistics Branch, Pathology Branch of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Washington, D.C.

Dr. A.G. Olivier, Chief of Wound Ballistics Branch, Edgewood Arsenal;

Dr. F.W. Light, Jr., Deputy Chief, Biophysics Division, and Chief of Wound Assessment Branch, Edgewood Arsenal.

The purpose of the showing of this film, as it developed during the meeting, was to give the doctors present an opportunity to see the actual movie of the shooting of the President as well as the slides which had been made which were much clearer than the actual movies. The Commission desired the doctors present in order to obtain from them their views concerning the actual manner in which the President was shot.

During this session Commander James J. Humes advanced the theory that the first shot entered the President's body in the rear in the neck region a few inches below the head and followed a pattern through the neck and exited in the front without encountering any bone or other objects which slowed the bullet to any degree. Commander Humes was of the opinion the bullet continued and struck Governor Connally in the back on the right-hand side below the shoulder and exited on the right-hand side of Governor Connally in the chest area. Commander Humes stated that here again, based on medical reports received from doctors in Texas who examined Governor Connally, the bullet met with no serious obstruction and passed through the body, merely grazing one of the rib bones. It was Commander Humes' opinion that the bullet from the first shot apparently lodged in some manner in the clothing of Governor Connally, and this bullet is the one which was found on the stretcher on which Governor Connally was brought to Parkland Hospital in Dallas, Texas. Commander Humes states this bullet was not damaged in any way and it is for this reason he feels that the first shot definitely passed through both the body of the President and Governor Connally.

In explaining his feelings concerning this theory, Commander Humes stated that another shot is believed to have hit the right wrist of Governor Connally with such an impact that it caused the bullet to break into many fragments and he noted that many fragments were found in the right wrist area of Governor Connally as well as in the thigh of the left leg.

Relative to the third shot which was fired, which based on the photographic material available is believed to be the one which hit the President's head, Commander Humes advised that there is no question that this bullet separated into many fragments upon impact and many fragments were found in the skull area of the President. He noted that one fragment had apparently struck the front windshield from the inside inasmuch as the examination of the windshield did detect some lead deposit where an object had struck the inside of the windshield. Commander Humes states that the fragment which struck the windshield could have been from this shot which struck the President's head or could have been a fragment from the shot which hit Governor Connally's wrist.

The other doctors present did not completely confirm the theory of Commander Humes but felt, based on their review of the pictures, noting the movements of Governor Connally in the President's automobile and the general location of the occupants in the car, that there was a possibility this theory was correct.

Staff members of the Commission gave no indication what additional action they planned relative to this theory. It is noted that any comments made in the past by the Bureau relative to the shots that struck the President and Governor Connally were based completely on medical reports furnished the Bureau by Doctors at Parkland Hospital and the results of the autopsy of (sic) the U.S. Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Maryland.

The foregoing is submitted for information.

Melvin Eisenberg's Memo on the April 14 conference

April 22, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM: *Melvin A. Eisenberg*

SUBJECT: *Conference of April 14, 1964, to determine which frames in the Zapruder movies show the impact of the first and second bullets.*

On April 14, 1964, a conference was held to determine which frames in the Zapruder film portray the instants at which the first and second bullets struck. Present were: Commander James J. Humes, Director of Laboratories of the Naval Medical School, Bethesda, Maryland; Commander J. Thorton Boswell, Chief Pathologist, Naval Medical School, Bethesda; Lt. Col. Pierre A. Finck, Chief of Wound Ballistics Pathology Branch, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology; Dr. F.W. Light, Jr. Deputy Chief of the Biophysics Division at Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, and Chief of the Wound Assessment Branch of the Biophysics Division; Dr. Olivier, Chief of the Wound Ballistics Branch of the Biophysics Division at Edgewood Arsenal; Messrs. Malley, Gauthier, Shaneyfelt, and two other unidentified agents of the FBI; Messrs. Kelley and Howlett of the Secret Service; and Messrs. Redlich, Specter and Eisenberg of the Commission staff.

A screening was held of the Zapruder film and of slides prepared by LIFE from the film. Each slide corresponded with a separate frame of film, beginning with frame 171. The consensus of the meeting was as follows:

(a) The President had been definitely hit by frames 224-225, when he emerges from behind a sign with his hands clutching his throat.

(b) The reaction shown in frames 224-225 may have started at an earlier point - possibly as early as frame 199 (when there appears to be some jerkiness in his movement) or, with a higher degree of possibility, at frames 204-206 (where his right elbow appears to be raised to an artificially high position).

(c) If the reaction did not begin at 199 or 204-206, it probably began during the range of frames during which the President is hidden from Zapruder's camera by a sign, namely, frames 215-24.

cc: Mr. Rankin

Mr. Belin

Mr. Willens

Mr. Specter

Mr. Redlich

Mr. Eisenberg

Mr. Ball

(d) The President may have been struck by the first bullet as much as two seconds before any visible reaction began. In all likelihood, however, the maximum delay between impact and reaction would be under one second, and it is possible that the reaction was instantaneous. Putting this in terms of frames, the President may have been struck as much as 36 frames before any visible reaction is seen. If the visible reaction begins at 199, the President may have been struck as early as 163, if the visible reaction begins at 204-206, he may have been struck as early as 168-170, if the visible reaction begins while the President is behind the sign, he may have been struck as early as 179-188.

(e) The velocity of the first bullet would have been little diminished by its passage through the President. Therefore, if Governor Connally was in the path of the bullet it would have struck him and (probably) caused the wounds he sustained in his chest cavity. Strong indications that this occurred are provided by the facts that (1) the bullet recovered from Governor Connally's stretcher does not appear to have penetrated a wrist and (2) if the first bullet did not hit Governor Connally, it should have ripped up the car, but apparently did not. Since the bullet recovered from the Governor's stretcher does not appear to have penetrated a wrist, if he was hit by this (the first) bullet, he was probably also hit by the second bullet.

(f) If Governor Connally was hit by the first and second bullets, it is impossible to say definitively at what point, or by what point, he had been hit by the second bullet.

(g) Governor Connally seems to straighten up at frames 224-226, and may be reacting to a wound at this point. (If so, it would be a wound from the first bullet).

(h) Governor Connally seems to begin showing an expression of anguish around 242. If he was hit with two bullets, this expression may have resulted from his second wound.

*(i) After Governor Connally straightened up at frames 224-226, he starts to turn to the right. As a result of this turn, at no time after frame 236 was Governor Connally in a position such that a bullet fired from the probable site of the assassin would have caused the wound in his chest cavity which Governor Connally sustained--that is, after frame 236, the Governor presented a side view to the assassin rather than a back view.**

(j) It is not possible to say whether prior to 236 Governor Connally was ever in a position such that one bullet could have caused the five wounds he sustained.

(k) As in the case of the President, Governor Connally could have conceivably been hit two seconds before he begins to react, but the maximum likely time interval between hit and reaction is one second, and the reaction may have been instantaneous. The likelihood of an instantaneous reaction is particularly great in regard to the wrist wound, since pain is usually felt more quickly in a limb than in the torso.

**/ Mr. Specter disagrees with this, and feels the Governor was in position to receive the chest wound up to 242.*

Analysis of the Memos on the April 14 Conference

These memos tell us quite a bit about the mindset of the Warren Commission attorneys and FBI. The stated reason for the conferences—to decide the impact times and locations of the first two shots—reveals a built-in bias. The eyewitness evidence available so far suggests that the head shot was the second shot heard by most witnesses, and yet this inconvenient truth is not even to be considered. The attitude of everyone at the conference seems to be that “We have a piece of film that may show three separate hits. Kennedy shows a reaction between 199 and 224, Connally shows one between 224 and 236, and Kennedy is hit at 313. Therefore, those are our three shots.” Never mind that a number of witnesses heard a shot after the head shot. Never mind that the majority of witnesses indicated that the last two shots were bunched together. Never mind that our study of the rifle indicates that the first two shots would have to have been at least 51 frames apart...

The memos reveal a few other wet spots on the slow-motion whitewash. On “d” of the memo by Eisenberg, he writes that everyone agrees that Kennedy could have been hit 2 full seconds, as early as frame 163, before he reacted. This is nonsense. NOT ONE eyewitness reported a two second delay in Kennedy’s response to the first shot. Even worse, Kennedy is actively waving and smiling at the crowd after frame 163. It hardly seems likely he would be waving and smiling at the crowd if he’d even heard a loud shot, let alone been hit by one. It seems likely, therefore, that these 2 seconds are a “gift” to Arlen Specter, to give him some wiggle room should he need more time to have the shots make sense.

That Specter was looking for this wiggle room is demonstrated by his lone dissent in the memo’s “i”. Here he is bucking the crowd in an effort to pick up just 6 more frames. Is it just a coincidence that by Specter taking 163 as the earliest time for a hit on Kennedy, and by his insisting on 242 as the latest time for a hit on Connally, a first shot 163, second shot 242, and final shot 313 shooting scenario is made possible, and that this would place the last two shots closer together than the first two? Is it

possible that Specter, who had counted interviewing all the bystanders as one of his earliest objectives was, in fact, acutely aware that the scenario accepted by the others after watching the Zapruder film failed to match the testimony of the eyewitnesses? Was he, in fact, looking for ways to make it all fit?

Also interesting is Specter's selection of frame 242 as the frame by which Connally must have been hit. Frame 242 was, let's remember, the frame selected as the moment of impact on Connally in the secret analysis of the film performed at the National Photographic Interpretation Center in November and December. It seems clear from this that someone from the Secret Service told Specter their findings. Specter did, in fact, work closely with the Secret Service throughout his investigation. He was later to admit that Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley showed him an autopsy photo, apparently without the knowledge of their superiors.

Point "e" in Eisenberg's memo is also intriguing. Eisenberg writes: "if the first bullet did not hit Governor Connally, it should have ripped up the car, but apparently did not." As the limousine was cleaned up within days of the shooting, before anyone from the Warren Commission could ever get a look at its seats, Eisenberg's skepticism is well-placed. While the Warren Report criticized the Secret Service and FBI's performance in protecting the President, it offered few if any criticisms about their subsequent investigations of the assassination. Eisenberg's "apparently," however, can be taken as an indication that, behind the scenes, the Warren Commission's counsel were less than pleased with the Secret Service's willful destruction of evidence in the limousine.

The Gauthier memo to Callahan is also quite interesting in that it makes no secret of the FBI's deep-rooted apathy toward investigating the case. This apathy is first revealed by Gauthier's mention of a Dr. Heany, but no mention at all of Dr. Boswell; this suggests he wrote down the wrong name. It is also intriguing that Gauthier fails to report the commission's interpretation of the shooting scenario, which is quite different than the FBI's, and even notes that "*There is nothing controversial about where Shot 3 occurred inasmuch as the Zapruder movie indicates with much clarity where this happened,*" knowing full well he'd previously placed this shot 40 feet further down the street than now proposed by the Commission. This apathy is further documented in the addendum, in which Assistant Director AHB (Alan Belmont) makes clear that the FBI feels quite comfortable with their own theory on the shooting, and would prefer not be associated with the Secret Service's solution, or the Commission's conclusion. As he specifies that establishing the speed of the limo is beyond the scope of the FBI's investigation, when this question is central to the question of conspiracy v. no-conspiracy, it seems likely he has concerns over the political ramifications of the Secret Service's having erred and driven the limousine too slow, and that this outweighs his interest in establishing if Oswald could have fired the shots as purported.

Assistant Director Alex Rosen's memo is also intriguing. Since this memo reads like a first person account, it would appear he was one of the two "unidentified agents" mentioned in Eisenberg's memo. He, as Gauthier, fails to note at which frames the attendees felt Kennedy had been hit. But he evades much more. For some strange reason, Rosen not only fails to acknowledge that Eisenberg wants the FBI's help in performing a re-enactment, he claims "*Staff members of the Commission gave no indication what additional action they planned relative to this theory.*"

This suggests either that the agents in attendance failed to tell Rosen of Eisenberg's plans, or that Rosen himself was in attendance and was trying to hide this from his immediate superior Belmont, and, by extension, FBI Director Hoover.

Excerpts from an April 16 memo of Arlen Specter

April 16, 1964

To: Mr. J. Lee Rankin

From: Mr. Arlen Specter

Subject: Remaining Work in Area I.

1. Obtain accounts of the assassination from the eyewitness celebrities

...

2. Obtain further medical evidence

a. Photographs and x-rays of the autopsy should be examined to make certain of the accuracy of the artist's drawings of President Kennedy's wounds.

...

3. Plot the position of the President's automobile at the times of the three shots to calculate, as precisely as possible, distances and angles.

4. Present testimony on the clothing of President Kennedy and Governor Connally, and perhaps on the President's automobile.

5. Review and correct transcripts of my witnesses before the Commission.

6. Review, correct, and summarize transcripts of the depositions I have taken.

Analysis of Specter's April 16 Memo

It's clear from Specter's April 16 memo that he has no interest in interviewing the closest bystanders to the shooting, very few of whom have testified before the commission, and is only interested in interviewing the "celebrity" witnesses, whom he identifies as Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Kennedy, Governor and Mrs. Connally, Senator Yarborough, Clifford Carter, David Powers, and Kenneth O'Donnell. This suggests, then, that he is not interested in determining what happened as much as he's interested in obtaining accounts of the shooting from the people whom the Washington press might expect him to interview. Point 2 is also of interest, as it reveals that Specter does not trust the Rydberg drawings to be accurate, and would like to have their accuracy double-checked. Plot 3 is also intriguing, as it does more than suggest that Specter is unsatisfied with the mock-up of Dealey Plaza provided by the FBI, and would like to perform some sort of re-enactment.

The issues raised in Points 2 and 3 would rise and rise again.

FBI memo on the April 21 conference

April 22, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: *Mr. Conrad*

FROM: *W.D. Griffith*

SUBJECT: *Assassination of President Kennedy*

Request of the President's Commission

At the request of the President's Commission, Inspector J. R. Malley of the General Investigative Division, Inspector L.J. Gauthier of the Administrative Division and Special Agent Lyndal L.

Shaneyfelt of the Laboratory on 4/21/64 were at the Commission for a review of the Zapruder film of the assassination. Purpose of this review was to determine from Governor and Mrs. John Connally, who were present, whether or not it could be established at what point in the film the Governor was shot.

The following individuals were also present:

Dr. Gregory and Dr. Shaw who examined Governor Connally at Parkland Hospital in Dallas.

Dr. F.W. Light, Jr., and Dr. A.G. Olivier from the Wound Assessment and Wound Ballistics Department of Edgewood Arsenal

Dr. Joseph Dolce, consultant to the Biophysics Division of Edgewood Arsenal

It is noted that representatives of the Secret Service who have attended past reviews were not present.

The principal fact brought out by the Governor and Mrs. Connally was their selection of a portion of the film where "he has been hit"; however, they could not pin point the exact frame of the motion picture film where the bullet struck. The portion of the sequence they selected is only one-fourth to one-half second after the approximate point where the President was believed to have been shot at the base of the neck. Allowing for variations in reaction times, this lends support to the theory that one bullet passed through the President's neck, the Governor's chest, hit in the Governor's leg, and lodged in his clothing.

Both the Governor and Mrs. Connally stated that they heard the first shot and the second shot was the one that hit the Governor; however, neither of them saw the President between the first and third shots or can state that the President was actually hit by the first shot.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information only.

Melvin Eisenberg's memo on the April 21 conference

April 22, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM: *Melvin A. Eisenberg*

SUBJECT: *Conference of April 21, 1964, to determine which frames in the Zapruder movies show the impact of the first and second bullets.*

On Tuesday, April 21, 1964, a conference was held to determine which frames in the Zapruder film portray the instants at which the first and second bullets struck.

Present were: Dr. F.W. Light, Jr., Deputy Chief of the Biophysics Division and Chief of the Wound Assessment Branch of the Biophysics Division at Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland; Dr. Olivier, Chief of the Wound Ballistics Branch of the Biophysics Division at Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland; Dr. Joseph Dolce, Consultant to the Biophysics Division at Edgewood Arsenal; Dr. Charles F. Gregory and Dr. Robert Shaw of Parkland Hospital, Dallas, Texas; Messrs. Geuthier, Shaneyfelt, and one other unidentified agent of the FBI; and Messrs. Redlich, Specter, Belin and Eisenberg. Later in the proceedings, Governor and Mrs. Connally, Mr. Rankin and Mr. McCloy joined the conference.

A screening was held of the Zapruder film and of slides prepared by LIFE from the films. Each slide corresponded with a separate frame of film, beginning with frame 171. The consensus of the meeting was as follows:

(a) The President had been definitely hit by frame 224-225 when he emerges from behind a sign with

his hands clutching at his throat.

(b) After the Governor Connally straightened up at frames 224-225 he starts to turn to the right. As a result of this turn, at no time after frame 236 was Governor Connally in a position such that a bullet fired from the probable site of the assassin would have caused the wound in the chest cavity which Governor Connally sustained -- that is, after frame 236 the Governor presented a side view to the assassin rather than a back view. (1) Mr. Specter disagrees.

(c) In many frames up to 250, the Governor's wrist is held in a position which exposed him to the type of wrist wounds he actually received.

(d) After viewing the films and slides, the Governor was of the opinion that he had been hit by frame 231.

(e) The Governor stated that after being hit, he looked to his right, looked to his left, and then turned to his right. He felt the President might have been hit by frame 190. He heard only two shots and felt sure that the shots he heard were the first and third shots. He is positive that he was hit after he heard the first shot, i.e., by the second shot, and by that shot only.

In a discussion after the conference, Drs. Light and Dolce expressed themselves as being very strongly of the opinion that Connally had been hit by two different bullets, principally on the ground that the bullet recovered from Connally's stretcher could not have broken his radius without having suffered more distortion. Dr. Oliver withheld a conclusion until he has had the opportunity to make tests on animal tissue and bone with the actual rifle.

Analysis of the memos on the April 21 conference

The memos on the April 21 meeting are also quite revealing. While Eisenberg noted the various impressions of the moment of impact on both Kennedy and Connally, the FBI agents in attendance once again failed to record anyone's thoughts on this subject, and instead spun the information to support the status quo. As a result, Connally's belief he was hit a quarter second after it's painfully obvious Kennedy was hit does not cast one bit of doubt on the single-assassin conclusion, but instead "lends support" to the single-bullet theory holding they were hit at the same time. This is more than a bit short-sighted. To make matters worse, the Griffith memo concludes by claiming neither Connally nor Mrs. Connally "can state that the President was actually hit by the first shot." This is grossly deceptive. Eisenberg's memo reflects that Connally felt the President was hit by the first shot. Far worse, Mrs Connally testified to the Commission just after the conference and related "I heard a noise...I turned over my right shoulder and looked back, and saw the President as he had both hands at his neck...he made no utterance, no cry. I saw no blood, no anything. It was just sort of nothing, the expression on his face, and he just sort of slumped down." She was thereby testifying that Kennedy was hit by the first shot. So why the deception? Why pretend the Connallys would be open-minded to the contention the President and Governor were hit by same bullet with the second shot, when Mrs. Connally had just testified that this wasn't true?

Well, one possibility is that the agent reporting to Griffith, presumably Shaneyfelt, had come to believe the only way to sell the single-assassin conclusion was to sell the single-bullet theory, and that the only thing preventing their successfully doing so was the testimony of the Connallys. John Connally felt positive he was not hit by the first shot. Nellie Connally felt positive the President WAS hit by the first shot. This put the FBI in a bind. What to do? Shaneyfelt would have known, after all, after studying the film with the commission's counsel, that the film does not support that three separate shots were fired and that three separate hits were created by Oswald's rifle. Perhaps then he lied about what Nellie said in order to pretend there was no conflict between the recollections of the Connallys and the single-

bullet theory.

That Griffith or the man reporting to him was trying to hide problems with the theory is supported as well by his failure to mention Dr.s Dolce and Light's fervent belief Connally was hit by more than one bullet. Only the week before, we should recall, Dr. Humes pushed that Connally's back wound and wrist wound were brought about by separate bullets, and now here were two top wound ballistics experts claiming the same thing. But is this reported? No, not at all. Eisenberg's memo notes as well that Connally had insisted he was hit by but one bullet. But is this reported? No, not at all.

But the FBI's agents weren't the only ones failing to put on the record what they didn't want to hear... After complicating matters by insisting Connally must have been hit by two bullets, Dr. Dolce was cut out of the loop and never asked to testify.

(In 1976, Dr. Dolce wrote the HSCA and complained about his treatment. He noted that he was the pre-eminent expert on wound ballistics present at the 4-21-64 conference, and yet his impressions were ignored. He also complained that his colleagues, Dr.s Olivier and Dziemian, testified in a manner inconsistent with the tests they'd performed. He noted that the entrance wounds were smaller than the exit wounds on all the cadaver wrists they'd fired upon, but that Dr. Olivier ultimately accepted the word of Connally's physician, Dr.Gregory, that the larger wound in Connally's wrist was the entrance wound. Dolce concluded his letter by listing his interpretation of the shooting scenario: "1) The first bullet went through JFK's neck and this is the so-called pristine bullet. 2) The second bullet went through Governor Connally's chest and wrist and the film clearly demonstrates Connally's wrist against his chest wall. I feel that this is the bullet that is missing. 3) The third bullet struck JFK in the head and one fragment of this bullet struck Connally in the left thigh and also struck the windshield of the car." Apparently, Dolce just couldn't grasp that this scenario was, at least in the eyes of the commission, too reliant on Oswald's shooting ability, as it necessitated two shots being fired incredibly close together... Ironically, the HSCA, which ultimately concluded that Oswald WAS able to get two shots off within two seconds, also ignored Dolce; they failed to call him to testify, or even consult with their medical panel.)

Melvin Eisenberg and Norman Redlich memos proposing a re-enactment

April 24, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Messrs. Redlich, Specter, Belin

FROM: Melvin A. Eisenberg

SUBJECT: *Determination of the Trajectories of the Three Shots*

1. My memos of the conferences of April 14, 1964, and April 21, 1964, designate the frames in the Zapruder film which portray or may portray the impact of the first and second bullets. My memo of earlier conferences designated the frames in the Zapruder, Nix, and Muchmore films which portray the impact of the third shot. In order to translate these determinations into actual distances, it appears to me to be necessary to go to Dallas.

2. The first step to take in Dallas is to place viewfinders on the spots at which Zapruder, Nix and Muchmore were standing, and place a replica car, bearing six occupants on Elm Street. The replica car should then be positioned so that, viewed through the viewfinders, the relationship between the actual car and the landmarks on November 22, as shown in the designated frames.

3. Pictures should be made showing the car (positioned under paragraph 2) from the following vantage points: (a) the spots at which the photographers were standing; (b) a point in the TSBD approximating the point at which the muzzle of the rifle was located; and (c) several point on the overpass. Still pictures, and moving pictures taken through the cameras actually used by Zapruder, Nix, and Muchmore should be taken from vantage point (a). Two sets of still pictures, one through a 4x telescopic sight, should be taken from vantage points (b) and (c).
4. Tapes should then be laid on Elm Street over the points or ranges at which the President and Governor were located when the three shots struck. Each tape should be marked to show every designated frame, and at the first tape should also be marked at the point where the President first became visible from vantage point (b) after emerging from behind the tree. On-the-street measurements should then be taken of the distances (i) from the marked points on each tape to the marked points on every other tape and (ii) from the marked points on each tape to the mid-point of a line connecting the southeast and southwest curbs of Elm street.
5. The position of the tapes and all marked points thereon should then be mapped on a survey, and the lengths of the various possible trajectories should be measured by the surveyor on a trigonometric basis, measuring from the point at which the muzzle was probably located to the beginning, end, and marked points of each tape. The surveyor should also determine the angle each trajectory makes with the horizontal. Copies of the surveyor's work-sheets and calculations should be sent to us.
6. The steps outlined herein are not to be deemed as exclusive. In particular, an attempt should be made to photograph various relative positions of the persons simulating the President and Governor Connally with a view to determining whether the first bullet probably did or did not hit the Governor as well as the President.

April 27, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: J. Lee Rankin

FROM: Norman Redlich

The purpose of this memorandum is to explain the reasons why certain members of the staff feel that it is important to take certain on-site photographs in connection with the location of the approximate points at which the three bullets struck the occupants of the Presidential limousine.

Our report presumably will state that the President was hit by the first bullet, Governor Connally by the second, and the President by the third and fatal bullet. The report will also conclude that the bullets were fired by one person located in the sixth floor southeast corner window of the TSBD building.

As our investigation now stands, however, we have not shown that these events could possibly have occurred in the manner suggested above. All we have is a reasonable hypothesis which appears to be supported by the medical testimony but which has not been checked out against the physical facts at the scene of the assassination.

Our examination of the Zapruder films shows that the fatal third shot struck the President at a point which we can locate with reasonable accuracy on the ground. We can do this because we know the exact frame (no. 313) in the film at which the third shot hit the President and we know the location of the photographer. By lining up fixed objects in the movie frame where this shot occurs we feel that we have determined the approximate location of this shot. This can be verified by a photo of the same spot

from the point where Zapruder was standing.

We have the testimony of Governor and Mrs. Connally that the Governor was hit with the second bullet at a point which we probably cannot fix with precision. We feel we have established, however, with the help of medical testimony, that the shot which hit the Governor did not come after frame 240 on the Zapruder film. The governor feels that it came around 230, which is certainly consistent with our observations of the film and with the doctor's testimony. Since the President was shot at frame 313, this would leave a time of at least 4 seconds between the two shots, certainly ample for even an inexperienced marksman.

Prior to our last viewing of the films with Governor Connally we had assumed that the President was hit while he was concealed behind the sign which occurs between frames 215-225. We have expert testimony to the effect that a skilled marksman would require a minimum 2 seconds between shots with this rifle. Since the camera operates at 18 1/3 frames per second, there would have to be a minimum of 40 frames between shots.

*It is apparent, therefore, that if Governor Connally was hit even as late as frame 240, the President would have to have been hit no later than frame 190 and probably even earlier. We have not yet examined the assassination scene to determine whether the assassin in fact could have shot the President prior to frame 190. We could locate the position on the ground which corresponds to this frame and it would then be our intent to establish by photography that the assassin could have fired the first shot at the President prior to this point. **Our intention is not to establish the point with complete accuracy, but merely to substantiate the hypothesis which underlies the conclusions that Oswald was the sole assassin.***

I had always assumed that our final report would be accompanied by a surveyor's diagram which would indicate the appropriate location of the three shots. We certainly cannot prepare such a diagram without establishing that we are describing an occurrence which is physically possible. Our failure to do this will, in my opinion, place this Report in jeopardy since it is a certainty that others will examine the Zapruder films and raise the same questions which have been raised by our examination of the films. If we do not attempt to answer these questions with observable facts, others may answer them with facts which challenge our most basic assumptions, or with fanciful theories based on our unwillingness to test our assumptions by the investigatory methods available to us.

I should add that the facts which we now have in our possession, submitted to us in separate reports from the FBI and Secret Service, are totally incorrect and, if left uncorrected, will present a completely misleading picture.

It may well be that this project should be undertaken by the FBI and Secret Service with our assistance instead of being done as a staff project. The important thing is that the project be undertaken expeditiously.

Analysis of the Eisenberg and Redlich memos proposing a re-enactment

These memos suggest that Specter did some talking after the showing of the Zapruder film, and convinced the others there were real problems with the shooting scenario if Connally was hit before frame 242. Their desire to test out the various scenarios is admirable. There is more (or less) to the story, however.

On point number 6 of the Eisenberg memo there is a curious statement. While it was his hope to measure the vertical angles into the car from the purported sniper's nest (point 5) he expresses no interest in measuring the cross-angle of a trajectory connecting Kennedy's throat wound with Connally's wound in his right armpit; instead, he states "an attempt should be made to photograph various relative positions of the persons simulating the President and Governor Connally with a view to

determining whether the first bullet probably did or did not hit the Governor as well as the President.” Surprisingly, he fails to mention comparing the positions of the men in the Zapruder film and other images of the motorcade to these “various relative positions.” It seems apparent from this that he has no plans of seeing if the single-bullet theory is likely, only possible.

The Redlich memo confirms this impression, and is interesting from start to finish. In the second paragraph, he reveals that, as late as this date, almost 5 months after the beginning of the Warren Commission, the intent of the Commission is to rubber-stamp the FBI and Secret Service conclusions. In the third paragraph, he tells Rankin, however, that the Zapruder film shows these conclusions were wrong. In the fourth paragraph, he makes the same mistake as the FBI and Secret Service, however, and assumes with little basis that the third shot was the head shot at frame 313. In the fifth paragraph, he displays his ignorance of the eyewitness evidence by accepting the testimony of the Connallys as the gospel truth. Ironically, by later accepting the single-bullet theory, he would show a distinct lack of faith. In the sixth paragraph, he incorrectly represents Frazier’s testimony as saying that a talented shooter could get off two shots in 40 frames, but correctly adds 10 frames to what could be expected of Oswald. In the seventh paragraph, he spills the beans, and admits that the whole proposed re-enactment is not to establish what DID happen, or even what most likely happened, but “merely to substantiate the hypothesis which underlies the conclusions that Oswald was the sole assassin.” In other words, he is telling Rankin not to worry, that no one has any intention of upsetting anybody by saying Oswald had assistance, but that in order for the Oswald-did-it theory to stick they would need to come up with a better story.

That "better story" was the single-bullet theory. It's mighty curious that Eisenberg's memo to his fellow counsel ends with his suggestion they test the feasibility of this theory, but Redlich's memo to Rankin never raises the issue, and pretends instead that the re-enactment will be testing whether or not Kennedy could have been shot prior to frame 190. From this, we might conclude that the FBI was not the only house divided, with junior members trying to get senior members to go along with Specter's theory.

April 30 memo of Arlen Specter

April 30, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. J. Lee Rankin

FROM: Arlen Specter

SUBJECT: Autopsy Photographs and X-rays of President John F. Kennedy

In my opinion it is indispensable that we obtain the photographs and x-rays of President Kennedy's autopsy for the following reasons:

1. THE COMMISSION SHOULD DETERMINE WITH CERTAINTY WHETHER THE SHOTS CAME FROM THE REAR. Someone from the Commission should review the films to corroborate the autopsy surgeons' testimony that the holes on the President's back and head had the characteristics of points of entry. None of the doctors at Parkland Hospital in Dallas observed the hole in the President's back or the small hole in the lower portion of his head. With all the outstanding controversy about the direction of the shots, there must be independent viewings of the films to verify testimony which has come only from Government doctors.

2. THE COMMISSION SHOULD DETERMINE WITH CERTAINTY WHETHER THE SHOTS CAME

FROM ABOVE. It is essential for the Commission to know precisely the location of the bullet wound on the President's back so that the angle may be calculated. The artist's drawing prepared at Bethesda (Commission Exhibit #385) shows a slight angle of declination. It is hard, if not impossible, to explain such a slight angle of decline unless the President was farther down Elm Street than we have heretofore believed. Before coming to any conclusion on this, the angles will have to be calculated at the scene; and for this, the exact point of entry should be known.

3. THE COMMISSION SHOULD DETERMINE WITH CERTAINTY THAT THERE ARE NO MAJOR VARIATIONS BETWEEN THE FILMS AND THE ARTIST'S DRAWINGS. Commission Exhibits Nos. 385, 386, and 388 were made from the recollections of the autopsy surgeons as told to the artist. Some day someone may compare the films with the artist's drawings and find a significant error which might substantially affect the essential testimony and the Commission's conclusions. In any event, the Commission should not rely on hazy recollections, especially in view of the statement in the autopsy report (Commission Exhibit #387) that:

"The complexity of those fractures and the fragments thus produced tax satisfactory verbal description and are better appreciated in the photographs and roentgenograms which are prepared."

When Inspector Kelly talked to Attorney General Kennedy, he most probably did not fully understand all the reasons for viewing the films. According to Inspector Kelly, the Attorney General did not categorically decline to make them available, but only wanted to be satisfied that they were really necessary. I suggest that the Commission transmit to the Attorney General its reasons for wanting the films and the assurances that they will be viewed only by the absolute minimum number of people from the Commission for the sole purpose of corroborating (or correcting) the artist's drawings, with the film not to become a part of the Commission's records.

Excerpt from the April 30, 1964 transcript of the Executive Session of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy. (The Warren Commission).

Present: Chief Justice Earl Warren, Chairman; Senator John Sherman Cooper, member; John J. McCloy, member; Allen Dulles, member; J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel..

(Chairman Warren is going down a list of issues that need to be discussed.)

Warren: *Five, autopsy pictures of President Kennedy.*

Rankin: *The staff feels that we should have some member of the Commission examine those pictures. We have a very serious problem in the record now that Dr. Humes testified, as you recall, that the bullet in his opinion probably passed through the President and then through Governor Connally. And we now have the testimony of Governor Connally that that couldn't have happened. He is certain it didn't happen. And that the bullet that struck him is one that did not hit the President... We also have some drawings of President Kennedy which are reconstructions by the men that participated in the autopsy. And these men have not seen these pictures of the autopsy, but they had these drawings made, and we don't know whether these drawings conform to the pictures of the autopsy or not. Now I thought we could avoid having these pictures, possibly avoid these pictures being a part of the record, because the family has a strong feeling about them, and I think we should respect it insofar as can possibly be done, and carry out the work of the Commission—because they don't want the President to be remembered in connection with those pictures. That is their basic thought. I know that the Commission would like to respect that and not have them in any way become a part of the records which the public would get to see. But I do feel that a doctor and some member of the Commission should examine them sufficiently so that they could report to the Commission that there is nothing inconsistent with the other findings in connection with the matter in those pictures. In that way we can avoid any question that we have passed anything up that the Commission should know or that we haven't tried to take advantage of*

information that should be available to us.

Dulles: *Would the people who made the pictures have access to these photographs—because they would be the ones to tell, as to whether the pictures were consistent with the drawings they made?*

Rankin: *We, they were made, as I understand it, under the supervision of the doctors conducting the autopsy. And so they just have never been developed because of the family's wishes. And I think that the Attorney General would make them available now—although they were denied to us before because he said that he didn't think there was a sufficient showing of our need. But upon a showing now, I think that he would recognize the need and permit that limited examination. And then I feel that in dealing with the Attorney General, however, we should make it plain to him that if the member of the Commission who examines them, with the doctor, feels the whole Commission should see them, that there would be that reservation—because I don't know what might appear to some member of the Commission or the doctor in connection with them.*

McCloy: *There is this element. In the record there is an indication by the doctor that there was a certain—he would prefer to have the pictures in connection with the charts that he was representing to us. There was a certain little note of minor inadequacy in connection with the chart which he had, without the pictures.*

Dulles: *Which doctor was that?*

Rankin: *Humes—you remember it was the doctor that made the autopsy.*

Dulles: *Out at Bethesda?*

Rankin: *Yes.*

Dulles: *Yes, I remember that. As I recall the testimony, I think it was the doctor from Dallas.*

Rankin: *Dr. Gregory.*

Dulles: *The one who said that the bullet—I understood he said might have passed through President's throat and then through Connally. But I didn't think he said that he thought it did. I think he said he thought it might have. Is that correct?*

Rankin: *That is right.*

Dulles: *Could have.*

McCloy: *I thought the chief testimony on that came from the Bethesda doctor. I remember he said "I think I could show you this better on the photographs than I could through these charts."*

Rankin: *That is right.*

Warren: *Well, I think you can work that out, Lee, to do that, but without putting those pictures in our record. We don't want those in our record.*

McCloy: *Certainly not.*

Warren: *It would make it a morbid thing for all time to come.*

Rankin: *Is that effort to proceed in that manner, without having them in the record, and having an examination by the doctor and one of the members of the Commission satisfactory then?*

Warren: *Only for verification purposes. Yes, I think that would be all.*

Dulles: *By the doctor and a member of the Commission.*

McCloy: *Oh yes, you would need a doctor present to interpret it to you.*

Warren: All right. If there is nothing further on that item, the next is interview of Mrs. Kennedy.

Analysis of the April 30 memo of Arlen Specter and the April 30 executive session of the Warren Commission

These memos and the subsequent session of the Commission reveal that the Commission was not the blatant white-wash many believe it to be. Here, Specter, who took the testimony of the autopsists on 3-16, even though they'd been inexplicably denied the opportunity to compare their memories to the autopsy photos and x-rays they'd created, finally steps up and tries to do what's right. In light of his previous and subsequent actions, these memos are incredibly ironic. In point number 2 of the April 30 memo, Specter mentions that the angle of descent in the drawing is smaller than expected, and is suggestive that Kennedy was further down the street than believed. This indicates that Specter is convinced that Kennedy was sitting upright in the car and was not leaning over when shot. The irony of this is that, on May 24, 1964 Specter would see an autopsy photo of the back wound that showed the bullet entrance to be two inches lower than the wound in the drawing, and on a flat trajectory with the neck wound, but would say NOTHING about this to the commissioners. In 1978, the HSCA would not only decide the bullet entrance was two inches lower than in the drawing, but that Kennedy was significantly closer to the sniper's nest when shot. For Specter's single-bullet theory to have taken place under these conditions Kennedy would have to have been leaning quite far forward when shot. Specter knew this wasn't true, but once again, said nothing.

Point number 3 in the April 30 memo is especially ironic. Here Specter observes (accurately as it turned out) that the inaccuracy of the drawings HE put into evidence may come back to haunt the Commission later. He admits "Commission Exhibits Nos. 385, 386, and 388 were made from the recollections of the autopsy surgeons as told to the artist." This indicates that he knows measurements were not used. Specter prepared and received Dr. Humes' 3-16 testimony, in which he said "We had made certain physical measurements of the wounds, and of their position on the body of the late President, and we provided these and supervised directly Mr. Rydberg in making these drawings." And yet here Specter admits to his boss Rankin that the drawings were based on recollections, not measurements. Curiously, it appears that Specter knows Humes lied, but has failed to tell the Commission as much.

Specter's final paragraph is also important, as it indicates his belief that Robert Kennedy will not interfere with this inspection, and that Thomas Kelley of the Secret Service has discussed it with Kennedy. In 1978, Nicholas Katzenbach testified before the HSCA that he discussed the Warren Commission's use of the autopsy materials with Kennedy at one point, and that Kennedy gave his permission. Ironically, Specter told the doctors that it was Kennedy who forbade them from seeing the photos before their testimony, and they would repeat that story for many years to come, unaware that Kennedy had, in fact, granted them permission, once someone related to the commission had explained to him why it was necessary.

The April 30 executive session is even more revealing than Specter's memo. Here, Rankin, McCloy, and Dulles argue for the necessity of having a DOCTOR review the photos, and Warren agrees. Warren even tells Rankin that he thinks it can be worked out where the photos are reviewed but not placed in the record. These statements take on added meaning when one considers what ultimately transpired.

May 7 letter of J. Lee Rankin to J. Edgar Hoover and May 12 memo of Arlen Specter

May 7, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Department of Justice

Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover,

This commission has been making a careful study of the various motion picture films taken at the scene of the assassination. In this project we have had the valuable assistance of members your Bureau, particularly Inspector James Malley, Inspector Leo Gauthier and Special Agent Lyndal A. Shaneyfelt. As a result of the information obtained from these films, the Commission would like the cooperation of your Bureau in the performance of certain additional investigation at the scene of the assassination.

I will personally be available to supervise this work and will have such other staff members present as may be deemed necessary. We would hope to be able to perform this work in Dallas on May 18 and May 19. The purpose of this letter is to set forth the steps which we feel are necessary to properly complete this project.

I. PROBABLE RANGES FROM WHICH FIRST TWO SHOTS OCCURRED

Our examination of the Zapruder films indicates that Governor Connally was hit at some point prior to frame 240. (All references to frames in the Zapruder films are on the basis of a numbering system worked out with the FBI personnel who have been working on this project). Doctors familiar with the Governor's wounds concluded that after frame 236 his body was not in a position to have received the wound from a projectile fired from the sixth floor southeast corner window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. The Governor feels he was hit at approximately frame 230; some members of our staff feel that it could have been as late as frame 240. Governor and Mrs. Connally also testified that the Governor was hit by the second shot.

The FBI laboratory examination of the Zapruder camera establishes that it operates at a speed of 18 1/3 frames per second. Weapons experts have testified that the minimum time required to operate the assassination weapon is 2 1/4 seconds. It would appear, therefore, that a minimum of 41 frames would have to elapse between the first and second shots. ($18 \frac{1}{3} \times 2 \frac{1}{4}$).

The Commission is aware that it is impossible to determine the exact point at which the first two shots were fired. We request the following on-site investigatory steps, however, in order to determine whether it was possible for a person located on the sixth floor southeast corner window of the TSBD building to fire two shots at the Presidential car, the second of which occurred no later than frame 240:

(1) A point should be marked on the road corresponding to frame 199 on the Zapruder film, which is the last point at which the assassin could have fired from the window and still have been able to fire again by frame 240. A car should be photographed on this spot from the point where Zapruder was standing so that this photograph can be compared with frame 199 to make certain that the location is accurate. This should be done with the Zapruder camera, which has been retained for this purpose. A Polaroid should also be used for immediate comparison.

(2) After a car has been placed at this point on the road it should be photographed from the assassination window to determine whether the assassin had a clear shot at the occupants of the rear seat, with particular reference to the tree which at some point blocks the view from this window.

(3) If the car had passed the tree at frame 199, when viewed from the window, the car should be moved forward to the point at which there is a first clear view from the window and photographed at this point from both the window and at the place where Zapruder was standing so that we may determine what frame in the Zapruder films corresponds with this location.

(4) If the car has in fact passed beyond the tree at frame 199, it should be moved back to the point where it first cleared the tree and photographed from the window and the Zapruder location to establish the corresponding frame reference.

(5) The car should also be placed at the point where there is the last clear shot before it goes behind the tree and photographed from the window and the Zapruder location to determine the frame reference at this point.

(6) All the above points should be mapped on a survey. Lineal distances should be measured on the ground between these various points. Trigonometric readings should be taken to determine the distances from these various points to the assassination window and the surveyor should also determine the angle with the horizontal which is made when a line is plotted from each of these point to the assassination window.

II. PROBABLE LOCATION OF THE THIRD SHOT

Unlike shots one and two, the third shot has been fixed at a particular frame in the Zapruder films (frame 313), as well as a particular frame in the other two films (frame 24 of the Nix film and frame 42 of the Muchmore film). A car should be placed at the point which we believe to be the approximate location corresponding to these frames and then photographed from the point where the three cameramen were standing to establish the accuracy of this location. Distances should be measured from this point to the various points described in part I and angles and distances established between this point and the assassination window to establish the view which the assassin had when he fired the third shot.

III. PLOTTING TRAJECTORIES FROM THE RAILROAD OVERPASS

From each of the ground points established in parts I and II trigonometric readings should be taken from a point on either end of the overpass to chart the path which a bullet would travel if fired from those points on the overpass to the rear seat of the car. It should be determined whether a bullet could reach the rear seat without hitting the windshield, and the angle with the horizontal which would be made by a bullet fired from these points to a car located at each of the points to a car located at each of the points on the ground as determined in parts I and II.

A copy of this letter has been sent to Chief Rowley of the Secret Service with a request that the Secret Service provide such assistance in this work as the Commission and your Bureau may require. The Secret Service has furnished the Commission with photographs, surveys, and measurements which we have used in our examination of the films and which will no doubt be useful to your Bureau in completing this project. We would like your Bureau to make all necessary arrangements for this project. Members of the Bureau assigned to this project should contact either Mr. Norman Redlich or Mr. Melvin Eisenberg of the Commission staff if additional information is required.

Sincerely, J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel

cc: Mr. Rankin Mr. Redlich Mr. Willens

May 12, 1964

Memorandum

To: Mr. J. Lee Rankin

From: Arlen Specter

Subject: Examination of autopsy photographs and x-rays of President Kennedy.

When the autopsy photographs and x-rays are examined, we should be certain to determine the following:

- 1. The photographs and x-rays confirm the precise location of the entrance wound in the back of the head depicted Commission exhibits 386 and 388.*
- 2. The photographs and x-rays confirm the precise location of the wound of entrance in the upper back of the President as depicted in Commission Exhibits 385 and 386.*
- 3. The photographs and x-rays confirm the precise area of the President's skull which was disrupted by the bullet when it exited as depicted in Commission Exhibit 388.*
- 4. The characteristics of the wounds on the President's back and on the back of his head should be examined closely in the photographs and x-rays to determine for certain whether they are characteristic of entrance wounds under the criteria advanced by Doctors Finck, Humes, Boswell, Gregory, Shaw, Perry, and Carrico.*

The films and x-rays should be viewed in conjunction with Commission Exhibit 389 (a photograph of the frame of the Zapruder film immediately before the frame showing the head wound) and Commission Exhibit 390 (the frame of the Zapruder film showing the head wound) to determine for certain whether the angle of declination is accurately depicted in Commission Exhibit 388.

I suggest that we have a court reporter present so that we may examine Dr. Humes after the x-rays and photographs are reviewed to put on the record:

- 1. Any changes in his testimony or theories required by a review of the x-rays and films, and*
- 2 Corroboration of the portions or all of his prior testimony which may be confirmed by viewing the photographs and x-rays.*

Analysis of the May 7 letter of J. Lee Rankin and May 12 memo of Arlen Specter

The Rankin letter is fairly straightforward, and indicates that, since the writing of Redlich's April 27 memo to him, he has been convinced of the necessity of the single-bullet theory. Rankin mentions that they are trying to establish whether Connally was hit before frame 240 by the second of the three shots. He fails to mention that the eyewitness testimony suggests the second shot was fired after frame 240. It may very well be he has no idea that the statements of the bystanders, motorcycle cops, and Secret Service agents almost all disagree with the Connallys, and suggest the second shot was fired very close to frame 313. Rankin shows his bias in other ways as well. He tells Hoover that they need to show that the shots were 41 frames or more apart, saying that a weapons expert testified that the shots were no closer than 2 ¼ seconds apart. Apparently, he has forgotten that this "weapons expert" was one of Hoover's own men and that he'd testified that a half second should be added onto his time of 2.3 seconds in order to estimate the time necessary to fire at a moving target. Rankin makes another mistake as well. Along with just about everyone else, he discusses a third and final shot at frame 313 as if it were an established fact, when it is in opposition to the bulk of the eyewitness evidence as well as the visual aids packet supplied by the FBI in January. On May 24, the proposed simulation took place. (It is discussed in more detail in the Back Wound in Motion section of the Examining the Examinations chapter.)

The Specter memo is far more intriguing. Here, Specter reveals that the examination of the autopsy photos discussed in the April 30th executive session is about to take place. Specter also expresses that he is now interested in determining the exact locations of the wounds. Especially ironic is his suggestion that Exhibit 388 be compared to Exhibit 389. Any layman could look at the two and see that they were not compatible. In 1967, the discrepancy between these two exhibits led researcher Josiah Thompson to print them side by side in his book *Six Seconds in Dallas*. This showed that for the

purported entrance and exit wounds in Kennedy's skull to be aligned as in Exhibit 388, the sniper would have to have fired from the trunk of the Presidential limousine. Specter seems to know this and is apparently hoping to get it straightened out.

The most shocking aspect of Specter's memo, of course, is that the examination he found so necessary, and the examination agreed upon by Rankin, McCloy, Dulles, and Warren, NEVER HAPPENED. Dr. Humes was not permitted to look at the photos he'd ordered to be created. Specter was then forced to go to Dallas and analyze the trajectories without adequate knowledge of the entrance locations. The supposed reason for this is that Chief Justice Warren took a look at the photos by himself and found them so horrible that he shuddered at the thought of the photos becoming part of the public record. This is nonsense, however...a complete fairy tale. The transcript of the April 30 executive session shows that it was agreed that a doctor would be necessary to interpret the photos. The transcript shows that it was *Warren's belief* that the photos could be analyzed without being entered in the record. Since Dr. Humes had already testified, and since doctors performing autopsies are routinely entitled to view (and quite frequently retain) the photos of the autopsies they perform, there would have been no reason for the photos to be entered into the record, simply because Humes had looked at them. The only possible reason they would be entered in the record would be if WARREN looked at them, which he later admitted doing. From this, Warren's refusal to let Humes look at the photos can be interpreted in two ways: one, Warren was senile; and two, he knew that the wounds in the photos failed to match the wounds in the drawings, and lacked the nerve or desire to open up that door and see what lay inside. This is discussed in more detail in the Examining the Examinations section of this website.

As for Specter, he doesn't exactly get away clean. He would later admit that he went around Warren's back and got the Secret Service to allow him a look at the autopsy photo of Kennedy's back on the day of the re-enactment. As we will discuss later, this means he KNEW that the drawings of the President's wounds he'd placed into evidence were incorrect. It also means he knew that the single-bullet theory he was pushing on the Commission was highly doubtful. And yet, by all accounts, he failed to tell the Commission that he'd even looked at the photo. Arlen Specter was, of course, a long-time member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. One wonders if he'd have fired an underling who'd withheld such vital information.

Questions and More Questions

On **5-1-64**, Marine Lt. Col. Allison G. Folsom testifies before the Warren Commission on Oswald's military record. When asked about Oswald's shooting scores, Folsom was asked if it's correct that the top level is Expert, the middle level is Sharpshooter, and the bottom level is Marksman, and he agreed. Folsom then went through Oswald's score book, and commented that "at 200 yards slow fire...he got out in the three ring, which is not good...As a matter of fact, at 200 yards people should get a score of between 48 and 50 in the offhand position...he got a score of 34 out of a possible 50 on Tuesday. On Wednesday he got some 38." When asked if Oswald was a particularly outstanding shot, he responded "No, no, he was not...His scorebook indicates, as a matter of fact—that he did well at one or two ranges in order to achieve the two points over the Marksman score for Sharpshooter." When asked if that meant that Oswald had to have a "good day" to avoid being classified as a Marksman, Folsom responded "I would say so." Folsom was not asked to comment on Oswald's subsequent shooting scores, where his skills dropped to 1 point above the lowest level of Marksman.

The **5-9-64** Saturday Evening Post brings more bad news for the investigation. Republican Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania publishes an article in which he denounces six Democratic Senators on the Rules Committee for obstructing an investigation into the crimes of President Johnson's long-time associate, Bobby Baker, some of which involved Johnson. Scott writes: *"in my five months on that unhappy panel I found it increasingly clear that the Democratic majority had fashioned blinders for their own eyes, plugs for their ears, and handcuffs for their wrists. They were hoping against hope that*

Bobby Baker and all his works would miraculously vanish with a minimum of embarrassment to all concerned...The watchdogs spurned the scent at every chance...many of the most important and disturbing disclosures were never followed up...dissent was firmly discouraged in a variety of unmistakable ways...No Senator could foresee the full consequences of a thorough investigation. In my own case, several thinly veiled threats were transmitted through friends and associates. I was warned that the safest course would be to let the matter sleep. I was told that discretion now could prevent nasty publicity against me later. Suffice it to say that the nasty innuendos have begun to appear in print. Democratic senators must have been under even greater pressure to keep silent, for the reputation of their party was involved...Not a single witness requested by the minority was ever called...The Rules Committee is armed with the staff investigators, subpoena powers and the vast authority of the Senate itself, but it lacks the simple determination to use them fully. The result is an appalling travesty of democratic government."

Upon reading this article, many Americans would undoubtedly have asked themselves the painful question of how they could possibly trust the Warren Commission--men hand-picked by Lyndon Johnson--to tell them the truth, when men not hand-picked by Johnson so readily covered up for his crony, Baker, and shut down an investigation that had led to testimony--AT THE VERY MOMENT KENNEDY WAS SHOT-- implicating Johnson in a kick-back scheme that would almost certainly have ended his career. (In 1978, another Senator from this panel, Carl Curtis of Nebraska, when asked in an oral history "Do you think it was the assassination that changed the nature of this investigation, though, and really slowed it down, because people were reluctant to testify?" would support Scott's claims. He responded "No. No. It was ironclad political control." Curtis asserted as well that he knew who had this control. He said: "Everything would appear as though Lyndon didn't know the investigation was going on. *He had the ability to direct things and not be anywhere near the scene.*" Should one think this was partisan sour grapes, moreover, 1978 saw the confirmation of Scott's and Curtis' claims, and from a most surprising source. In his book *Wheeling and Dealing*, an expert on the Bobby Baker scandal named...Bobby Baker...asserted that "LBJ had threatened to close down the Philadelphia Navy Yard unless Senator Scott closed his critical mouth.")

The Hoover Truth

On **5-14-64**, a week after President Johnson waived his impending mandatory retirement, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover testifies before the Commission. (5H96-120) Despite his taking an oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, he offers up the Hoover truth.

- **Hoover Truth:** *"I have read many of the reports that our agents have made and I have been unable to find any scintilla of evidence showing any foreign conspiracy or any domestic conspiracy that culminated in the assassination of President Kennedy."* (**Note:** Hoover had known for three years or more that organized crime and the anti-Castro elements likely to set up Oswald were linked and were conspiring to murder Fidel Castro, Oswald's supposed hero. Even though this information could lead one to suspect that Oswald killed Kennedy in retaliation, or that Oswald was indeed set up, Hoover failed to mention anything about this to the Commission.)
- **Hoover Truth:** *"There have been publications and books written, the contents of which have been absurd and without a scintilla of foundation of fact."* *"I, personally, feel that any finding of the Commission will not be accepted by everybody, because there are bound to be some extremists who have very pronounced views, without any foundation for them, who will disagree violently with whatever findings the Commission makes."* (**Note:** two of the loudest voices to argue against the Commission's findings were not extremists at all, but former FBI agents William Turner and Jim Garrison. More pointedly, the President for whom the report was written, Lyndon Johnson, never believed its findings.)

- **Hoover Truth:** *"I don't think you can get absolute security without almost establishing a police state, and we don't want that."* (Note: by 1964 Hoover had long been using the FBI to infiltrate and discredit organizations he found personally despicable. These FBI-trained infiltrators would frequently encourage the targeted organizations to engage in violent activity, in order to help discredit them in the public eye. Curiously, one of the organizations targeted by Hoover under this program (COINTELPRO) was the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, an organization publicly discredited in New Orleans by the actions of Lee Harvey Oswald.)
- **Hoover Truth:** (When asked if he still agreed that Oswald acted alone.) *"I subscribe to it even more strongly today than I did at the time the report was written. You see the original idea was that there would be an investigation by the FBI and a report would be prepared in such a form that it could be released to the public... Then a few days later, after further consideration, the President decided to form a commission, which I think was very wise, because I feel that the report of any agency of Government investigating what might be some shortcomings on the part of other agencies of Government ought to be reviewed by an impartial group such as this Commission."* (Note: Hoover failed to acknowledge that he originally told Johnson the Commission would be a *"three-ring circus."* Hoover also failed to acknowledge that with the FBI's report, it was not only investigating the shortcomings of other agencies, i.e. the State department, CIA, Secret Service, and Dallas Police Department, but the potential shortcomings of the FBI itself, as the FBI had failed to add Oswald's name to the Security Index used by the Secret Service to track possible threats to the President.)
- **Hoover Truth:** (When asked by Congressman Hale Boggs if he had thoughts on Oswald's motivation.) *"My speculation, Mr. Boggs, is that this man was no doubt a dedicated Communist... He stayed in Moscow awhile and he went to Minsk where he worked. There was no indication of any difficulty, personally on his part there, but I haven't the slightest doubt he was a dedicated Communist."* (Note: Hoover was obsessed with Communism, and saw Communists as evil and everywhere. His domestic intelligence chief William Sullivan later wrote a book admitting that by the early 1960s a large percentage of American communists were in fact FBI informants.)
- **Hoover Truth:** *"Now some people have raised the question, why didn't he shoot the President as the car came toward the storehouse where he was working? The reason for that is, I think, the fact there were some trees between his window on the sixth floor and the cars as they turned and went through the park. So he waited until the car got out from under the trees, and the limbs, and then he had a perfectly clear view of the occupants of the car, and I think he took aim, either on the President or Connally, and I personally believe it was the President in view of the twisted mentality the man had."* (Note, as demonstrated by the photos of the assassination scene taken by the Secret Service, and published by the Warren commission as Exhibit 875, there was a clear shot down Houston, should a sniper have been so inclined. The only trees were to the right of the sniper's nest, blocking its view down Elm.)
- **Hoover Truth:** (When discussing the attitude of the Soviet Government, and the KGB in particular, towards Oswald) *"I think they probably looked upon him more as a kind of a queer sort of individual and they didn't trust him too strongly. But just the day before yesterday information came to me indicating that there is an espionage training school outside of Minsk—I don't know whether it was true—and that he was trained in that school to come back to this country to become what they call a 'sleeper,' that is a man who will remain dormant for 3 or 4 years and in case of international hostilities rise up and be used."* (Note: this from the man who just swore there was not one "scintilla" of evidence indicating a foreign conspiracy. It seems Hoover couldn't help but kick a little sand in the direction of Russia when given the opportunity.)

- Hoover Truth:** *“Now, we interviewed Oswald a few days after he arrived...There was nothing up to the time of the assassination that gave any indication that this man was a dangerous character who might do harm to the President or to the Vice-President, so his name was not furnished at the time to the Secret Service. Under the new criteria which we have now put into force and effect, it would have been furnished because we now include all defectors.”* (Note: here, Hoover almost certainly commits perjury. Hoover concealed from the commission that on December 10, 1963, he’d censured or placed on probation 17 employees (5 field investigators, 1 field supervisor, 3 special agents in charge, 4 headquarters supervisors, 2 headquarters section chiefs, 1 inspector, and 1 assistant director) for what the inspector of the internal investigation, James Gale, termed *“shortcomings in connection with the investigation of Oswald prior to the assassination.”* When Assistant director Alan Belmont complained about this action, stating that since *“all of the supervisors and officials who came into contact with this case...are unanimous in the opinion that Oswald did not meet the criteria for the Security Index...it would appear that the criteria are not sufficiently specific,”* Hoover blasted him. On Belmont’s addendum to Gale’s December 10, 1963 memo, Hoover wrote *“They were worse than mistaken. Certainly no one in full possession of all his faculties can claim Oswald didn’t fall within this criteria.”* On September 24, 1964, the day the Warren Report, which included criticisms of the FBI’s investigation of Oswald prior to the assassination, was released, Hoover pounced again, writing that the employees who failed to properly investigate Oswald *“could not have been more stupid.”* He then punished these employees a second time. On September 30, 1964, Inspector Gale wrote *“It is felt that it is appropriate at this time to consider further administrative action against those primarily culpable for the derelictions in this case which have now had the effect of publicly embarrassing the Bureau.”* When a number of top FBI officials reacted angrily to the Warren Report’s criticism of the Bureau, and began planning ways to defend the FBI in the press, Hoover reiterated his position that the FBI was in fact to blame. On a 10-1-64 memo from Alan Belmont to Clyde Tolson, he wrote: *“We were wrong. The administrative actions approved by me will stand. I do not intend to palliate actions which have resulted in forever destroying the Bureau as the top level investigative organization.”*)
- Hoover Truth:** *“There was very aggressive press coverage at Dallas. I was so concerned that I asked my agent in charge at Dallas, Mr. Shanklin, to personally go to Chief Curry and tell him that I insisted that he not go on the air any more until this case was resolved. Until all the evidence had been examined, I did not want any statements made concerning the progress of the investigation. Because of the fact the President had asked me to take charge of the case I insisted that he and all members of his department refrain from public statements.”* (Note: immediately following Oswald’s death, Hoover’s man in Dallas, Mr. Shanklin, listed all the evidence against Oswald for the New York Times. Moreover, the Times’ 11-25 description of the evidence indicates that Shanklin misrepresented the results of the paraffin tests, stating that they showed *“particles of gunpowder from a weapon, probably a rifle, on Oswald’s cheek and hands.”* While the tests results were consistent with Oswald firing a pistol, the test results were negative for his cheek. Therefore, there was nothing whatsoever about the tests that suggested Oswald had fired a rifle.)
- Hoover Truth:** *“Well, I can tell you so far as the FBI is concerned the case will be continued in an open classification for all time. That is, any information coming to us or any report coming to us from any source will be thoroughly investigated, so that we will be able to either prove or disprove the allegation.”* (Note: in February 1967, Edward Morgan, a lawyer representing CIA front-man Robert Maheu and mafia strategist Johnny Rosselli, contacted columnist Drew Pearson and told him about the joint CIA/Mafia attempts to kill Castro, and the possibility they’d backfired on Kennedy. Pearson then told Chief Justice Earl Warren, who in turn told

Secret Service Chief James Rowley. When Rowley told Hoover about the incident, Alex Rosen drafted the FBI response. Rosen would later testify that he was sick and that an unidentified subordinate wrote this under his name. His response: *"no investigation will be conducted regarding the allegations...to Chief Justice Warren."* The letter, which was sent to Chief Rowley under Hoover's name on 2-15-67, went on to state *"The Bureau is not conducting any investigation regarding this matter. However, should Mr. Pearson, (Morgan), or (his) source of information care to volunteer any information to the Bureau, it would be accepted."* The internal memo from Rosen to White House/FBI liaison Cartha DeLoach, for that matter, added: *"Consideration was given to furnishing this information to the White House, but since this matter does not concern, nor is it pertinent to the present Administration, no letter was being sent."* It follows then, that if Hoover's testimony to the Warren Commission had been truthful, and that the FBI was in fact committed to investigating any leads that would subsequently come their way, well, then he had failed to tell as much to the men who would be tasked with conducting such an investigation.)

Meanwhile, back in 1964, the Warren Express rolls forward. By now, the scenario of a final shot head shot has been repeated so many times by the FBI and the media that two of Kennedy's closest aides, Kenneth O'Donnell and David Powers, who'd been riding in the motorcade in the car behind Kennedy, go along with it. One of them, Kenneth O'Donnell, is so anxious to get along that he fails to put into the record that his immediate impression was that the last shot came from in front of the limousine. (He would later tell Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill that he thought the last shot came from in front of the limousine.) **Kenneth O'Donnell (5-18-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H440-457) *"My first impression was it was a firecracker. And then either somebody said 'He has been hit,' or I noticed the slump—he had been waving out the right side of the car and I noticed him slump over toward Mrs. Kennedy, and I realized then that they had been shots. But as fast as that realization occurred, I saw the third shot hit."* **Final shot head shot. David Powers (5-18-64** affidavit, 7H472-474): *"the first shot went off and it sounded to me as if it were a firecracker. I noticed then that the President moved quite far to his left after the shot from the extreme right hand side where he had been sitting. There was a second shot and Governor Connally disappeared from sight and then there was a third shot which took off the top of the President's head and had the sickening sound of a grapefruit splattering against a wall."* **Final shot head shot.**

But the source and order of the shots is not the only question whose answer seems increasingly out of reach. Oswald's capability with a rifle, and his rifle's capability to shoot accurately, are also still in doubt. On **May 20, 1964**, William Waldman testifies before the Commission as a representative of Klein's Sporting Goods, the company that sold Oswald the rifle. He testifies that the scope had been installed at Klein's but that it was not sighted in by Klein's. (7H360-369) This raises the question of whether the scope had EVER been sighted in prior to the FBI's attempt to sight it in on March 16, 1964. (This question would never be answered.)

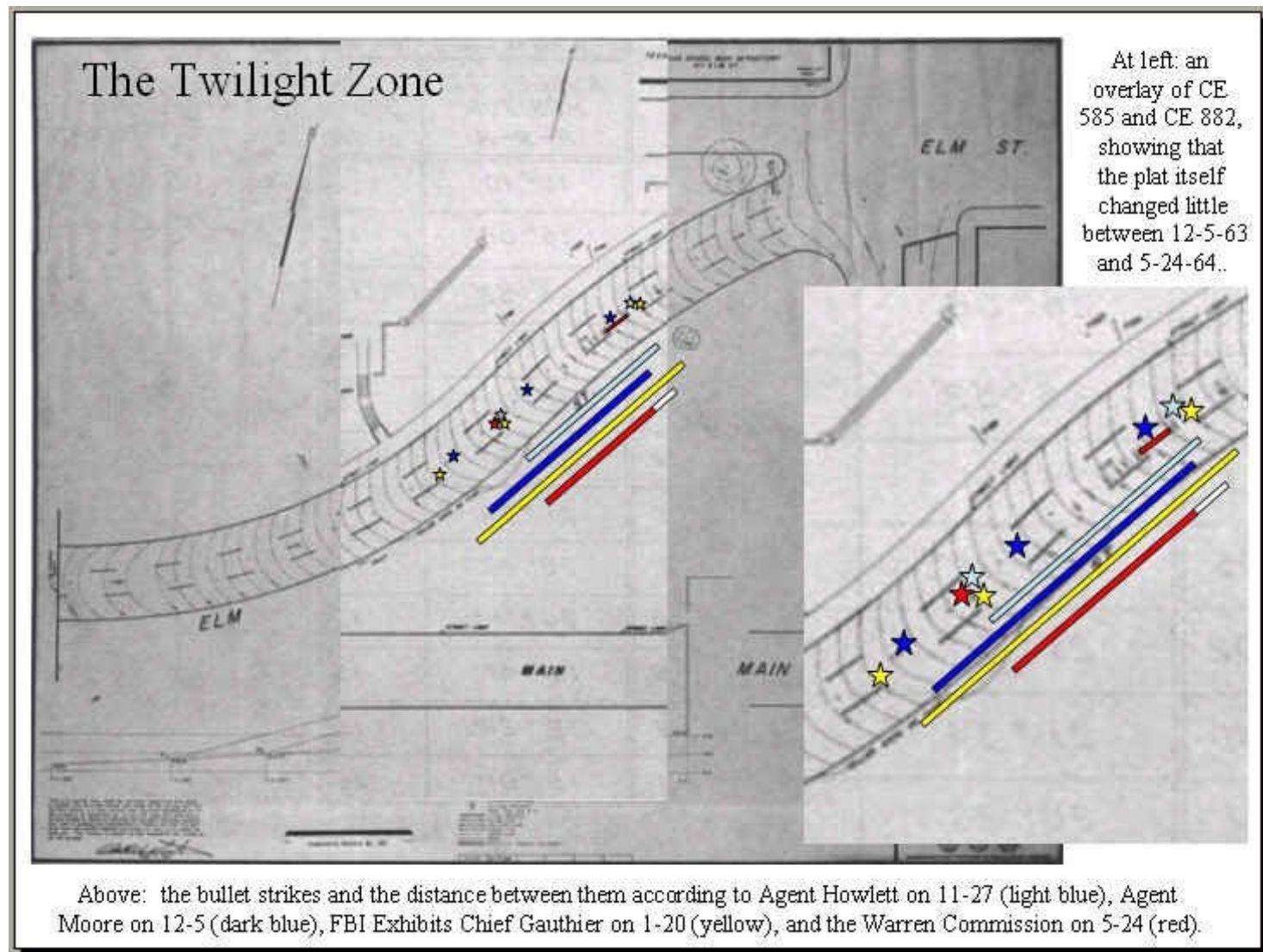
Questions are popping up everywhere. On **May 24, 1964**, the very day of the Warren Commission's re-enactment of the shooting in Dallas, The New York Journal-American runs an article on a photograph taken by James Altgens just after the first shot was fired on 11-22. Some have claimed a man in a doorway in the background of this photo is Oswald, proving Oswald's innocence. While the article features an interview with Billy Lovelady, who both claims and is claimed by others to be the man in this doorway, it raises more questions than it settles on other aspects of the shooting. It presents a series of *"claims"* and responds to these with *"facts."* Many of these facts are not quite accurate, however. Some, in fact, are absolute nonsense. To the claim more than one shooter must have fired upon Kennedy, as his neck wound was an entrance, while Oswald was shooting from behind, for instance, the article presents the *"fact"* that *"films show that he had turned his body far around to the right to*

wave at someone in the crowd just as the first shot struck him. In that position, his throat was fully exposed to the sniper." Yikes. This was the bill of goods pushed by Life Magazine in early December, almost SIX months before. The FBI had long ago tried to replace this with its own bill of goods--that the throat wound was an exit for a fragment from the bullet creating the head wound.

This leads us to become even more cynical. If the press can't make sense of what happened, and continues pushing "facts" long since discredited, then what hope is there the public will suddenly see the "light" when all the evidence is before them?

Chapter 3c: The Whitewash

A look at the last days of the Warren Commission



The Twilight Zone

On **5-24-64**, the Warren Commission and FBI conduct their on-site tests in Dealey Plaza. A few days later Arlen Specter takes the testimony of the FBI's photographic expert Lyndal Shaneyfelt. Shaneyfelt testifies about the distance of the limousine from the sniper's nest at relevant moments of the Zapruder film. He submits that Kennedy was 176.9 feet from the rifle at frame 210 of the film, and 190.8 feet

from the rifle at frame 225, the frames book-ending Kennedy's disappearance behind the Stemmons Freeway sign, and representing the purported moment of the first shot. While discussing frame 313, the moment of the fatal headshot, he testifies that the "*Distance to the rifle in the window is 265.3 feet. The angle to rifle in the window is 15'21' and this is based on the horizontal.*" (6-4-64 testimony of Lyndal Shaneyfelt before the Warren Commission, 5H139-164).

The establishment of this distance at 265 feet raises questions never properly asked or answered. If Specter had looked back through the records he would have seen that on 11-27-63 Agent Howlett, using the Zapruder film, determined the distance to be 260 feet. Close enough. He would also have seen that, on 12-5-63, just after the formation of the Warren Commission, Agent Elmer Moore, using the Zapruder film and the same surveyor used for the previous re-enactment, determined the distance to have been 294 feet. Something's beginning to smell. He then would have remembered that on 1-20-64 the FBI had provided him with exhibits indicating this distance was 307 feet. An even closer look would have indicated that, while the May 24 re-enactment determined the limo traveled no more than 88 feet further away from the sniper's nest between Kennedy's receiving his two wounds, and may have traveled as little as 74 feet, the Secret Service on 12-5 indicated it traveled 110 feet, and the FBI Exhibits Section, after surveying the plaza and studying the films for 5 weeks, 140 feet. While the inflation of this distance may have been on purpose, and designed to increase the length of the shooting scenario, the Zapruder film had already been tested, and the speed of the camera calculated, and the time span of the shooting widely reported. This suggests then that the inflation of the distance traveled, should it have been on purpose, was designed to cover something else. But what?

Well, how bout this? As the distance traveled between the first and third shots, when correlated to the shooting time span established by the Zapruder film, concurrently established the speed of the limousine at the time of the shots, perhaps the Secret Service and FBI inflated the distance to hide the uncomfortable and politically embarrassing fact that the limousine slowed down just before the head shot, and was traveling less than 10 miles an hour. Specter almost certainly considered this possibility. I mean, he and his fellow counsel must have wondered why the FBI and SS, when left to themselves, couldn't establish a consistent location for the President at the time of the third shot. They must have had discussions, conveniently kept off the record, of course, of whether the Secret Service and FBI were deliberately misleading the commission, or whether they were merely incredibly incompetent. As Specter had called Dr. Malcolm Perry before the commission and forced him to explain why he had initially described Kennedy's throat wound as an entrance wound, he should have called Agent Moore of the Secret Service and Chief Gauthier of the FBI's Exhibits Section before the commission to explain how they could be so wrong about the distance of the sniper's nest from Kennedy's position at the time of the head shot, when the location of Kennedy at this time is easily established by the Zapruder film, Nix film, and Moorman photograph. That he left their phenomenal errors unexplained suggests the commission was scared of undermining the credibility of its prime investigators, the Secret Service and the FBI, and hoped no one would notice the contradictory conclusions contained within the Secret Service and FBI reports. They nearly got their wish.

The FBI's ballistics expert Robert Frazier is another participant in the re-enactment. Testifying after Shaneyfelt on 6-4-64, he relates "At frame 231 the Governor is, as I saw it from the window on that date, turned to the front to such an extent that he could not have been hit at that particular frame. In frame 235, which is Commission Exhibit no. 897, the Governor...was also facing too far, too much towards the front...In frame 240 the Governor again could not have been shot." (6-4-64 testimony of Frazier before the Warren Commission, 5H165-175). The re-enactment thereby confirmed that Connally was out of position to receive his wounds at frame 231 of the Zapruder film, 11 frames earlier than Specter had hoped for. Specter now knows the only way he can have the last two shots close together, a la the eyewitnesses, is to have the first shot hit both Kennedy and Connally, and have one of

the last two shots miss.

On **5-27-64**, Chief Counsel Rankin gets some interesting news of his own. Richard Helms of the CIA sends him a memo recounting a meeting between an unnamed source (columnist Drew Pearson) and Chairman Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union. According to Helms, when the unnamed source told Khrushchev that Oswald had acted alone, Khrushchev was “utterly incredulous.” The unnamed source described this attitude as “archetypical of every European I have ever talked to on this subject.” He “got the impression that Chairman Khrushchev had some dark thoughts about the American Right Wing being behind this conspiracy.” The unnamed source then “repeated that the reaction of Chairman Khrushchev and his wife was one of flat disbelief and archetypical of the universal European belief that there was some kind of American conspiracy behind the assassination of President Kennedy and the murder of Oswald.” One can only speculate that news like this would inspire the Commission to redouble its efforts to convince the world that Oswald acted alone.

On **5-29**, Dallas station KRLD broadcasts a scoop related to the 5-24 re-enactment. The Associated Press reports the details of this scoop the next day. *"DALLAS, Tex. (AP) - Television station KRLD said Friday it has learned the Warren Commission's report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy will show that the first bullet hit both the president and Texas Gov. John B. Connally, and that the third shot went wild. In a copyright story, KRLD said this information came from a highly placed source to the Warren Commission following last Sunday's re-enactment of the assassination. Previous thinking had been that the first bullet hit the president, the second hit the governor, and the third fatally wounded Kennedy. KRLD said it also had learned the commission's report, which it said was to be released in a few weeks, will show the following: The first bullet entered the president's body slightly above the right collar bone and exited just to the left of the tie knot, then entered the body of Connally just above the fifth rib. The second bullet struck the president in the back of the head. The third bullet followed a much flatter trajectory than the first two, because the motorcade was moving down a sloping street, and it struck a manhole cover, then ricocheted off the curb and never was found. Medical opinion in the commission's report will show that chances for the president's recovery from the first wound would have been excellent. Also, had the first hit been a fraction lower, the force of the bullet probably would have knocked the president to the floor of the car and removed him from the line of sight for the second— and fatal — shot. The first bullet traveled 168 feet before it hit, the second 207 feet. There was an interval of 4 1/2 seconds between the first and second shots, and about 2 1/2 seconds between the second and third shots, and experts contend a crack marksman could have fired all three in the time it took the assassin to fire the first two."*

Well, this is most interesting. The information provided is all garbled. The source reportedly said the commission concluded the third shot missed but the shot distances provided, with the first shot being fired from 168 feet and the second shot being fired from 207, suggests instead that the first shot hit Kennedy (167 feet was the distance for this shot in the FBI's 1-20 report) and that the second shot hit Connally. This inexplicably leaves out the headshot. The purported distance for the second shot--207 feet--correlates to frame 242 of the Zapruder film, the earliest point at which Kennedy and Connally could have been hit by separate shots, and the point which Specter had been holding out as the last moment Connally could have been shot. The reported 4 1/2 second gap between the first and second shots, furthermore, is clearly a reference to the shot at frame 242 and the head shot at frame 313, which comes about 4 1/2 seconds afterward. This then indicates that the source believed the final shot came two and half seconds after frame 313, at approximately frame 358. The final shot in the January report of the FBI exhibits section, we should recall, came at approximately frame 358. This suggests that the source for this article was not simply mistaken about the commission's concluding the first shot was fired from 168 feet, and that the last shot missed around frame 358, but was inferring as much from the FBI's earlier report. Since that report specified that the last shot hit Kennedy, moreover, this suggests

that the source for this article was futilely trying to correlate the contradictory information contained in that report, with subsequent information derived from Specter and the re-enactment. The result was nonsense. Who was this source?

On 6-1-64, more leaks reach the public. Anthony Lewis, a writer with a close working relationship with the Supreme Court, writes an article for the New York Times with the headline "Panel to Reject Theories of Plot in Kennedy's Death. Warren Inquiry is Expected to Dispel Doubts in Europe that Oswald Acted Alone." Lewis would go on to claim "*The commission's report is expected, in short, to support the original belief of law enforcement agencies in this country that the President was killed by one man acting alone, Lee H. Oswald...A spokesman for the commission said that none of the critical works, foreign or domestic, had come up with any new factual information. He said that the commission had found 'just a rehash of the same material. The same questions and each man's conclusions.'...The commission's spokesman expressed the conviction that its report, when issued, would completely explode the theories published (abroad). He said that not even the authors would stand by them. 'We'll knock them out of those positions,' he said.*" In its 6-12-64 issue, Time Magazine jumped on board and echoed the Times' endorsement of the commission's conclusions months before they were even released. An article on the attitudes of Europeans to the assassination began "*The most myth-filled aftermath of John F. Kennedy's assassination is the stubborn refusal of many Europeans to accept the belief that the U.S. President could have been killed by a lunatic loner*" and admitted "*Last week word leaked from the Warren Commission that its report would spike each of the overseas theses and endorse with few changes the FBI's original version that Oswald killed alone. However, this is hardly likely to end the myth-making in Europe.*" From these articles, it seems likely the "spokesman" speaking to Lewis was either Warren himself or someone acting with his blessing.

If so, however, it's clear these leaks were not "authorized" by the full commission. The 6-4 executive session of the commission reflects that Congressman Ford, for one, is irritated by these leaks, as he is not at all convinced there was no foreign involvement in the assassination. He, furthermore, threatens Warren that if these leaks persist he will find it necessary to tell the press that "*the Commission has not discussed these matters as a Commission*" as yet, and that whoever is telling them otherwise is not to be trusted. Warren then interjects that he "*personally cannot account for any of these stories*", and that he has not spoken to any newspapers and that he has urged General Counsel Rankin to urge the staff not to do so as well. This, of course, leaves open the possibility that Warren nudged someone on the staff to make these calls behind Rankin's back. Perhaps sensing that Ford suspects as much, then, Warren adds "*I have no knowledge of anybody talking to anybody...If I knew that anybody from the Commission or the staff has been discussing these things with the press, I would feel very badly about it. But I don't have any belief that they have.*" This leads Ford to refer back to the articles published around the time of the Commission's creation, and to Acting Attorney General Katzenbach's request that they immediately release the results of the FBI's report, and the concurrent leak of this report to the press. It seems clear from this that Ford suspects Katzenbach.

In any event, after input from John McCloy, who offers "*Until you complete the testimony, you cannot have a final conclusion*" and voices his own suspicions of the Justice Department, it is decided that a statement should be issued announcing that the Commission is still taking testimony, and that therefore no conclusion has been reached. This, of course, is a bit disingenuous, as the commission, acting as both prosecutor and defense, has the option of taking only the testimony that will help support its already scripted conclusions.

(It would later become clear that in the Spring of '64 the writer of the New York Times' article, Anthony Lewis, was working on a book, Gideon's Trumpet, whose main source was President Johnson's closest adviser Abe Fortas. This, in turn, raises the possibility that Johnson and Fortas were behind the leaks. Perhaps Johnson, angered by the Commission's failure to meet its original June 1 deadline, had simply

decided that enough was enough, and had decided to assure the world that neither he nor the Soviets had been involved in the assassination, and had asked Fortas to leak the story to Lewis. Perhaps not.)

On **6-2-64** Rankin writes a letter to Lt. Col. Allison G. Folsom requesting an appraisal of Oswald's shooting ability, based upon Oswald's test scores while in the Marines. On **6-8-64**, he receives an unexpected response. Folsom writes "In view of the lapse of time since Mr. Oswald was separated from the Marine Corps, it would be impossible to ascertain precisely the number of hours in which he participated in weapons marksmanship practice or how many rounds of ammunition he fired." He then gives a breakdown of the training received by Oswald and his subsequent tests scores. These show that Oswald was tested on the M-1 rifle on December 21, 1956 and received a score of 212, or sharpshooter ranking. This was the test discussed in Folsom's 5-1-64 testimony. The record shows that Oswald was tested on the M-1 rifle a second time on May 6, 1959, however, and received a score of 191, only 1 point above the bottom of the Marksman ranking. These were the scores reported by the New York Times on 11-23-63. The big surprise for Rankin comes in Folsom's summary. He tells Rankin "The Marine Corps considers that any reasonable application of the instructions given to Marines should permit them to become qualified as a marksman. To become qualified as a sharpshooter, the Marine Corps is of the opinion that most Marines with a reasonable amount of adaptability to weapons firing can become so qualified. Consequently, a low marksman qualification indicates *a rather poor "shot"* and a sharpshooter qualification indicates a fairly good "shot." Folsom was thus telling Rankin that Oswald was a poor shot when he left the Marines and would have been an even worse shot after 4 years without practice.

After the letter from Folsom, Rankin should have had great doubt that Oswald was capable of hitting the shots described by the FBI. The FBI, after all, claimed Oswald fired three times at a moving target and created two hits and one near miss (the bullet striking Connally) in a time span of roughly 5.6 seconds. In an ideal world, this would have led Rankin to push for more rifle tests, with civilians firing rifles similar to Oswald's at moving targets on a mock Dealey Plaza.

The Tests That Should Have Been



In fact, when one considers that the 2 hits attributed to Oswald were around 7 inches apart, near the center of Kennedy's exposed head and shoulders (as shown on CE 386, at right), and that CBS counted as a hit ANY strike on a target at least 3-4 times this area (as shown at far right), it becomes clear that Oswald's purported feat was highly unlikely.



In 1967, CBS News attempted to replicate Oswald's purported shooting feat, using shooters purportedly of comparable skill. Despite the fact the rifle used by these men was properly sighted-in, and that these men had nine practice shots apiece before making their attempts, only 1 of the 11 shooters was successful in replicating Oswald's purported feat (3 shots fired and two successful hits in 5.6 seconds or less) on the first try. Even worse, of the 37 recorded attempts, only 4 proved successful. The Warren Commission should have performed similar tests. If they had, and had received similar results, one can only hope they would have decided that Oswald needed more than 5.6 seconds to fire his shots, and that either the first shot or last shot missed.

The Tests That Should Have Been

In 1967, CBS News, realizing the Warren Commission's error in not conducting these tests, conducted some tests of their own. While the shooters used by CBS were all well-practiced rifleman, their over-all skill level was roughly that of Oswald at his best. (Of course, Oswald hadn't been at his best since his first years in the Marines, a half a dozen years before the assassination.)

There were still other problems with the test. For one, the rifle used by these shooters was in prime operating condition, and was in no need of the adjustments performed by those test-firing Oswald's rifle for the Warren Commission. For two, the CBS shooters, unlike the man firing Oswald's rifle in Dealey Plaza, who was firing cold, were given NINE practice shots before making their attempts. For three, the target upon which these men fired, unlike the limousine in Dealey Plaza, moved at a constant speed away from the shooter, and at a constant angle.

Now, all these problems should have worked to the advantage of CBS' shooters, and have led to their easily replicating the shots purported for Oswald... That is, if the shots have been indeed easily replicable...

But let the test results speak for themselves...

1. Col. Jim Crossman, ret. (expert rifleman). First attempt--3 near misses in 6.54 seconds. Best attempt (of 6) ---2 hits and 1 near miss in 6.20 seconds. 2 hits or more in 3 of 6 attempts. (6.34, 6.44, and 6.2 seconds)
2. Douglas Bazemore (ex-paratrooper). First attempt—unable to operate bolt effectively to fire the shots. Best attempt (of 4)—unable to operate stiff bolt action; gives up. 2 hits or more in 0 of 4 attempts.
3. John Bollendorf (ballistics technician). First attempt—2 hits and 1 near miss in 6.8 seconds. Best attempt (of 4)—the same. 2 hits or more in 1 of 4 attempts. (6.8 seconds)

4. John Concini (Maryland State Trooper). First attempt—no record of where shots went in 6.3 seconds. Best attempt (of 2)—1 hit and 2 near misses in 5.4 seconds. 2 hits or more in 0 of 2 attempts.
5. Howard Donahue (weapons engineer). First attempt—too fast with bolt—gun jammed. Best attempt (of 3)—3 hits in 5.2 seconds. 2 hits or more in 1 of 3 attempts. (5.2 seconds)
6. Somerset Fitchett (sportsman). First attempt—gun jammed at 3rd shot. Best attempt (of 3)—2 hits and 1 near miss in 5.5 seconds. 2 hits or more in 2 of 3 attempts. (5.9 and 5.5 seconds)
7. William Fitchett (sporting goods dealer). First attempt—3 borderline hits in 6.5 seconds. Best attempt (of 3)—the same. 2 hits or more in 1 of 3 attempts. (6.5 seconds)
8. Ron George (Maryland State Trooper). First attempt—gun jammed at 2nd shot. Best attempt (of 3)—2 hits and 1 near miss in 4.9 seconds. 2 hits or more in 1 of 3 attempts. (4.9 seconds)
9. Charles Hamby (shooting range employee). First attempt—gun jammed. Best attempt (of 3)—2 near misses and 1 complete miss in 6.5 seconds. 2 hits or more in 0 of 3 attempts.
10. Carl Holden (shooting range employee). First attempt—gun jammed with first shot. Best attempt (of 3)—3 near misses in 5.4 seconds. 2 hits or more in 0 of 3 attempts.
11. Sid Price (shooting range employee). First attempt—1 hit, 1 near miss, and 1 complete miss in 5.9 seconds. Best attempt (of 4)—the same. 2 hits or more in 0 of 4 attempts.
12. Al Sherman (Maryland State Trooper). First attempt—2 hits and 1 near miss in 5.0 seconds. Best attempt (of 5)—the same. 2 hits or more in 2 of 5 attempts. (5.0 and 6.0 seconds)

Of the 12 first attempts, only 1 shooter was able to hit the target twice in less than 5.6 seconds. Of the 43 total attempts, moreover, these well-seasoned shooters were able to replicate Oswald's purported feat—2 hits in less than 5.6 seconds—just 4 times.

In fact, it's even worse. Not counting Crossman, an acknowledged rifle expert, those purportedly of Oswald's skill level landed but 25 hits TOTAL, in their 20 successful attempts at getting off 3 shots. In other words, they hit 25 out of 60 shots--far worse on average than Oswald's purported 2 out of 3.

But it's actually FAR WORSE than that. You see, CBS counted any strike on the FBI silhouettes used as targets--even those far down the back, or out on the shoulders--as a hit. This, in effect, tripled or quadrupled the size of the target for their shooters, in comparison to the small area on the back and head purportedly hit by Oswald. It seems clear then that, of the 60 shots total, and 25 hits, no more than 9 hit the target in the small central area purportedly hit by Oswald, not once but twice. This, then, suggests that, even IF Oswald was a well-practiced shooter, and even IF his rifle were in optimal condition, and even IF he had been provided NINE practice shots, the odds of his hitting the small area he supposedly hit from the sniper's nest on any given shot were less than 1 in 6, and of his hitting this area 2 of 3 times something like 1 in 16.

In other words, Oswald's purported feat was highly unlikely...

(This fact has not escaped the attention of those continuing to argue Oswald acted alone. In his mammoth tome *Reclaiming History*, Vincent Bugliosi deceives his readers by arguing that, as Oswald was clearly aiming for Kennedy's head, he actually hit but one of three shots. This avoids, of course, that the vast majority of "hits" by the professional shooters attempting to simulate Oswald's purported feat for the Warren Commission, and what one can only assume were the vast majority of "hits" by the amateur shooters attempting to simulate Oswald's purported feat for CBS News in 1967, were torso hits even further from the center of the target as the hit on Kennedy's back.)

In any event, if the Warren Commission had conducted similar tests, they would almost certainly have

concluded that Oswald needed more than 5.6 seconds to fire the shots, and that either the first shot or last shot missed. But this was not to be...

Slips and Spills



Above: autopsy face sheet, Warren Commission Exhibit 397. The FBI's Robert Frazier testified that the measurements on this sheet were the source for the mark on the back of the stand-in at bottom right.



Above: autopsy photo of the President's back wound, viewed by Arlen Specter and Thomas Kelley in Dallas, May 24, 1964.



Warren Commission Exhibit 386: a drawing of the President's wounds entered into evidence by Arlen Specter. On June 4, 1964, Specter drew testimony from Kelley that this drawing was the source of the mark in the photo below.

At right: a photo of the May 24 re-enactment of the assassination printed in the June 1, 1964 New York Times. Why did Specter and Kelley mislead the commission about the location and source for the mark used in the re-enactment? Were they trying to hide that the wound was really on the back? Or that Dr. Humes had misinformed the commission when he told them that measurements taken at the autopsy were used to create CE 386? Or both?



Slips and Spills

On 6-4-64, Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley testifies about the May 24 re-enactment (5H129-134). Under Arlen Specter's guidance, he tells the commission that the location of the back wound mark on President Kennedy's stand-in was established by a "medical drawing." Strangely, Counsel Specter is quick to insert "*Permit me to show you Commission Exhibit 386...I ask you if that is the drawing you were shown as the basis for the marking of the wound on the back of the President's neck?*" Kelley answers "Yes." Later, Kelley slips up and says that "*the wound in the throat was lower than the wound in the shoulder*" and Specter leaps again "*By the wound in the shoulder, do you mean the wound in the back of the President's neck, the base of his neck?*" (5H175-176) Once again, Kelley agrees. The problem is that, while CE 386, one of the drawings submitted by Specter during the testimony of Dr. Humes, shows the wound to be on the base of the back of the neck and higher than the throat wound, Specter and Kelley (as they would subsequently admit) looked at a photo of this wound on the day of the re-enactment, and this photo showed the wound to be on the BACK, at the same level or lower than the throat wound. Specter was thus coaxing Kelley to mislead the commission, and hide that the wound was in fact on the President's back, at the same level or lower than his throat wound.

That Specter and Kelley were conspiring on such a deed, unfortunately, seems quite clear. While trying to establish the alignment of Kennedy and Connally during the shooting--that is, while trying to establish that they were in the proper alignment to receive simultaneous wounds from the rear in Kennedy's neck and Connally's right armpit--Specter asks Kelley the distance of Connally's seat from

the right door, and Kelley replies *"There is 6 inches of clearance between the jump seat and the door."* The problem is, once again, that this just isn't true. (The schematic of the limousine to which Kelley refers, Exhibit CE 872, does not have this measurement, but a schematic obtained by the HSCA from the same source does have the measurement, and it is, in fact, 2.5 inches, not 6.) That Kelley misrepresents the facts on two key points, and that both of these mis-statements (or lies, take your pick) just so happen to help Specter sell his theory that all the wounds save Kennedy's head wound were created by the same bullet, is undoubtedly suspicious.

After Kelley's initial testimony, FBI Exhibits Section Chief Leo Gauthier testifies about the scale model he created of Dealey Plaza (5H135-138). Here Arlen Specter carefully avoids questioning Gauthier about Gauthier's earlier conclusion, using largely the same tools used in the May 24 re-enactment, that the President was 307 feet from the sniper's nest at the time of the head shot, 42 feet further than is now proposed.

After Gauthier testifies, the FBI's photography expert Lyndal Shaneyfelt takes the stand (5H138-165). He testifies that the location of the President's back wound was, when viewed from the sniper's nest, obscured by an oak tree from frames 167 to 209 of the Zapruder film. When asked the last frame before Kennedy appears to be hit, Shaneyfelt testifies in accord with this testimony. A hit on Kennedy before frame 210, after all, might suggest there'd been a shot fired from somewhere other than the sniper's nest. Shaneyfelt testifies: *"Approximately--I would like to explain a little bit, that at frames in the vicinity of 200 to 210 he is obviously still waving, and there is no marked change. In the area from approximately 200 to 205 he is still, his hand is still in a waving position, he is still turned slightly toward the crowd, and there has been no change in his position that would signify anything occurring unusual. I see nothing in the frames to arouse my suspicion about his movements, up through in the areas from 200 on and as he disappears behind the signboard, there is no change. Now, 205 is the last frame, 205 and 206 are the last frames where we see any of his, where we see the cuff of his coat showing above the signboard indicating his hand is still up generally in a wave. From there on the frames are too blurry as his head disappears you can't really see any expression on his face. You can't see any change. It is all consistent as he moves in behind the signboard."* (If Shaneyfelt sounds tentative, and unsure of himself, it's quite possibly because he's not used to perjuring himself in such a manner. In 1978, a panel of 20 photographic scientists studied these same Zapruder frames for the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Their report, included in volume Appendix number 6 of the HSCA's report, reflects *"By a vote of 12 to 5, the Panel determined that President Kennedy first showed a reaction to some severe external stimulus by Zapruder frame 207, as he is seen going behind a sign that obstructed Zapruder's view."*)

Shaneyfelt also testifies that Kennedy was struck in the head when he was 265 feet away from the sniper's nest. The vast difference between Gauthier's earlier report and Shaneyfelt's conclusions are not discussed, nor noted. Shaneyfelt also tells the commission what they need to hear before they can accept Specter's theory that Kennedy and Connally were hit by the same shot—that the angle from the sniper's nest to Kennedy's throat wound to Connally at the moment they both could have been hit *"passed through a point on the back of the stand-in for the President at a point approximating that of the entrance wound."* To support this, Specter introduces Commission Exhibit 903 into evidence. Suspiciously, this re-enactment photo of Specter holding a rod at the angle from the sniper's nest at the presumed moment Kennedy and Connally were hit against the stand-ins in the limo was taken from the front and fails to show the location of the back wound. In the FBI's files, however, there are several photos taken from the opposite angle. These show the rod passing several inches above the location of the back wound. Well, at least Shaneyfelt was correct in stating the wound was on the back. (This is discussed in more detail in the Examining the Examinations chapter.)

After Shaneyfelt, the FBI's Robert Frazier comes on and explains that Connally was out of position to

have his wounds be caused by one bullet after frame 231 (5H165-175). This means that he must have been hit before this point, at a point too close to Kennedy's being shot to have both shots fired by Oswald, unless...they were in fact hit by the same shot. This proves that Specter knew going in, prior to taking this day's testimony, that his single-bullet theory was essential to the Commission's single-assassin conclusion.

Frazier drops another bomb as well. Under questioning by Commissioner Dulles (notably not Specter), he lets slip his recollection that the back wound location used in the re-enactment was established by the measurements taken at the autopsy. This contradicts the statement Specter drew from Kelley that the mark was established by looking at CE 386. So which one's telling the truth? Well, although Specter, as either a gross oversight or a deliberate deception, failed to introduce a photo of this chalk mark into evidence, photos of the re-enactment, in which the chalk mark is shown, were published in some newspapers, including the 6-1-64 New York Times. These photos show the marked location of the President's back wound to be...on the back, in line with the autopsy measurements and face sheet, as stated by Frazier, and inches away from the location at the base of the neck on CE 386, its source according to Kelley, and Specter.

And Specter knew the wound was marked in this location. He was, after all, the one running the re-enactment. And yet here he was, less than two weeks later, asking Thomas Kelley *"Permit me to show you Commission Exhibit No. 386, which has heretofore been marked and introduced into evidence, and I ask you if that is the drawing that you were shown as the basis for the marking of the wound on the back of the President's neck."* Well, do you see it? He was asking Kelley if a drawing of a wound at the base of the neck was used to mark a jacket at a location several inches below the base of the neck, and then hid from the record that this mark was in fact several inches below the base of the neck by 1) failing to introduce any photos of this mark into evidence, and 2) making out as though this mark was *"on the back of the President's neck?"*

So why did Specter deceive the commission about 1) the actual location of the back wound; 2) the location of the mark used during the re-enactment; 3) the location of this mark relative to a trajectory from the sniper's nest, and 4) the distance from the right door of the limousine to Governor Connally's seat?

Well, when one considers that, by this time, Specter knew that 1) the FBI and Secret Service had disregarded the evidence and come to questionable conclusions about the shooting scenario; 2) Dr. Humes had lied about the use of measurements in the creation of the Rydberg drawings, and 3) Chief Justice Warren had forbidden the use of materials necessary to establishing the facts, perhaps he decided it was time he join the crowd.

The Home Stretch

The investigation reaches its final turn.

The Justice Department's man on the commission, Assistant Counsel Howard Willens, realizes that the commission's upcoming report will never be accepted without Attorney General Robert Kennedy's signing off on it in some way. On **6-4-64** he dashes off a memo to General Counsel Rankin in which he proposes Chief Justice Warren write Kennedy a letter asking if Kennedy has *"any information suggesting that the assassination of President Kennedy was caused by a domestic or foreign conspiracy"* and Kennedy respond with a letter stating *"I know of no credible evidence to support the allegations that the assassination of President Kennedy was caused by a foreign or domestic conspiracy."* Willens notes *"The Attorney General would prefer to handle his obligations to the Commission in this way rather than appear as a witness."* He presents full drafts for both Warren's

letter, and Kennedy's response, noting *"The proposed response by the Attorney General has, of course, not been approved by him, or on his behalf by the Deputy Attorney General. It represents a revision of an earlier letter which I did show to them during my conference with them earlier today. At that time the Attorney General informed me that he had not received any reports from the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding the investigation of the assassination, and that his principle sources of information have been the Chief Justice, the Deputy Attorney General, and myself."* (Willens' proposed drafts are discussed over the next week, and Warren sends "his" letter to Kennedy on June 11.)

Only six months after the shooting, and the same day that Arlen Specter turns in his initial draft for the Warren Report's chapter on the shooting, the Commission finally gets around to questioning the closest eyewitness, the former First lady. **Jacqueline Kennedy (6-5-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 5H178-181) "Well there must have been two because the one that made me turn around was Governor Connally yelling. And it used to confuse me because first I remembered there were three and I used to think my husband didn't make any sound when he was shot. And Governor Connally screamed like a stuck pig. I heard Governor Connally yelling and that made me turn around, and as I turned to the right my husband was doing this (indicating with hand at neck). He was receiving a bullet. And those are the only two I remember." **Unsure. Only heard two clear shots.**

On this same day, the FBI reports the recollections of another vital witness, whose photographs of the assassination were everywhere. Strangely, they had no intention of interviewing him until a 5-25 column in the Chicago American asked why he'd not been interviewed. **James Altgens (6-5-64** FBI report, CD 1088 p.1-6) "at about the instant he snapped the picture, he heard a burst of noise which he thought was firecrackers...he does not know how many of these reports he heard...After taking the above photograph...he heard another report which he recognized as a gunshot. He said the bullet struck President Kennedy on the right side of his head and the impact knocked the President forward. Altgens stated pieces of flesh, blood, and bones appeared to fly from the right side of the President's head and pass in front of Mrs. Kennedy to the left of the Presidential limousine. Altgens stated Mrs. Kennedy grabbed the President and Altgens heard her exclaim "Oh, no!" as the president slumped into her lap."

On **6 7-64**, almost three months after the conclusion of his trial, the Commission finally gets around to questioning Oswald's assassin, **Jack Ruby**, about his possible role in a conspiracy involving Oswald. Ruby requests he be given a lie detector test. He tells Judge Warren *"I would like to request that I go to Washington and you take all the tests that I have to take. It's very important."* Later, he returns to this theme. *"Gentleman, unless you get me to Washington, you can't get a fair shake out of me. If you understand my way of talking, you have got to bring me to Washington to get the tests...Unless you can get me to Washington, and I am not a crackpot, I have all my senses—I don't want to evade any crime I am guilty of...Unless you get me to Washington immediately, I am afraid..."* Ruby then goes on to accuse his own lawyer of conspiring against him, to make it look like he'd planned out Oswald's murder, which Ruby insists was a spontaneous act. Ruby then throws in *"Well, it's too bad, Chief Warren, that you didn't get me to your headquarters 6 months ago."* Ruby then asks Sheriff Decker and all other law enforcement officers to leave the room. After they leave, he tells Warren and his staff *"Gentleman, if you want to hear any further testimony, you will have to get me to Washington soon, because it has something to do with you, Chief Warren. Do I sound sober enough to tell you this? ...I want to tell the truth, and I can't tell it here. I can't tell it here. Does that make sense to you?"* He then muses *"Boy, I am in a tough spot, I tell you that...But this isn't the place for me to tell what I want to tell..."*

Ruby then gets serious, and comes straight to the point: *"Chief Warren, your life is in danger in this city, do you know that?"* He requests again he be given a lie detector test, which will help him clear his

name, and concludes *"Gentleman, my life is in danger here. Not with my guilty plea of execution. Do I sound sober enough to you as I say this?...Then I follow this up. I may not live tomorrow to give any further testimony...the only thing that I want to get out to the public, and I can't say it here, is with authenticity, with sincerity of the truth of everything and why my act was committed, but it can't be said here. It can be said, it's got to be said amongst people of the highest authority that would give me the benefit of the doubt. And following that, immediately give me a lie detector test after I do make the statement."* During a stenographer's break to change paper, Ruby then corners Warren and Counsel Arlen Specter (the source for this story) and begs them to *"Get to Fortas. He'll get the job done...Get to Fortas. He'll get it worked out."* Ruby then goes on to assert that the John Birch Society is trying to use that he's a Jew to persecute other Jews, and claims *"The Jewish people are being exterminated at this moment. Consequently, a whole new form of government is going to take over our country, and I know I won't live to see you another time. Do I sound sort of screwy--in telling you these things?...It may not be too late, whatever happens, if our President, Lyndon Johnson, knew the truth from me. But if I am eliminated, there won't be any way of knowing...I won't be around, Chief Justice. I won't be around to verify these things you are going to tell the President...I have been used for a purpose..."*

While Ruby appears to be unstable, the fact that he's paranoid doesn't mean no one's out to get him. Warren and Specter are certainly aware that the radical right, including the John Birch Society, a prominent presence in Dallas, have been pushing the story (in newspapers such as The Thunderbolt) that Oswald killed Kennedy on behalf of a Jewish/Communist cabal, and that Ruby silenced Oswald on behalf of this same cabal. One book, just coming out in May '64, *Legacy of an Assassination*, offered that Ruby was a communist, and that as a communist, was ready to sacrifice his life for his cause. It mused further that Oswald, Ruby, Tippit, and others were all *"concealed Reds"* and that Ruby and Oswald had previously worked together on the attempted assassination of General Walker but were *"protected from arrest afterwards by concealed Reds in the CIA who got Attorney General Robert Kennedy to intercede with the FBI and the Dallas Police."*

Another book, *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*, by J. Evetts Haley, was a bit more scholarly. While not specifically targeting Ruby, it focused on Oswald's background as a communist, and excoriated President Johnson for covering up the possibility Oswald acted as part of a conspiracy. It reported: *"Thus the American people are convinced that the truth of the Oswald case, and its Jack (Rubenstein) Ruby connections, will never be known. At least not until they elect a President who believes they have the right to know the truth."* The insertion of "Rubenstein" was not a coincidence, and was clearly added to remind Evetts' readers that Ruby was a Jew, and not to be trusted. This book became a best-seller.

Still another book, soon to be released, entitled *None Dare Call It Treason*, noted that Kennedy was killed by a *"self-admitted communist"* and railed *"Volumes could and should be written on the press coverage of President Kennedy's assassination by a Communist killer. Even after Oswald was captured and his Marxist affiliations disclosed, TV and radio commentators have conducted a continual crusade of distortion and smear to direct the blame against right-wing or conservative groups."* This, as we've seen, is a lie. Sure, the press conducted a *"continual crusade of distortion and smear"* but it was a crusade to convict Oswald as a lone-nut assassin, not a crusade to blame the right-wing. This deliberate lie, then, seems designed to make *None Dare Call It Treason's* readers--and there were plenty of them--the book sold over 7 million copies--believe that a communist conspiracy to kill Kennedy had infiltrated the mainstream media, and that the enemy within was all around. Ruby's concerns were very real.

If Warren and Specter consider that Ruby, by his own admission, had immediately grown suspicious that Jews were being set-up as patsies in the killing of Kennedy (He'd learned that the Kennedy Wanted for Treason ads in the Dallas papers on the day of the assassination had been paid for by a Jew named

Bernard Weissman, and was so distressed by this fact that he contacted the Dallas Post Office at 4:30 AM the next morning in hopes they'd give him Weissman's address) they might reasonably suspect that Ruby had received orders to kill Oswald by someone other than this non-existent cabal, and was worried that his silencing Oswald on their behalf was gonna be used against his fellow Jews. (What else could he mean by *"I have been used for a purpose"*?) Ruby's cornering Specter, who was only involved in the questioning because he was Jewish and Ruby felt he could be trusted, and telling him to *"Get to Fortas...He'll get the job done"* should have aroused their suspicions even further. Fortas was President Johnson's most trusted and secret adviser, and a JEW, and would be the man best in position to shut down any orchestrated efforts to deflect attention from Johnson or other possible conspirators by blaming the assassination on Jews. So does Warren bring Ruby to Washington and let Ruby tell his whole story? Nope. Does he have Fortas interviewed or investigated so he can determine what, if any, ties he has to Ruby? Nope. Does he even get a doctor to testify that Ruby's unstable, so he can justify his not bringing Ruby to Washington? Nope, nope and nope again. Ruby's testimony has opened a door to a room that Warren refuses to enter.

The next day, **6-8-64**, another door is opened, and ignored. An internal FBI memo on this date from Alex Rosen to Alan Belmont relates that on 6-3 the FBI was contacted by President Kennedy's physician, Dr. George Burkley, wondering what became of a statement, dated 11-27-63, he'd given to the U.S. Secret Service, and why he hasn't been contacted by the Warren Commission. Rosen relates further that he's discussed this matter with Warren Commission Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin, who requested he call the Secret Service and find out what happened to Burkley's statement regarding the events of 11-22-63. Rosen then relates that he talked to Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley, and Kelley told him he was indeed aware of Burkley's statement, *"was of the opinion it had been made available to the President's Commission,"* and *"would see that a copy of the memorandum was sent over to the Commission per Mr. Rankin's request."*

(Burkley's statement is eventually published by the Commission as Exhibit 1126. Strangely, however, despite this incident, and despite his name appearing in the autopsy report, numerous Secret Service reports, and in the testimony of witnesses such as Secret Service agent Roy Kellerman, Dr. Paul Peters, and Dr. Charles Carrico, no one from the FBI or Warren Commission was ever to interview Burkley, the only witness to see the President's body at both Parkland and Bethesda. This oversight is made suspicious, moreover, by the fact that Warren Commissioner Gerald Ford asked Congressman James D. Weaver, a former military surgeon, to take a look at the medical testimony, and that, in an April 23, 1964 letter (found in the Ford Presidential Library), Weaver told Ford that the lack of information regarding Burkley's actions in the testimony was an *"outstanding omission."*

While Ford's subsequent failure to demand Burkley be interviewed may have been yet another *"outstanding omission,"* it would eventually be revealed as an incredibly convenient omission for those hoping to convince others that Oswald acted alone. On October 17, 1967, in an interview conducted for the Kennedy Library, Burkley was asked if he agreed with the Warren Report's conclusions *"on the number of bullets that entered the President's body."* He replied *"I would not care to be quoted on that."* Similarly, on March 18, 1977, Burkley's attorney, Willaim Illig, contacted HSCA Chief Counsel Richard Sprague and told him that Burkley had information indicating that Oswald did not act alone. While no one followed up on this letter, the record suggests that Burkley suspected both that the back wound was too low on Kennedy's body to support the single-bullet theory, and that more than one bullet struck the President's skull.)

On **6-18-64**, Secret Service Chief James Rowley is called to testify. He admits that members of Kennedy's protection detail had been out drinking the night before the assassination, but asserts they were not punished for what would normally have been cause for termination because it might send the message that their actions had been a factor in Kennedy's death. Newspaper reports reflect that he is the

last person scheduled to testify before the commission. This means that all the witnesses subsequent to Rowley were NEVER supposed to testify.

Clean-up Time

The investigation is now over. The remaining months will be spent tying up loose ends, interviewing witnesses who should already have been called (so that the commission can say that they spoke to them), and finding experts to tell the commission what it's already decided to say.

One of these "missing" witnesses is Phil Willis, whose photograph of Kennedy just after the first shot has been studied extensively by the FBI. He has never been interviewed. Nor has his wife, who claimed to have witnessed the head shot... They are finally interviewed on 6-17 and 6-18. **Marilyn Willis (6-19-64** FBI report, CD1245 p. 44-45) "Mrs. Willis advised when the motorcade passed on Elm Street in front of where she was standing she heard a noise that sounded like a firecracker or a backfire. A few seconds following this she stated she heard another report and saw the top of President Kennedy's head "blow off and ringed by a red halo." She stated she believes she heard another shot following this."

Shot after the head shot. Phil Willis (6-22-64 FBI report, CD1245 p. 46-48) "*Willis advised that just about the same time that the limousine carrying President Kennedy was opposite the Stemmons Freeway road sign he heard a loud report and knew immediately it was a rifle shot and knew also the shot "had hit" ...About two seconds later he heard another rifle shot which also hit, as did the third, which came approximately two seconds later. Willis said he knew from his war experience the sound a rifle makes when it finds its mark and he said he is sure all three shots fired found their mark.*"

And then, on **6-20-64**, President Kennedy's youngest brother Teddy, serving out his brother's term in the Senate, is seriously injured in a small plane crash in which two others--the pilot and Kennedy's assistant--are killed.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, the Warren Commission counsel charged with writing its report are turning in their chapters and the Commissioners themselves are making changes. On **6-24-64**, Commissioner John J. McCloy writes Rankin: "*I think too much effort is expended on attempting to prove that the first bullet which hit the President was responsible for all Connally's wounds. The evidence against this is not fully stated.*" This indicates that McCloy has his doubts about the single-bullet theory. It will eventually come out that Senators Russell and Cooper, and Congressman Boggs, also have doubts about the theory. Which means that just 3 of the 7 commissioners—Warren, Dulles, and Ford, wholeheartedly support the cornerstone of the Commission's conclusions, without which they would rightfully have to conclude the probability of a second gunman.

Ford at least is witting enough to understand the importance of the theory to the Commission's conclusions. On a **6-26-64** draft of Chapter 1 of the report, Congressman Ford changes the statement "*A bullet had entered his back at a point slightly above the shoulder and to the right of the spine*" to "*A bullet had entered the back of his neck at a point slightly to the right of the spine.*" (The published report reflects a compromise: "*A bullet had entered the base of the back of his neck slightly to the right of the spine.*" From this change it seems clear that Ford was deliberately skewing the report to help convince the public that a bullet fired from above could enter a man's back and exit his throat on a straight trajectory, a la the single-bullet theory.)

Dyeing the Grass Green

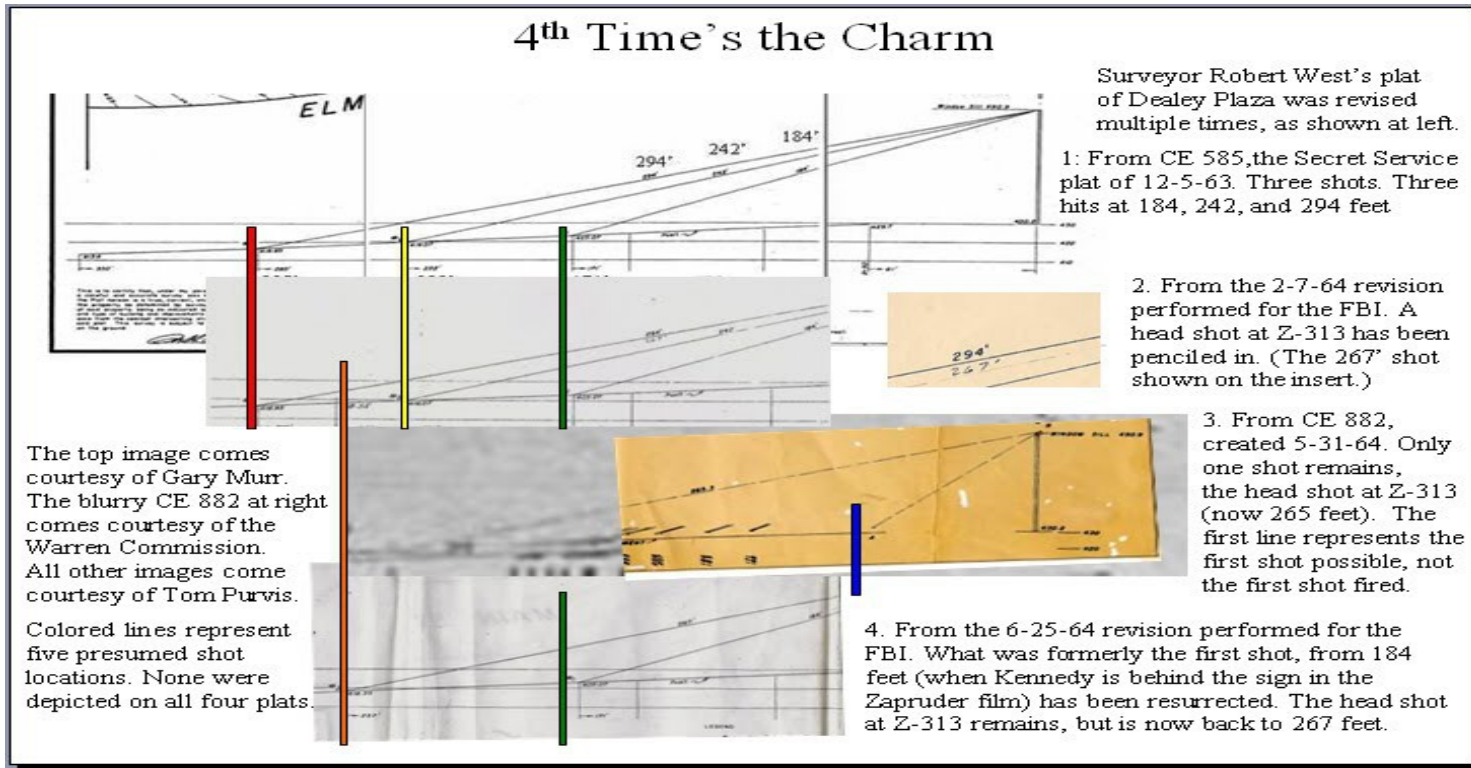
When the working papers of J. Lee Rankin were given to the Archives in 1997 and Ford's changes were discovered, the Former President reportedly responded "*My changes were only an attempt to be*

more precise.” While the inaccurate drawings entered into evidence by the doctors may have confused Ford into thinking his correction *was more precise*, a less generous interpretation is also reasonable, particularly when one notes that this very topic came up in Ford's 12-17 meeting with the FBI. Cartha DeLoach's memo on his meeting with Ford reflects: *"Two members of the Commission brought up the fact that they still are not convinced that the President had been shot from the sixth floor window of the Texas Book Depository. These members failed to understand the trajectory of the slugs that killed the President. He (Ford) stated he felt this point would be discussed further but, of course, would represent no problem."*

Apparently, Ford knew the caliber of men he was working with. Apparently, he knew that nothing could dissuade these men from claiming Oswald killed Kennedy. On July 2, 1967, an interview of Commissioner John McCloy was aired on Face the Nation. Although CBS' treatment of the assassination in its just-broadcast four part special on the Warren Commission was questionable, and at times quite deceptive, here Walter Cronkite actually did some digging. McCloy's answers, accordingly, are quite revealing. When asked why the Commissioners doubting the single-bullet theory claimed Oswald acted alone, even though, in Cronkite's words, it is *"inescapably obvious that without the single bullet theory, the whole case made by the Commission collapses into a mass of incredibility,"* McCloy gave a jaw-dropping response. He said: *"Well, what is the case? The case is, as--and, I think, this about right, and I can--I think I can summarize the conclusions. One. Oswald killed the President by shots fired from the sixth floor window of the school book depository in Dallas. He also killed Tippit...Now that's--that's the conclusion. Those are the essential conclusions of the Commission. They don't stand or fall by whether there was a single bullet there, or not."*

In other words, McCloy told Cronkite that they'd decided to blame the shooting on Oswald, EVEN IF THE EVIDENCE INDICATED IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO HAVE FIRED ALL THE SHOTS. The possibility that a conspiracy existed outside Oswald, and had set him up as the "patsy" he'd claimed to be, was not even to be considered.

4th Time's the Charm



4th Times the Charm

The FBI, Secret Service, and Warren Commission's absolute conviction that all the shots came from the sixth floor of the depository, no matter when or how the shots rang out, is by now abundantly clear. Perhaps no one is better able to see this than Dallas County Surveyor Robert West. Between December 7, 1963 and June 25, 1964, he has created and revised four plats of Dealey Plaza, with the angles of trajectory for proposed shots from the sniper's nest. All four of these plats were purportedly based on a careful analysis of the Zapruder film, and were created for a government agency. And yet, from plat to plat, not one shot has been of a consistent distance or at a consistent angle! (West will eventually testify at the trial of Clay Shaw in 1969, and acknowledge that he was in Dealey Plaza when the President was shot, and that he in fact heard four shots. This raises the question of whether or not he mentioned this fact to the Secret Service, FBI, and Warren Commission investigators employing his services, and, if so, why none of them ever interviewed him as a witness.)

On 6-29-64, the Warren Commission meets and deliberates over the submitted chapters of its report. (Intriguingly, little was known of this meeting until 1997, when General Counsel J. Lee Rankin's private papers were donated to the National Archives following the JFK Records Act. Rankin's notes reveal that this meeting consists of his running down a list of questions, and the Commissioners' deciding whether the proposed chapters adequately answer these questions. Over and over, on the questions of the number of the shots, the order in which the wounds were inflicted, etc, they answer "*Treatment in proposed draft satisfactory.*" This indicates that by June 5, Specter's conclusions were written in stone, and that the subsequent testimony of crucial witnesses such as Jacqueline Kennedy, James Altgens, Phil Willis, Abraham Zapruder, Emmett Hudson, and James Tague was taken entirely for political reasons, i.e., to convince the American people that the words of all the prominent witnesses had been considered, when in fact they had not.)

An AP dispatch from later that day only confirms that the investigation is over, and unlikely to meet any public resistance. It reads:

KRAKOW, POLAND, JUNE 29 CAP)-U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY SAID

TONIGHT LEE HARVEY OSWALD KILLED HIS BROTHER, PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, AND "THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE DID IT ON HIS OWN AND BY HIMSELF."

"I BELIEVE IT (THE ASSASSINATION). WAS DONE BY A MAN NAMED OSWALD WHO WAS A MISFIT IN SOCIETY," KENNEDY TOLD A GROUP OF CIVIC LEADERS AND STUDENTS IN THIS SOUTHERN POLISH CITY.

AIDES SAID IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THE HEAD OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS SPOKEN PUBLICLY ABOUT WHO KILLED HIS BROTHER IN DALLAS, TEX., LAST NOV. 22. OSWALD WAS SHOT BY JACK RUBY, DALLAS CAFE OWNER, BEFORE HE COULD BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL, THERE HAVE BEEN SUGGESTIONS IN EUROPE, ESPECIALLY COMMUNIST COUNTRIES SUCH AS POLAND, THAT THE SLAYINGS OF KENNEDY AND OSWALD WERE PART OF THE SAME CONSPIRACY.

KENNEDY SAID IT WAS NOT OSWALD'S PROFESSED BELIEF IN COMMUNISM THAT PROMPTED HIM TO MURDER THE PRESIDENT.

"HE WAS A PROFESSED COMMUNIST BUT THE COMMUNISTS--BECAUSE OF HIS ATTITUDE--WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HIM," KENNEDY SAID. "IDEOLOGY IN MY OPINION DID NOT MOTIVATE HIS ACT, IT WAS THE SINGLE ACT OF AN INDIVIDUAL PROTESTING AGAINST SOCIETY."

KENNEDY WAS REPLYING TO A QUESTION BY HIERONYM KUBIAK, 25-YEAR-OLD HEAD OF, THE POLISH STUDENT UNION IN KRAKOW, WHO HAD DECLARED: "WE ALWAYS GREATLY RESPECTED PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND WE ARE VERY INTERESTED IN YOUR VERSION OF HIS DEATH, WE HOPE YOU WILL FORGIVE US FOR ASKING SUCH A DIRECT QUESTION BUT WE REALLY WOULD LIKE YOUR VIEW."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL REPLIED "IT IS A PROPER QUESTION WHICH DESERVES AN ANSWER." HE CALLED OSWALD "A MISFIT IN SOCIETY WHO HAD LIVED IN THE UNITED STATES AND WAS DISSATISFIED WITH OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR WAY OF LIFE. HE TOOK UP COMMUNISM AND MOVED TO THE SOVIET UNION BUT WAS DISSATISFIED THERE. HE CAME BACK (TO AMERICA), WAS ANTI-SOCIAL AND FELT THE ONLY WAY TO TAKE OUT HIS STRONG FEELINGS AGAINST SOCIETY AND DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WAY HE WAS TREATED WAS BY KILLING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

On **6-30-64** the New York Times carries its own version of this story. It takes the opportunity to throw in that the Attorney General's conclusions reflect those of the Warren Commission. It reads:

"Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said today that his brother had been assassinated by Lee H. Oswald, "a misfit," who took out his resentment against society by killing the President of the United States. Answering questions at a meeting of the City Council of Cracow, the Attorney General said that Oswald was "a professed Communist" but had not been motivated by Communist ideology when he shot the President last Nov. 22. It was in response to a hesitant question put by a Communist youth leader of Cracow, who attended the council's meeting, that the Attorney General spoke about Oswald and the assassination. It was Mr. Kennedy's first public discussion of the accused assassin, aides said... The Attorney General briefly sketched Oswald's life story, describing him as a man who had embraced Communism, and had gone to the Soviet Union, but found no place for himself there. He was a professed Communist," but the Communists, because of his attitude, would have nothing to do with

him," he said. "What he did he did on his own, and by himself."

Discredits Plot Theories

Mr. Kennedy said that the assassination was not a racist plot, such as some persons had speculated. "Ideology in my opinion did not motivate his act," the President's brother said. "It was the single act of one person protesting against society." The Attorney General is known to be fully acquainted with the findings of the Warren Commission. It is presumed by persons close to him that the Commission's report will reflect the views expressed by Mr. Kennedy today."

Between the Lines: a Discussion of RFK's Comments

It is intriguing that Robert Kennedy's first and only public comment on the assassination during the Warren Commission's investigation comes on a goodwill trip to a communist country, where he was pretty much boxed in. If, in such a setting, he said anything suggesting he had doubts about the Warren Commission's findings, and thought a domestic conspiracy responsible for his brother's death, it's almost certain he would be crucified back home, and accused of encouraging communism worldwide. If, in such a setting, he said anything suggesting he had doubts about the Warren Commission's findings, and thought a foreign conspiracy responsible, on the other hand, he would be crucified by his fellow liberals for spreading fear of World War III, and providing fuel for the right-wing fanatics back home. It was a lose-lose proposition. This, then, left him little alternative but to pin the tail on Oswald, and claim everything he'd seen proved Oswald to be a lone nut.

The possibility exists, for that matter, that Kennedy's being asked this question in this setting was no coincidence. While it's perfectly possible Hieronym Kubiak, who would rise within the ranks of the Polish Communist Party and become the member of its Central Committee in charge of Science and Education--only to resign in 1982 after voicing his support for Solidarity, the movement which led to the end of Communism in Poland--had a sincere interest in Kennedy's answer, or that he knew Kennedy would disavow a conspiracy and was anxious that he do so, it seems possible as well that he was convinced to ask this question by the CIA, who had a number of assets in Communist youth organizations. If so, their operation was successful. A July 6 Airgram from the American Embassy in Rome found in the CIA's files reports that Kennedy's statements *"were given particular prominence in the Italian Press."* As the CIA had a number of assets in the international press, this could very well have been bragging. There is a note of discord, however. The Airgram also reports that the Communist paper L'Unita has chosen to comment on Kennedy's comments, and has noted *"Kennedy's declarations about the death of his brother and about the personality of Oswald seem disconcerting and...are in striking contrast not only with numerous facts but also with Robert Kennedy's attitude, declarations, and initiatives after the Dallas tragedy."* While it's unclear which *"declarations"* and *"initiatives"* are being referenced in this article, it seems possible that Russian Premier Khrushchev or one of his emissaries has been indiscreet about Robert Kennedy's private communication in December, and has told Communist organizations and newspapers worldwide of Kennedy's private suspicion his brother was killed by a domestic conspiracy.

Gone Fishin'

While the commission itself is prepared to join Robert Kennedy and declare that Oswald acted alone in killing his brother, it's ironic indeed that they aren't as sure as he (or at least the 'he' he was pretending to be) that Oswald's act was a "protest." In fact, they still can't figure out exactly why Oswald performed his purported act.

And for good reason... If Oswald did it because he hated Kennedy then why was everyone close to Oswald so convinced he actually liked Kennedy? If he did it for fame or for political reasons, on the other hand, then why oh why did he try to get away and then deny his involvement once caught? (It's so hard to be a martyr without a cause.) And if he was simply a raving lunatic then why was he so calm before the cameras?

By **July**, the commission counsel tasked with answering this question, Wesley Liebler, is so perplexed that he gives in and asks Oswald's brother Robert for guidance. Robert is unable to give him an answer. (In an interview published in *The Nation* on March 9, 1992, Liebler would voice his continued inability to understand Oswald's motive. He revealed: *"I drafted a psychological profile of Oswald for chapter seven of the report. It was reviewed by a panel including the chief of psychiatry at the Mayo Clinic, who threw my draft down and said, 'This is very interesting stuff, but it tells me a lot more about you, Liebler, than it does about Oswald.' So how the hell do I know why Oswald killed the President?"*)

On **7-6**, Chief Justice Warren sends yet another message that he wants to wrap things up, and leave critical questions unanswered. Tired of waiting for a finalized report, but comfortable with the conclusions he'd reached weeks if not months before, he flies off on an extended fishing trip. (His personal papers reflect that while he left on this trip on 7-6, he did not return to work till 8-1. As a result, while one reads the events for July 64, one should keep in mind that while the dance was proceeding, Warren--supposedly the guiding light of the Commission, and master of the dance--was fishing.)

A few days later, we see a **7-7-64** letter from the Dallas FBI office, written in response to a 5-20 letter from the Commission, asking they establish the chain-of-evidence for a number of items. When discussing the chain-of-evidence for FBI C1/Warren Commission Exhibit CE 399, a near-pristine bullet found on a stretcher at Parkland hospital, an hour or more after the President and Governor were admitted, and purported to have caused Kennedy's back and throat wound, and all of Connally's wounds, it relates: *"On June 12, 1964, Darrell C. Tomlinson...was shown Exhibit C1, a rifle slug, by Special Agent Bardwell D. Odum...Tomlinson stated it appears to be the same one he saw on a hospital carriage at Parkland Hospital on November 22, 1963, but he cannot positively identify the bullet as the one he found and showed to Mr. O.P. Wright...On June 12, 1964, O.P. Wright...advised Special Agent Bardwell D. Odum that Exhibit C1, a rifle slug, shown to him at the time of the interview, looks like the slug found at Parkland Hospital on November 22, 1963 which he gave to Richard Johnsen, Special Agent of the the Secret Service...He advised he could not positively identify C1 as being the same bullet which was found on November 22, 1963...On June 24, 1964, Richard E. Johnson...was shown Exhibit C1, a rifle bullet, by Special Agent Elmer Lee Todd, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Johnsen advised he could not identify this bullet...On June 24, 1964, James C. Rowley, Chief, United States Secret Service...was shown Exhibit C1, a rifle bullet, by Special Agent Elmer Lee Todd. Rowley advised he could not identify this bullet as the one he received from Special Agent Richard E. Johnsen and gave to Special Agent Todd on November 22, 1963. On June 24, 1964, Special Agent Elmer Lee Todd...identified C1, a rifle bullet, as being the one he received from James Rowley, Chief, United States Secret Service."* We note that the Secret Service has refused to swear by the bullet, and that an agent of the FBI itself, fifth in a line of possession, is the first to assert the bullet is the one found in the hospital. As this bullet has been linked to Oswald's rifle and is necessary to demonstrate that Oswald fired the lethal shots, this is problematic. Fortunately, the first men to see the bullet, Tomlinson and Wright, appear to agree with Agent Todd's identification.

By now well familiar with the FBI's inadequacies, however, we decide to do a little digging. We uncover a 6-20 Airtel from Dallas Special Agent in Charge J. Gordon Shanklin to J. Edgar Hoover telling him that *"neither Darrell C. Tomlinson, who found bullet at Parkland Hospital, Dallas, nor O.P.*

Wright, Personnel Officer, Parkland Hospital, who obtained bullet from Tomlinson and gave to Special Agent Richard E. Johnsen, Secret Service at Dallas 11/22/63, can identify bullet." As this memo specifies that Tomlinson and Wright could not identify the bullet, and as the letter sent to the Commission indicates they believed the bullets appeared to be the same, we find yet another reason to suspect the FBI's integrity, and to seriously question the Commission's reliance upon its services.

The Switcheroo That Wasn't: a Brief Discussion In Which I End Up Defending The FBI (No, Really, I'm Not Kidding)

The apparent contradiction between the FBI's 6-20-64 Airtel and 7-7-64 letter was just the beginning of the mystery surrounding the bullet. In November 1966, Josiah Thompson showed O.P. Wright a photo of the bullet supposedly found on the stretcher (by then dubbed Commission Exhibit CE 399) and asked him if CE 399 was in fact the bullet he'd remembered seeing on the day of the assassination. Amazingly, Wright told him that the bullet he'd handed the Secret Service on that day had had a pointed tip, while CE 399 had had a rounded tip. Wright then showed Thompson a bullet with a pointed tip like the one he'd remembered seeing. Thompson then showed Darrell Tomlinson a photo of a Mannlicher-Carcano bullet, along with the bullet shown him by Wright. While Tomlinson was reportedly non-committal, and couldn't remember if the tip was rounded like CE 399, or pointed like the bullet shown him by Wright, Thompson, and a large swath of his readers, took from Wright's statements that the stretcher bullet had been switched.

Thirty-five years passed. In 2002, Thompson and Dr. Gary Aguilar finally contacted the FBI's Bardwell Odum, to see if he remembered Tomlinson and Wright saying CE 399 looked like the bullet found on the stretcher, per the FBI's 7-7-64 letter to the Commission, or their not identifying the bullet, per the 6-20-64 FBI memorandum. Amazingly, Odum insisted he had no recollection of ever handling CE 399, let alone showing it to Tomlinson and Wright. Now, for some this was a smoking gun. If Odum had never shown the bullet to Tomlinson and Wright, and the FBI letter said he had, and that they'd told him the bullet looked like the one they saw on 11-22-63, then someone was almost certainly lying. Deliberately.

In December, 2011, however, I came across something that gave me great doubts about the smoke coming out of this gun. A transcript was posted on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup by author Jean Davison. This transcript, acquired by Ms. Davison from the National Archives, was of a 7-25-66 conversation between Darrell Tomlinson and researcher Ray Marcus. This transcript asserted that when asked if he'd ever been shown the stretcher bullet after giving it to Wright, Tomlinson had admitted *"I seen it one time after that. I believe Mr. Shanklin from the FBI had it out there at the hospital in personnel with Mr. Wright there when they called me in."* When then asked by Marcus if "Shanklin" and Wright had asked him if this bullet looked the same as the one he'd recovered on November 22, 1963, Tomlinson responded *"Yes, I believe they did."* When then asked his response to their question, he replied *"Yes, it appeared to be the same one."*

Let's note the date of this transcript. This was months prior to Tomlinson's being shown the pointed tip bullet by Thompson. And yet, at this early date, he'd thought the bullet he'd been shown by "Shanklin" (more probably Odum--Tomlinson was unsure about the name of the agent and there is little reason to believe Shanklin--the Special Agent-in Charge of the Dallas Office--would personally perform such a task) resembled the bullet he'd found on the stretcher. This suggests, then, that his subsequent inability to tell Thompson whether the bullet was rounded or pointed was brought about by his not wanting to disagree with Wright.

In November 2012, moreover, I found additional support for this suspicion. It was a 4-22-77 article on

the single-bullet theory by Earl Golz for The Dallas Morning News, which reported *"Darrell C Tomlinson, the senior engineer at Parkland who found the slug, told The News he 'could never say for sure whose stretcher that was ... I assumed it was Connally's because of the way things happened at Parkland at that time.' Tomlinson acknowledged he was not asked to identify the bullet when he testified before the Warren Commission in 1964. He said some federal agents earlier 'came to the hospital with the bullet in a box and asked me if it was the one I found. I told them apparently it was, but I had not put a mark on it. If it wasn't the bullet, it was exactly like it.'"*

So there it is. Tomlinson told Marcus in 1966 that he thought the bullet he'd found looked like CE 399, was less certain on this point when talking to Thompson later that year, and then returned to telling reporters the bullets looked the same by the time he talked to Golz in 1977. Either he'd misled Marcus and Golz, or was momentarily confused by the bullet Wright provided Thompson. Wright was a former policeman. Perhaps Tomlinson had momentarily deferred to his expertise. In any event, Tomlinson's recollection of the bullet over the years did not support Wright's recollection, and supported instead that he'd been shown CE 399 by the FBI in 1964, had told them it appeared to be the same bullet as the one he'd found on the stretcher, and had nevertheless refused to identify it. This scenario was consistent, moreover, with the FBI's 6-20-64 memo and 7-7-64 letter to the Warren Commission. It seems hard to believe this was a coincidence. As a result, Tomlinson's recollections cast considerable doubt on Wright's ID of a pointed bullet, and the scenario subsequently pushed by Thompson and Aguilar--that the FBI had lied in its 6-20 memo and 7-7 letter about the bullet--appears to be inaccurate.

Still Fishin'

In its **7-10-64** issue, Life Magazine resumes its campaign to convict Oswald in the public eye and bolster the by-now certain conclusions of the Commission. Its introduction to Oswald's diary from his time in Russia claims that the diary "is one of the most important pieces of evidence studied by the Warren Commission in its effort to unravel the character and motives of President Kennedy's assassin." No "accused" No "presumed." Assassin. Singular. Period.

On 7-10-64, in lieu of his testimony, the commission accepts a 7-page affidavit signed by President Johnson describing what he remembered of the shooting and its aftermath. Not everyone is happy about this, as some--particularly junior counsel staff Arlen Specter and David Belin--feel he should be questioned as both a suspect and witness. (In his 2000 memoir *Passion for Truth*, Specter revealed that although he didn't think Johnson *"complicit in the assassination...no self-respecting investigator would omit a thorough investigation of the slain president's successor"* and that, as a result, he'd prepared 78 questions in anticipation he'd be allowed to grill Johnson.)

On **7-22-64**, the Commission finally takes the testimony of some key witnesses.

Phil Willis took a photograph during the shooting. (**7-22-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H492-497) "my next shot was taken at the very—in fact the shot caused me to squeeze the camera shutter, and I got a picture of the President as he was hit with the first shot. So instantaneous, in fact, that the crowd hadn't had time to react...I proceeded down the street and didn't take any other pictures instantly, because the three shots were fired approximately two seconds apart, and I knew my little daughters were running alongside the Presidential car, and I was immediately concerned about them, and I was screaming for them to come back, and they didn't hear me."

His 12 year-old daughter was also a witness. **Linda Willis** (**7-22-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H498-499) (When asked if she heard shots) "Yes; I heard one. Then there was a little bit of time, and then there were two real fast bullets together. When the first one hit, well, the President

turned from waving to the people, and he grabbed his throat, and he kind of slumped forward, and then I couldn't tell where the second shot went... I was right across from the sign that points to where Stemmons Freeway is. I was directly across when the first shot hit him...I heard the first shot come and then he slumped forward, and then I couldn't tell where the second shot went, and then the third one, and that was the last one that hit him in the head. No; when the first shot rang out, I thought, well, it's probably fireworks, because everybody is glad the President is in town. Then I realized it was too loud and too close to be fireworks, and then when I saw, when I realized that the President was falling over, I knew he had been hit." **Last two shots bunched together with the last shot head shot.**

James Altgens was a photographer for the Associated Press. (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H512-525) *"I wasn't keeping track of the number of pops that took place, but I could vouch for number 1 and I can vouch for the last shot, but I can not tell you how many shots were in between. There was not another shot after the President was struck in the head."* (on the head shot) *"up to that time I didn't know that the President had been shot previously. I still thought up until that time that all I heard was fireworks and that they were giving some sort of celebration to the President by popping these fireworks. It stunned me so at what I saw that I failed to do my duty and make the picture I was hoping to make."*

Emmett Hudson was the groundskeeper of Dealey Plaza. (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H558-565) *"the first shot rung out and, of course, I didn't realize it was a shot... when the second one rung out, the motorcade had got further on down Elm...I happened to be looking right at him when that bullet hit him, the second shot...it looked like it hit him somewhere along a little bit behind the ear and a little bit above the ear."* (When asked where the car was when he heard the first shot) *"I remember it was right along about this light post here."* (indicating the first light post) (When asked if he heard three shots) *"Yes, sir."* (When asked if he was sure the second shot hit Kennedy in the head) *"Yes, I do believe it was—I know it was."* (When asked what happened during the third shot) *"the young fellow that was sitting there with me—standing there with me at the present time, he says 'Lay down, Mister, somebody is shooting at the President'...so I just laid down over the ground and resting my arm on the ground and when that third shot rung out and when I was close to the ground—you could tell the shot was coming from above and kind of behind."* (When asked if he'd "heard it come from sort of behind the motorcade and then above?") *"Yes."*

Abraham Zapruder, a dressmaker, took a home movie of the assassination. (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H569-576) *"Well, as the car came in line almost...as it reached about--I imagine it was around here--I heard the first shot and I saw the President lean over and grab himself like this (holding his left chest area)...In other words, he was sitting like this and waving and then after the shot he just went like that...Leaning—leaning toward the side of Jacqueline. For a moment I thought it was—you know, like you say, 'Oh, he got me,' when you hear a shot...but before I had a chance to organize my mind, I heard a second shot and then I saw his head opened up and the blood and everything came out and I started—I can hardly talk about it. (the witness crying)."* (When asked how many shots he heard) *"I thought I heard two, it could be three, because to my estimation I thought he was hit on the second—I really don't know...I heard the second—after the first shot—I saw him leaning over and after the second shot—it's possible after what I saw, you know, then I started yelling, 'They killed him, they killed him.'" Here is one of the best witnesses to the shooting--a nearby witness watching the shooting through a zoom lens, for chrissakes, and here he is looking through stills taken from his movie of the shooting, and here he tells the commission his impression of the moment of the first shot--"I imagine it was around here"--and here the commission fails to note where his "here" is. Since Zapruder says Kennedy was waving when shot, and says nothing about Kennedy coming from out behind the sign when shot, the clear impression is that he thought Kennedy was hit just after he stopped waving and just before he went behind the sign, between frames 190 and 200 of Zapruder's*

film. As the commission believes a tree hid Kennedy from the sniper's nest between frames 170 to 210, moreover, and as they've already decided Kennedy was hit while behind the sign in frames 210-225, they, apparently, have no interest in telling the public Zapruder's proposed moment of impact. And so they fail to ask him to mark an exhibit indicating the moment of the first shot on his film, and allow his "here" to slip forever into "where?".

In the subsequent discussion of his famous film and camera, Zapruder makes another interesting statement: *"Well, they claimed, they told me it was about 2 frames fast--instead of 16 it was 18 frames and they told me it was about 2 frames fast in the speed and they told me that the time between the 2 rapid shots, as I understand, that was determined--the length of time it took to the second one and that they were very fast and they claim it has proven it could be done by 1 man. You know there was indication there were two?"* This statement indicates that someone, probably from the FBI, has been keeping him informed on the FBI's tests on his camera. Instead of telling him that the speed of his camera calls into doubt that one man could have fired the shots, however, they have told him the opposite, that the tests revealed it could have been done by one man. One can only assume this is a reference to the tests performed in December.

And then, at the last second, a problematic witness resurfaces. The FBI had forwarded an interview with this witness to the Commission on 12-23-63, but the Commission had not sought him out for further investigation, or even acknowledged his existence, until a 6-5-64 article in the Dallas Times Herald brought his story to the public's attention. Even then, however, word on this witness moved slow. Commissioner John McCloy had sent his notes on the drafts of chapters 2 through 5 of the Warren Report to Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin on 6-24-64. On page 8 of these notes, he had asked a question suggesting that he had never even heard of this witness. He had written: *"Who was the person near the overpass who was struck on the cheek?"*

James Tague (7-23-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H552-558) *"I was standing there watching, and really I was watching to try to distinguish the President and his car. About this time I heard what sounded like a firecracker. Well, a very loud firecracker. It certainly didn't sound like a rifle shot. It was more of a loud cannon-type sound. I looked around to see who was throwing firecrackers or what was going on and I turned my head away from the motorcade and, of course, two more shots."* (When asked if he saw the President hit) *"I did not"* (When asked which shot hit him) *"maybe the second or third shot, I couldn't tell you definitely"* (When asked if he heard any shots after he was hit) *"I believe I did...I believe it was the second shot, so I heard the third shot afterwards."* (When asked where he thought the shots came from) *"my first impression was that up by the, whatever you call the monument...somebody was throwing firecrackers up there."* As Tague was hit by a fragment from one of the last two shots, his testimony cuts into Specter and the Commission's options. If Specter says the first shot missed then he has to hold that Tague was injured by a fragment from the head shot, which many might find far-fetched.

A 7-24-64 FBI report on **Mrs. Clotile Williams** is also revealing. Mrs. Williams is a previously undiscovered eyewitness to the assassination. The bulk of the report is not on Mrs. Williams' recollections, however, nor on the names of her co-workers in the building across from the school book depository, who may have seen something. The report's focus, instead, is on trying to establish the identities of two independent researchers who contacted Mrs. Williams after someone recognized her in one of the photos of the motorcade. The investigating agent goes as far as taking a detailed description of these researchers from Mrs. Williams' neighbor. The FBI, of course, has not found the time to interview either of the motorcycle officers to Kennedy's right, nor Abraham Zapruder's secretary.

Elsewhere, on 7-24-64 the Warren Commission engages the Marine Corps in a little self-protection. To counter Lt. Col. Folsom's description of Oswald's marksmanship as "poor," they take the testimony of **Major Eugene D. Anderson**, an assistant head of the Marksmanship branch of the Marines, and

Master Sergeant James Zahm, an NCO of Marksmanship Training. Arlen Specter takes their testimony. After being shown Oswald's test scores, Anderson offers an explanation for Oswald's lowly score in 1959, shortly before he left the Marines: "It may well have been a bad day for firing a rifle, windy, rainy, dark. There is little probability that he had a good, expert coach. and he probably didn't have as high a motivation because he was no longer in recruit training and under the care of the drill instructor. There is some possibility that the rifle he was firing might not have been as good a rifle as the rifle he was firing in his A course firing. because he may well have carried this rifle around for some time, and it got banged around in normal usage." Anderson summarizes Oswald's abilities as follows: "I would say that as compared to other Marines receiving the same kind of training, that Oswald was a good shot, somewhat better than or equal to--better than average let us say. As compared to a civilian who had not received this intensive training, he would be considered as a good to excellent shot." Specter then shows Anderson frames from the Zapruder film and asks him if hitting Kennedy from the distances determined at the re-enactment would be within Oswald's capabilities, and Anderson repeatedly says the shots were within Oswald's capabilities. He then asks him if Oswald could fire three shots in a time span between 4.8 and 5.6 seconds, and Anderson once again replies in the affirmative. Specter fails to ask Anderson the more pertinent question if Oswald could be expected to hit the 2 "not particularly difficult" shots within a 4.8-5.6 second time span while firing at a moving target with a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. Perhaps he already knew the answer. After finishing with Anderson, Specter makes a point of asking Zahm about Oswald's ability "based on the tests." This avoids that the most recent test was 4 years before the shooting and that Oswald had failed to keep in practice. Zahm tells Specter what he undoubtedly wants to hear: "I would say in the Marine Corps he is a good shot, slightly above average, and as compared to the average male of his age throughout the civilian, throughout the United States, that he is an excellent shot." Clearly, this is the new company line.

Commissioner Dulles was especially receptive to this line. A letter from Dulles to Rankin on **7-27-64**, available on the Princeton University website, asks "Where have we dealt with the evidence as to Oswald's ability to handle a rifle?" This confirms that Rankin and his men had held off writing anything about Oswald's shooting ability, until after they could get "friendly" witnesses, such as Major Anderson and Master Sergeant Zahm, on the record.

In this attempt they were not particularly concerned with the truth. Only hinted at in the testimony of Anderson and Zahm is the strange fact that the Commission has already concluded that Oswald, who'd received no training whatsoever on firing at moving targets, firing from elevation, firing with a telescopic site, or even firing a bolt-action rifle, was able to rapid-fire a bolt-action rifle equipped with a telescopic site and hit a moving target from elevation two out of three times without one lick of practice. This is like a man with a driver's license--who hasn't driven a car in several years--getting behind the wheel of a dragster and winning a championship race. Also unmentioned in the testimony is that there was a stack of books found in the sniper's nest, and that the commission had presumed these books were used as a rifle rest by a sniper shooting Kennedy. The use of such a prop is not taught in the Marines. Instead, Marines like Oswald are taught to fire from a standing, kneeling, or prone position, with the rifle at a 45 degree angle to the body, and to track moving objects, such as a car, by moving the site along the path of the target, even after firing. The use of a "rifle rest", therefore, precludes such a tactic, and suggests that, instead, the shooter waited for the target to cross a pre-selected point. There is also a question about the angle of the rifle to the sniper's body. The location of the box purportedly used as a seat by the sniper, and the indentation on the "rifle rest," indicates that the shooter was sitting back from the sixth floor sniper's window, aiming toward its right. Someone with Oswald's training, on the other hand, in order to fire far off to his right, would have to have been up near the windowsill, with his profile clearly visible to those on the street below. No one saw such a profile.

On **7-27-64** Chief Counsel Rankin receives yet another correspondence relating to Oswald's

marksmanship abilities, this one from J. Edgar Hoover. Someone at the Commission recalled the claim in the December 6 issue of Life Magazine that Oswald's purported shots had been duplicated by someone at the NRA, and asked the FBI to look into it. The FBI report forwarded by Hoover is quite damaging to Life's credibility. While Life claimed the shooter was an official of the NRA, it turned out the shooter had merely been recommended by the NRA. The shooter, Clayton Wheat, moreover, admitted that he'd had 8 or 9 practice shots and had used a 7.35mm Carcano in his tests, not the 6.5 mm Carcano purportedly used by Oswald. He also acknowledged that he'd fired on a moving deer target traveling slowly, 3-5 mph, right to left over 33 feet, and not at a human head and shoulders-sized target traveling 12 mph away on an angle over a distance of 100 feet or so. He also mentioned that that he'd fired at the target from a distance of 150 feet, from approximately 10 degrees above horizontal, as opposed to firing from a distance of 160-265 feet from approximately 22-16 degrees above horizontal for the purported shots on Kennedy from the sniper's nest. In short, he didn't reproduce the shots at all. While Wheat stood by his claim that he'd had three hits in 6.2 seconds on his first try, he admitted that he'd missed two shots in his five runs due to poor ammunition, and couldn't remember the times of the other runs.

On 7-29, President Johnson finally tells Robert Kennedy that he will not be his running mate in the November election, and will not be the next Vice-President of the United States.

Polishing a Turd

On 8-1 Chief Justice Warren returns from his nearly month-long fishing trip.

On 8-4-64 Robert Kennedy finally replies to "Warren's" June 11 letter seeking any information he may have suggesting a possible conspiracy. "His" letter is identical to the draft proposed by Warren Commission Counsel Willens. He has merely signed it. It asserts that he knows of no credible evidence suggesting a conspiracy. It admits, however, that *"As you know, I am personally not aware of the detailed results of the extensive investigation in this matter which has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have, however, received periodic reports about the work of the Commission from you, Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach, and Mr. Willens of the Department of Justice, who has worked for the Commission for the past several months. Based on these reports, I am confident that every effort is being made by the President's Commission to fulfill the objectives of Executive Order No. 11130 by conducting a thorough investigation into all the facts relating to the assassination."* (It is curious that Kennedy specifies that what little information on the investigation he's received has come purely from Warren, Katzenbach, and Willens. As discussed in Chapter 1, it would later become clear that Warren and Katzenbach had, within a week of the shooting, been strong-armed by President Johnson and FBI Director Hoover into pushing Oswald's sole guilt. As Willens was, in the words of Commissioner McCloy, one of "Katzenbach's boys," moreover, this suggests that Kennedy was not, at this time, in touch with anyone who would keep him informed regarding evidence for a possible conspiracy.)

On 8-4-64, 8-21-64, and 9-10-64, the FBI creates reports on the "Mark Lane Security Matter" and forwards them to the Warren Commission. While ostensibly an investigation of communist involvement in Lane's Citizen's Committee of Inquiry, which he'd formed to unveil the truth about the assassination, these reports are really designed to feed the Commission what its critics are saying, so that the Commission can counter these arguments in their final report. (Indeed, many of Lane's questions would be answered by the report.) There are unnerving elements to these FBI reports however. The 8-4 report details a number of Lane's speeches, and cites ten separate confidential sources, the 8-21 report includes a complete transcript of Lane's appearance on a radio show, and the 9-10 report details more of Lane's speeches, and cites twelve confidential sources. This raises a few

questions: Where was all this manpower when it came time to identify the unidentified witnesses in the photographs of the shooting? Where was all this manpower when it came time to interview the witnesses who were known to the media, or mentioned in the early reports of the Dallas Police? Where was all this manpower when it came to accurately simulate the conditions in Dallas, to see if Oswald could actually have performed his purported feat? Furthermore, where was all this manpower when it came time to review the autopsy report? Study Kennedy's wounds? Study the reactions of the human body to gunshot wounds, and see if the exact moments of impact could actually be identified in the Zapruder film? And finally, where was all this manpower when it came time to match the eyewitness testimony to the proposed shooting scenario? Spying on Oswald's mother? Watching Mark Lane?

The Commission and its remaining staff are now busy busy busy preparing for the release of their report, re-writing draft after draft, trying to be clear as heck that Oswald was guilty as heck. An **8-8-64** critique by Commission Counsel Howard Willens of a 7-21 draft of the report's chapter on "The Assassin," however, gives us reason to be pessimistic about the thoroughness of the report. Willens, the Justice Department's point man on the commission, notes *"I still have a question about the validity of including as a minor finding Oswald's capability with a rifle. I think our case remains the same even if Oswald had limited or negligible capability with a rifle. In a way, we are emphasizing an argument we don't really need, which prompts controversy and may tend to weaken the stronger elements of our proof."* This confirms our worst suspicion--the commission and its staff have decided that, no matter how difficult the shots, and how incredible it would be for someone like Oswald to have made these shots, they're prepared to say he made them, without any assistance. This is weak sister stuff. IF Oswald had negligible ability with a rifle, it's unlikely he fired the shots; IF it's unlikely he fired the shots, then, Willens, a criminal attorney, should be asking, how is it that so much evidence exists that he did fire the shots? Was he, in fact, the patsy he claimed he was?

Fortunately, at least a few members of the staff have an interest in doing their jobs--investigating the possibility Oswald was set up. On **8-23-64**, Commission Counsel Wesley Liebeler writes a memo to Chief Counsel Rankin informing him that Burt Griffin, David Slawson, and himself are troubled by the circumstances under which Oswald's palm print was identified on a lift taken from the rifle...days after the FBI had inspected the rifle and concluded there was no such print on the rifle. To be specific, Liebeler seeks to clarify a number of matters with Lt. J.C. Day of the Dallas Police. (Day claimed he'd taken a lift from the rifle before handing it off to the FBI, but did not give it to the FBI along with the other key evidence on 11-22, nor analyze the lift before giving it to the FBI on 11-26). In essence, Liebeler seeks to:

1. Determine whether or not anyone had assisted Day when working on the prints who could corroborate his story.
2. Determine why Day covered the prints on the trigger guard (which the FBI had failed to identify) with cellophane tape, but failed to cover the print he later claimed he'd found on the barrel.
3. Determine why he lifted the print from the rifle barrel, but failed to lift the prints from the trigger guard.
4. Determine if Day felt certain the print was still on the rifle after the lift (the FBI claimed no such print was visible on the barrel when they received the rifle).
5. Determine if Day had in fact photographed the palm print on the barrel, as he had taken numerous photographs of the trigger guard prints and had forwarded them to the FBI, and it made no sense for him to fail to take pictures of the barrel print he thought was a "better bet" for identification.
6. Determine if there is any way the FBI could study the lift of the palm print and conclude it had in fact come from the rifle barrel.

On **8-28-64**, General Counsel Rankin and Counsels Liebeler and Griffin meet with the FBI's fingerprint expert Sebastian Latona, and ask the FBI's help not only with the problematic palm print but in ascertaining whose fingerprints and palm prints were found on the boxes of the sniper's nest. Here, only NINE MONTHS after the shooting, it finally dawns on them that not knowing whose prints were found in the sniper's nest "leaves room for the allegation and speculation that Oswald had a co-conspirator in killing President Kennedy." The FBI's memo on this meeting reflects no genuine interest on their part in finding out whose prints these were, mind you, only that they were concerned about the speculation should they not endeavor to find out whose prints, besides Oswald's, were found in the nest. In any event, Rankin makes a formal request that the FBI help "resolve this issue by whatever additional investigation was necessary." Within days, the FBI compares the unidentified prints to those of 16 current and former employees of the depository, 4 employees of the Dallas Police Department, and 5 employees of the Bureau itself. From this they discover that 14 of the 19 fingerprints, and 4 of the 6 palm prints, came from the DPD Crime Lab's Robert Studebaker, who originally dusted the boxes for prints. They discover as well that of the other 5 fingerprints and 2 remaining palm prints, all but one palm print came from an FBI clerk named Forrest Lucy. Despite their best efforts, however--over the course of the next month, the FBI checks this lone palm print against the prints of another 85 Dallas Police and FBI employees--they are unable to identify the source of this print.

On **9-1-64**, in an effort to tie up loose ends, the Commission calls upon FBI photo expert Lyndal Shaneyfelt. This is the the third time he's testified. He discusses the various photos of Oswald with his rifle, and how the newspapers and magazines showing these photos had tampered with them, and accidentally created the illusion the rifle was not the rifle recovered at the Book Depository. He then discusses photos of Oswald's shirt, which essentially prove nothing other than that Oswald had been wearing that shirt when arrested. He also discusses a photograph by Phil Willis. This photo was taken, per Willis' testimony, a split second after the first shot. Egged on by Norman Redlich, Shaneyfelt testifies "it is my opinion that photograph A of Shaneyfelt exhibit no. 25 was taken in the vicinity of the time that frame 210 of the Zapruder film was taken. This is not an accurate determination because the exact location of Mr. Willis is unknown. This would allow for some variation, but the time of the photograph A, as related to the Zapruder film, would be generally during the period that the President was behind the signboard in the Zapruder films, which covers a range from around frame 205 to frame 225." Redlich then interjects "Prior investigation has also revealed that when viewed from the southeast corner window of the sixth floor, the President emerges from the oak tree at approximately frame 210." Redlich then asks Shaneyfelt if it would be possible to fix Willis' exact location, and thus the exact time of his photograph as compared to the Zapruder film. Shaneyfelt replies "Yes, it would be possible having Mr. Willis' camera, to fix his location with some degree of accuracy..." When then nudged by Redlich "You are reasonably satisfied, however, that the technique that you have used to fix his location is a reasonably accurate one upon which you can base your conclusions which you have stated today?" Shaneyfelt responds "Yes, yes. I feel that the exact establishing of the position of Mr. Willis would not add a great detail of additional accuracy to my present conclusions."

Well, wait a minute. On June 4, Shaneyfelt testified in a curious manner that Kennedy appeared to be un-hit before he went behind the sign around frame 210 of the Zapruder film. Now he has testified that the Willis photo was taken around frame 210, the exact moment, as Norman Redlich was so kind to point out, that Kennedy was first visible to the sniper's nest after passing under the oak tree. A more accurate location for Willis might mean that Willis took his picture before Kennedy went behind the sign. It might be an indication that someone fired a shot when Kennedy was hidden from the sniper's nest. It might be an indication there was a second shooter. That Shaneyfelt refused to accurately plot Willis' location, and thus the timing of his photo, when added to the fact that he and Redlich went to such great lengths to assure everyone a more accurate assessment was unnecessary, when added to the fact that this testimony is being taken in the last weeks of the Commission, suggests the possibility that

both men know the photo was taken when Oswald couldn't have fired the shot, and were trying to keep this off the record. (Sure enough, it was subsequently demonstrated that the photo was taken at frame 202 of the Zapruder film, before Kennedy went behind the sign. Equally intriguing, when deposed in a Freedom of Information act lawsuit brought by Harold Weisberg in 1977, and asked about his work on the Willis photo by Weisberg's lawyer Jim Lesar, Shaneyfelt testified "I may have" three times and "I don't recall" five times, and concluded smugly that "I am sure the record speaks for itself." Yes, it does--to those who listen.)

On **9-4-64**, FBI Director Hoover sends Chief Counsel Rankin a letter claiming that the FBI's examiners have studied the background marks and irregularities of the palm print lift and have been able to positively identify it as having come from the assassination rifle. Accompanying this letter is a blurry illegible comparison of a small part of the barrel with and the palm print lift. This comparison is nevertheless accepted into evidence as exhibit CE 2637. No testimony is taken from the actual examiners, and Hoover is not asked to submit under oath that his letter is anything more than a fantasy. There is nothing to indicate, furthermore, that the small part of a barrel used in the comparison was even on the famous rifle.

Cover-ups are afoot. The wound ballistics expert at Kennedy's autopsy, Dr. Pierre Finck, writes a memo to himself on **9-11-64**, stating: "I am called by Captain Stover, CO of Naval Med school. He tells me that Adm Burkley, White House Physician called him. The Warren Commission Report will be released to the Press shortly. However, the prosecutors involved in Kennedy's autopsy are still required not to release information to the press. Inquiries should be referred to the White House Press Office. Brig Gen Blumberg, AFIP Director, calls me within two hours, notifying me of the same White House orders." This memo suggests that Johnson himself is behind the scenes, orchestrating a hush-hush of the medical evidence. For who else could pressure the President's personal physician into making phone calls first to the boss of Dr.s Humes and Boswell (Stover) and then to Finck's boss (Gen. Blumberg) insisting that the doctors stay quiet? While one might venture that Burkley has taken this upon himself, due to his loyalty to his former patient, Kennedy, it is highly doubtful that an Admiral in the Navy would give orders to a Brigadier General in the Army without first obtaining backing from his Commander-in-Chief.

On **9-16-64**, FBI Director Hoover sends Rankin more of the info he'd requested regarding the palm print allegedly lifted from the rifle. Included in this info is a 9-9-64 FBI report on an interview of Lt. J.C. Day, the Dallas crime scene investigator claiming to have lifted the print on 11-22. According to the report, Lt. Day claimed he'd meant to photograph the palm print on the rifle, but didn't have time, as he was told to give all his evidence to the FBI as soon as possible. He said furthermore that he'd tentatively ID'ed the print on the night of the 22nd as Oswald's and had told this to Capt. Will Fritz and Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry. Strangely, however, the FBI has failed to follow-up on this, and neither Fritz nor Curry have been asked to confirm Day's account. Even stranger, Lt. Day has refused to provide a signed statement presenting his account, and has opted instead to present the commission with a strangely vague 1-8-64 report he'd written for the Dallas Police. As a result, the only evidence provided the Commission confirming that the palm print was lifted from the rifle, and that this was discussed within the Dallas Police Department on 11-22-63, come via last minute letters and reports, as opposed to sworn testimony and signed statements. (FWIW, neither Fritz nor Curry would ever confirm Day's claim he'd told them of the print on the 22nd.)

On **9-18-64**, President Johnson and Warren Commissioner Richard Russell have an intriguing conversation. This conversation further illuminates Johnson's desire that the murder of his predecessor just disappear. The conversation reflects the dissent within the Commission over Arlen Specter's single-bullet theory, as well as Russell and Johnson's inability to understand the importance of the single-bullet theory to the single-assassin conclusion.

Senator Richard Russell: *"No, no. They're trying to prove that the same bullet that hit Kennedy first was the one that hit Connally, went through him and through his hand, his bone, and into his leg...I couldn't hear all the evidence and cross-examine all of 'em. But I did read the record...I was the only fellow there that...suggested any change whatever in what the staff got up. This staff business always scares me. I like to put my own views down. But we got you a pretty good report."*

President Lyndon Johnson: *Well, what difference does it make which bullet got Connally?*

Senator Richard Russell: *Well, it don't make much difference. But they said that...the commission believes that the same bullet that hit Kennedy hit Connally. Well, I don't believe it.*

President Lyndon Johnson: *I don't either.*

Senator Richard Russell: *And so I couldn't sign it. And I said that Governor Connally testified directly to the contrary and I'm not gonna approve of that. So I finally made 'em say there was a difference in the commission, in that part of 'em believed that that wasn't so. And, course if a fellow was accurate enough to hit Kennedy right in the neck on one shot and knock his head off in the next one—and he's leaning up against his wife's head—and not even wound her—why he didn't miss completely with that third shot. But according to their theory, he not only missed the whole automobile, but he missed the street! Well, a man that's a good enough shot to put two bullets right into Kennedy, he didn't miss that whole automobile."*

This last conversation becomes even more intriguing once one takes into account that the minutes of the **9-18-64** executive session of the Warren Commission fail to note Russell's dissent, or even that the single-bullet theory was discussed. (When researcher Harold Weisberg pointed this out to Russell in 1968, Russell cut-off contact with his one-time protege Johnson. While this was probably not the only reason for his cutting Johnson off—he was also upset about Johnson dragging his feet on the appointment of a judge—it is symptomatic of most historians' refusal to understand the dark legacy of the assassination and subsequent investigation that they fail to mention it as even one of many reasons.)

This suggests, then, that the fix is in. The commission's report and records are to indicate that Oswald did it alone, no matter what the commissioners actually suspect. No dissent is acceptable, as it might reflect negatively on President Johnson, and the country as a whole. That the Johnson Administration and intelligence community are banking on having a unanimous report claiming Oswald did it alone, moreover, is made clear by a **9-22** CIA memo entitled "Propaganda Notes." This memo, (not released until 1976), declares *"Reports from around the world indicate that there is a strong belief in many countries that the assassination of the president was the result of a 'political plot,' the unwarranted interpretation that Ruby's murder of Oswald was committed to prevent Oswald from revealing the purported conspiracy adds to this belief. Communist regimes have used both murders to denigrate American society and the release of the Report will undoubtedly be used as a new peg for the same purpose. Covert assets should explain the tragedy wherever it is genuinely misunderstood and counter all efforts to misconstrue it intentionally--provided the depth of impact warrants such action. Communists and other extremists always attempt to prove a political conspiracy behind violence. In countries accustomed to assassination by political conspiracy, American dedication to institutions of law and government with stable administrative procedures can be described, and American presidents can be shown the victim (with the exception of Lincoln) of single, fanatical individuals."* The memo then explains that copies of the report have been purchased and will be widely disseminated.

It's ironic, then, that Chief Justice Warren agreed to chair the commission so he could help prevent the right wing of American politics from convincing the public there was a communist conspiracy, and that his finalized report is to be used primarily to stop communists from convincing the public there was a right wing conspiracy. If he ever noted this irony, and wondered if it wasn't, hmmm, by design, or if he

in fact knew it from the start, is unclear.

That at least someone was aware of this irony, however, is hinted at in Drew Pearson's **9-24-64** newspaper column, Washington Merry-Go-Round. Pearson notes that Warren was asked by Johnson to serve as *"a soldier for his country."* He notes that members of Warren's court *"scolded him"* when he told them of his appointment to the commission. He notes further that the 73-year-old Warren was *"accustomed to swimming, relaxing, and storing up energy during recent summers,"* but that *"Warren spent most of this summer working until 7 o'clock PM each evening."* In closing, Pearson offers that Warren's job was a *"thankless"* one, but that he had indeed *"served, as LBJ asked him to, as a soldier for his country."*

Pearson was the ultimate Washington insider. He almost certainly knew that, at the height of the Warren Commission's investigation, Warren had slipped out to go fishing. Pearson was also smart enough to know that the role of a chief justice is quite different, and thoroughly at odds, with the role of a soldier. It only makes sense then that we read Pearson's column as a dig at both Pearson and Johnson, as if to say *"I'm not stupid; I see what happened; but don't worry, I'll play ball with you as long as you play ball with me."* The Washington Merry-Go-Round indeed.

Later, on this day, the Commission gives their completed report to President Johnson. Although the report's conclusions are supposedly hush-hush until the 28th, it's fairly obvious that copies of the report are also provided the press, so that the release of the report can be orchestrated and the report's conclusions can reach the widest audience possible. U.S. News and World Report, as but one example, publishes the commission's findings in its 10-5-64 issue, an issue that hits the stands on the September 28th, and goes to print on September 25th.

In any event, a quick look at the report reveals that there have been some last-minute changes. After Chief Justice Warren compromises with Senator Richard Russell, the Single-Bullet Theory that had once been supported by *"compelling evidence"* is now only supported by *"persuasive evidence."* This, in effect, conceals Russell's skepticism. (In time it would be revealed that three other Commissioners--Senator Cooper, Congressman Boggs and John McCloy--had also expressed misgivings about Arlen Specter's single-bullet theory.)

So, now we're in the shoes of the Commissioners. Of the 40 closest witnesses hearing three shots, 35 have indicated that either the last two shots were close together or that the last shot came after the head shot. Only 5 have indicated the last shot was the head shot without also indicating the last two shots were grouped together. Since 3 of those indicating the last two shots came together said the last shot was the head shot, this makes a total of 8 witnesses hearing 3 shots to state the last shot was the head shot. And 2 of these were the Connallys who ducked down in the car before the head shot. And another of these was Gayle Newman, who dived to the grass after the head shot. And 4 of these were men in the Secret Service back-up car; 3 of whom made no statements indicating the last shot was the head shot until after the Secret Service had studied the film and come to its conclusion the last shot was the head shot. Which leaves just one bystander witness to assert the last shot was the head shot: a 14-year old girl who testified for the first time eight months to the day after the assassination. On the other hand there are 22 witnesses claiming to have heard shots after the head shot, including the young girl's mother and the majority of the closest witnesses. So how do Arlen Specter (who wrote the original chapter on the basic facts of the shooting), Norman Redlich (who re-wrote much of Specter's chapter) and ultimately the Warren Commission itself (who made a few changes before signing off on the chapter) describe the shots?.

The Specter Solution: The Warren Report's Conclusions (with Comments in Bold)

Number of shots

The consensus among the witnesses at the scene was that three shots were fired. However, some heard only two shots, while others testified that they heard four and perhaps as many as five or six shots. The difficulty of accurate perception of the sound of gunshots required careful scrutiny of all of this testimony regarding the number of shots. The firing of a bullet causes a number of noises, the muzzle blast, caused by the smashing of the hot gases which propel the bullet into the relatively stable air at the gun's muzzle, the noise of the bullet caused by the shock wave built up ahead of the bullet's nose as it travels through the air, and the noise caused by the impact of the bullet on its target. Each noise can be quite sharp and may be perceived as a separate shot. The tall buildings in the area might have further distorted the sound.

The physical and other evidence examined by the Commission compels the conclusion that at least two shots were fired. As discussed previously, the nearly whole bullet discovered at Parkland Hospital and the two larger fragments found in the Presidential automobile, which were identified as coming from the assassination rifle, came from at least two separate bullets and possibly from three. The most convincing evidence relating to the number of shots was provided by the presence on the sixth floor of three spent cartridges which were demonstrated to have been fired by the same rifle that fired the bullets which caused the wounds. It is possible that the assassin carried an empty shell in the rifle and fired only two shots, with the witnesses hearing multiple noises made by the same shot. Soon after the three empty cartridges were found, officials at the scene decided that three shots were fired, and that conclusion was widely circulated by the press. The eyewitness testimony may be subconsciously colored by the extensive publicity given the conclusion that three shots were fired. Nevertheless, the preponderance of the evidence, in particular the three spent cartridges, led the Commission to conclude that there were three shots fired.

The Shot That Missed

From the initial findings that (a) one shot passed through the President's neck and then most probably passed through the Governor's body, (b) a subsequent shot penetrated the President's head, (c) no other shot struck any part of the automobile, and (d) three shots were fired, it follows that one shot probably missed the car and its occupants. The evidence is inconclusive as to whether it was the first, second, or third shot which missed.

The First Shot

If the first shot missed, the assassin perhaps missed in an effort to fire a hurried shot before the President passed under the oak tree, or possibly he fired as the President passed under the tree and the tree obstructed his view. The bullet might have struck a portion of the tree and been completely deflected. On the other hand, the greatest cause for doubt that the first shot missed is the improbability that the same marksman who twice hit a moving target would be so inaccurate on the first and closest of his shots as to miss completely, not only the target, but the large automobile.

Some support for the contention that the first shot missed is found in the statement of Secret Service Agent Glen A. Bennett, stationed in the right rear seat of the President's follow-up car, who heard a sound like a firecracker as the motorcade proceeded down Elm Street. At that moment, Agent Bennett stated:

...I looked at the back of the President. I heard another firecracker noise and saw that shot hit the President about four inches down from the right shoulder. A second shot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the President's head.

Substantial weight may be given Bennett's observations. Although his formal statement was dated November 23, 1963, his notes indicate that he recorded what he saw and heard at 5:30 p.m., November 22, 1963, on the airplane en route back to Washington, prior to the autopsy, when it was not yet known

that the President had been hit in the back. It is possible, of course, that Bennett did not observe the hole in the President's back, which might have been there immediately after the first noise. (It is interesting that Specter accords Bennett's observations substantial weight here, considering that Bennett was never called to testify and that elsewhere Specter completely ignores Bennett's appraisal of the back wound and head wound. It is also interesting that Specter gives Bennett's statement substantial weight, because it was based on notes written within hours of the shooting, but ignores the notes themselves. In the notes Bennett says that after he heard the first shot and he looked at the President he saw "a shot that hit the boss" and that "a second shoot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the boss's head." This suggests that writing skills were not Bennett's strong point, and that he may have merely seen "that a shot had hit the boss" before a second shot followed. In other words, Bennett may very well have heard only two shots and have seen the President hit by the first of these shots. This makes using him to support that the first shot missed--without ever talking to him to get a clarification--surprising, even more surprising when one considers that the commission's counsel would later deny having done such a thing. On 12-4-64, shortly after the issuance of the Warren Commission's 26 volumes of supporting testimony and exhibits, Warren Commission counsel Joseph Ball, who had worked closely with Specter on his investigation, insisted in a debate with Commission critic Mark Lane that "We didn't take a single bit of evidence into consideration unless it was under oath." Wrong.)

Governor Connally's testimony supports the view that the first shot missed, because he stated that he heard a shot, turned slightly to his right, and, as he started to turn back toward his left, was struck by the second bullet. He never saw the President during the shooting sequence, and it is entirely possible that he heard the missed shot and that both men were struck by the second bullet. Mrs. Connally testified that after the first shot she turned and saw the President's hands moving toward his throat, as seen in the films at frame 225. However, Mrs. Connally further stated that she thought her husband was hit immediately thereafter by the second bullet. If the same bullet struck both the President and the Governor, it is entirely possible that she saw the President's movements at the same time as she heard the second shot. Her testimony, therefore, does not preclude the possibility of the first shot having missed. (Specter is being disingenuous here, and is attempting to hide that the single-bullet theory he proposes elsewhere is at odds with the testimony of the Connallys. Mrs. Connally would have heard a shot from the sniper's nest only 1/10th of a second after the bullet impacted on Kennedy. It is not reasonable to assume she would hear a shot, turn, see Kennedy's reaction to a second shot at the same time she heard this second shot, and then attribute Kennedy's reaction to the first shot heard more than 2 ½ seconds earlier.)

Other eyewitness testimony, however, supports the conclusion that the first of the shots fired hit the President. As discussed in chapter II, Special Agent Hill's testimony indicates that the President was hit by the first shot and that the head injury was caused by a second shot which followed about 5 seconds later. James W. Altgens, a photographer in Dallas for the Associated Press, had stationed himself on Elm Street opposite the Depository to take pictures of the passing motorcade. Altgens took a widely circulated photograph which showed President Kennedy reacting to the first of the two shots which hit him. (See Commission Exhibit No. 900, p. 113.) According to Altgens, he snapped the picture "almost simultaneously" with a shot which he is confident was the first one fired. Comparison of his photograph with the Zapruder film, however, revealed that Altgens took his picture at approximately the same moment as frame 255 of the movie, 30 to 45 frames (approximately 2 seconds) later than the point at which the President was shot in the neck. (See Commission Exhibit No. 901, p. 114.) Another photographer, Phillip L. Willis, snapped a picture at a time which he also asserts was simultaneous with the first shot. Analysis of his photograph revealed that it was taken at approximately frame 210 of the Zapruder film, which was the approximate time of the shot that probably hit the President and the Governor. If Willis accurately recalled that there were no previous shots, this would be strong evidence

that the first shot did not miss. (Subsequent study of Willis' photo showed that it was taken at frame 202, when a tree blocked a clear view of Kennedy from the sniper's nest. The FBI conclusion that it was taken at frame 210, just as the limousine was emerging from behind this tree, is more than a little suspicious.)

If the first shot did not miss, there must be an explanation for Governor Connally's recollection that he was not hit by it. There was, conceivably, a delayed reaction between the time the bullet struck him and the time he realized that he was hit, despite the fact that the bullet struck a glancing blow to a rib and penetrated his wrist bone. The Governor did not even know that he had been struck in the wrist or in the thigh until he regained consciousness in the hospital the next day. Moreover, he testified that he did not hear what he thought was the second shot, although he did hear a subsequent shot which coincided with the shattering of the President's head. One possibility, therefore, would be a sequence in which the Governor heard the first shot, did not immediately feel the penetration of the bullet, then felt the delayed reaction of the impact on his back, later heard the shot which shattered the President's head, and then lost consciousness without hearing a third shot which might have occurred later.

The Second Shot

The possibility that the second shot missed is consistent with the elapsed time between the two shots that hit their mark. From the timing evidenced by the Zapruder films, there was an interval of from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds between the shot which struck President Kennedy's neck (between frames 210 to 225) and the shot which struck his head at frame 313. Since a minimum of 2.3 seconds must elapse between shots, a bullet could have been fired from the rifle and missed during this interval. This possibility was buttressed by the testimony of witnesses who claimed that the shots were evenly spaced, since a second shot occurring within an interval of approximately 5 seconds would have to be almost exactly midway in this period. If Altgens' recollection is correct that he snapped his picture at the same moment as he heard a shot, then it is possible that he heard a second shot which missed, since a shot fired 2.3 seconds before he took his picture at frame 255 could have hit the President at about frame 213.

(Specter misrepresents the minimum time lapse between the shots. FBI ballistics expert Robert Frazier, who test-fired the gun, testified that 2.3 seconds was the time lapse between shots while firing at a stationary target, and that firing 3 shots at a moving target would add a second to the overall time. This translates to 51 frames between shots; in other words, Oswald would have to have fired as rapidly as possible in order to squeeze 3 shots between frames 210 and 313.)

On the other hand, a substantial majority of the witnesses stated that the shots were not evenly spaced. Most witnesses recalled that the second and third shots were bunched together, although some believed that it was the first and second which were bunched. To the extent that reliance can be placed on recollection of witnesses as to the spacing of the shots, the testimony that the shots were not evenly spaced would militate against a second shot missing. Another factor arguing against the second shot missing is that the gunman would have been shooting at very near the minimum allowable time to have fired the three shots within 4.8 to 5.6 seconds, although it was entirely possible for him to have done so. (See ch. IV, pp. 188-194.) (Here, Specter is admitting that the majority of witnesses heard the last two shots bunched together, and that this suggests that the second shot did not miss, and was therefore most probably the head shot.)

The Third Shot

The last possibility, of course, is that it was the third shot which missed. This conclusion conforms most easily with the probability that the assassin would most likely have missed the farthest shot, particularly since there was an acceleration of the automobile after the shot which struck the President's head. The limousine also changed direction by following the curve to the right, whereas previously it had been proceeding in almost a straight line with a rifle protruding from the sixth-floor

window of the Depository Building.

*One must consider, however, the testimony of the witnesses who described the head shot as the concluding event in the assassination sequence. Illustrative is the testimony of Associated Press photographer Altgens, who had an excellent vantage point near the President's car. He recalled that the shot which hit the President's head "was the last shot that much I will say with a great degree of certainty." On the other hand, Emmett J. Hudson, the grounds-keeper of Dealey Plaza, testified that from his position on Elm Street, midway between Houston Street and the Triple Underpass, he heard a third shot after the shot which hit the President in the head. In addition, Mrs. Kennedy's testimony indicated that neither the first nor the second shot missed. Immediately after the first noise she turned, because of the Governor's yell, and saw her husband raise his hand to his forehead. Then the second shot struck the President's head. **(Here, Specter is confusing the issue unnecessarily. As Mr. Altgens and Mrs. Kennedy could clearly recall but two shots, his attempts at using their testimony to establish which of the three shots missed the car is a bit strange. Why doesn't he use the words of Charles Brehm, Malcolm Summers, or Marilyn Willis? Oh, that's right, they were never called before the Commission...)***

Some evidence suggested that a third shot may have entirely missed and hit the turf or street by the Triple Underpass. Royce G. Skelton, who watched the motorcade from the railroad bridge, testified that after two shots "the car came on down close to the Triple Underpass" and an additional shot "hit in the left front of the President's car on the cement." Skelton thought that there had been a total of four shots, either the third or fourth of which hit in the vicinity of the underpass. Dallas Patrolman J. W. Foster, who was also on the Triple Underpass, testified that a shot hit the turf near a manhole cover in the vicinity of the underpass. Examination of this area, however, disclosed no indication that a bullet struck at the locations indicated by Skelton or Foster.

At a different location in Dealey Plaza, the evidence indicated that a bullet fragment did hit the street. James T. Tague, who got out of his car to watch the motorcade from a position between Commerce and Main Streets near the Triple Underpass, was hit on the cheek by an object during the shooting. Within a few minutes Tague reported this to Deputy Sheriff Eddy R. Walthers, who was examining the area to see if any bullets had struck the turf. Walthers immediately started to search where Tague had been standing and located a place on the south curb of Main Street where it appeared a bullet had hit the cement. According to Tague, "There was a mark quite obviously. that was a bullet, and it was very fresh." In Tague's opinion, it was the second shot which caused the mark, since he thinks he heard the third shot after he was hit in the face. This incident appears to have been recorded in the contemporaneous report of Dallas Patrolman L. L. Hill, who radioed in around 12:40 p.m.: "I have one guy that was possibly hit by a ricochet from the bullet off the concrete." Scientific examination of the mark on the south curb of Main Street by FBI experts disclosed metal smears which, "were spectrographically determined to be essentially lead with a trace of antimony." The mark on the curb could have originated from the lead core of a bullet but the absence of copper precluded "the possibility that the mark on the curbing section was made by an unmutated military full metal-jacketed bullet such as the bullet from Governor Connally's stretcher."

It is true that the noise of a subsequent shot might have been drowned out by the siren on the Secret Service follow-up car immediately after the head shot, or the dramatic effect of the head shot might have caused so much confusion that the memory of subsequent events was blurred. Nevertheless, the preponderance of the eyewitness testimony that the head shot was the final shot must be weighed in any determination as to whether it was the third shot that missed. Even if it were caused by a bullet fragment, the mark on the south curb of Main Street cannot be identified conclusively with any of the three shots fired. Under the circumstances it might have come from the bullet which hit the President's head, or it might have been a product of the fragmentation of the missed shot upon hitting some other

object in the area. Since he did not observe any of the shots striking the President, Tague's testimony that the second shot, rather than the third, caused the scratch on his cheek, does not assist in limiting the possibilities. **(What preponderance of the eyewitness testimony? That members of the Commission and its counsel knew this was nonsense is supported by a December 17, 1991 Washington Post article by Commissioner Gerald Ford and counsel David Belin. While trying to argue that Oswald had more time to fire his shots than proposed by Oliver Stone in his film JFK, they nonsensically argued "the most probable time span of Oswald's three shots was around 10 seconds, in light of the fact that one of Oswald's shots missed--most likely the first or the last." By citing that it was more likely that the third shot missed than the second, they confirmed that the section of their report arguing that a final shot miss was unlikely, was not a unanimous opinion.)**

The wide range of possibilities and the existence of conflicting testimony, when coupled with the impossibility of scientific verification, precludes a conclusive finding by the Commission as to which shot missed. (He is clearly mistaken here. The preponderance of eyewitness statements indicates that the first shot hit. It also indicates the likelihood that the last shot missed. The problem for Specter is that, if he submits that the last shot missed, then he has to butt heads with those absolutely convinced that the last shot hit. If he goes along and states that the last shot hit, however, he can't come to the obvious conclusion that the first shot hit, without committing the Commission to a shooting scenario he knows may not pass the smell test, particularly after Frazier's testimony. So what does Specter do? He pretends there is just no way of knowing what happened.)

Time Span of Shots

Witnesses at the assassination scene said that the shots were fired within a few seconds, with the general estimate being 5 to 6 seconds. That approximation was most probably based on the earlier publicized reports that the first shot struck the President in the neck, the second wounded the Governor and the third shattered the President's head, with the time span from the neck to the head shots on the President being approximately 5 seconds. As previously indicated, the time span between the shot entering the back of the President's neck and the bullet which shattered his skull was 4.8 to 5 seconds. If the second shot missed, then 4.8 to 5.6 seconds was the total time span of the shots. If either the first or third shots missed, then a minimum of 2.3 seconds (necessary to operate the rifle) must be added to the time span of the shots which hit, giving a minimum time of 7.1 to 7.9 seconds for the three shots. If more than 2.3 seconds elapsed between a shot that missed and one that hit, then the time span would be correspondingly increased. (This is Specter at his best/worst. Here he sidesteps the possibility of the missed shot's being too close in time to either the first or second hit to have been fired by Oswald, by arbitrarily adding 2.3 seconds on to either end of his shooting scenario. He almost certainly knows that the expected delay between shots while firing at a moving target is 2.8 seconds, not 2.3, and that this amounts to 51 frames. He almost certainly knows there is no eyewitness support for a shot as early as frame 173 (51 frames before the last possible moment Kennedy could have been hit by the second shot) nor for a shot as late as frame 364 (51 frames after the head shot). The only scenario he can honestly push therefore is that the second shot missed. He doesn't want to do this, however, for two reasons: one, Governor Connally insisted he was hit by the second shot, and two, the shorter elapsed time makes Oswald's purported shooting feat many times more difficult and probably beyond his abilities. So what does Specter do? Once again, he decides not to decide.)

Conclusion

Based on the evidence analyzed in this chapter, the Commission has concluded that the shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally were fired from the sixth-floor window at the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Two bullets probably caused all the wounds suffered by President Kennedy and Governor Connally. Since the preponderance of the evidence indicated that three shots were fired, the Commission concluded that one shot probably

missed the Presidential limousine and its occupants, and that the three shots were fired in a time period ranging from approximately 4.8 to in excess of 7 seconds. (Let's recall the 12-16-63 Executive Session of the Warren Commission, in which Chief Justice Warren and Congressman Boggs discussed the FBI Report's failure to clear up which shots struck the President. Sayeth Warren: "It doesn't do anything" Respondeth Boggs: "It raises a lot of new questions in my mind." Isn't it ironic, don't you think?)

Straight Shooters or Smoke Blowers?



The Warren Report claims that the limousine traveled in "an almost straight line away from the assassin's rifle," a fact borne out by Exhibit 879, left, introduced into evidence as "a view of the scale model looking toward the southwest, in the direction of the triple underpass, from a position on the sixth floor in the southeast corner window."



The problem is that Exhibit 879 was not a view from the sixth floor sniper's nest, but from the roof of the building across the street. An actual view from the sniper's nest, as in Exhibit 724, above, right, shows Elm Street angling to the right.



Warren Commission Exhibits 892, above left, and 902, center, are its re-enactment photos of frames 207 and 313 from the Zapruder film, respectively, taken from the sniper's nest. The limo in 902 is heading almost straight away, but is out of alignment with the street. The 2003 animation of Dale Myers, right, corrects this error, and demonstrates that the limo headed to the right throughout the entire assassination sequence. Was the Warren Commission blowing smoke?

Straight Shooters or Smoke Blowers?

Since the Commission refused to decide how the shots were fired, the possibility that Oswald successfully hit a moving target two of three times in as little as 4.8 seconds had to be supported. This put the writers of the report in a bind. As a result, the section of the report on Oswald's rifle capability is among the least credible parts of the report, filled with errors and (almost certainly) deliberate deceptions. This section, from chapter 4, originally written by Joseph Ball and David Belin, and then re-written by Norman Redlich, with a few final tweaks added by the Warren Commissioners, follows... with my comments in **bold** (of course).

Oswald's Rifle Capability

In deciding whether Lee Harvey Oswald fired the shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally, the Commission considered whether Oswald, using his own rifle, possessed the capability to hit his target with two out of three shots under the conditions described in chapter III. The Commission evaluated (1) the nature of the shots, (2) Oswald's Marine training in marksmanship, (8) his experience and practice after leaving the Marine Corps, and (4) the accuracy of the weapon and the quality of the ammunition.

The Nature of the Shots

For a rifleman situated on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building the shots were at a slow-moving target proceeding on a downgrade in virtually a straight line with the alignment of the assassin's rifle, at a range of 177 to 266 feet. An aerial photograph of Dealey Plaza shows that Elm Street runs at an angle so that the President would have been moving in an almost straight line away from the assassin's rifle. (See Commission Exhibit No. 876, p. 33.) In addition, the 3 degree downward slope of Elm Street was of assistance in eliminating at least some of the adjustment which is ordinarily required when a marksman must raise his rifle as a target moves farther away. (As shown on the slide above, the Commission knew full well that the limousine was not proceeding "in virtually a straight line away" from the sixth floor sniper's nest, but was heading to the right. This makes this statement suspicious. That the FBI's Robert Frazier failed to measure the lead to the right necessary to hit the limousine for his March 31 testimony, and that FBI Exhibits Chief Leo Gauthier on June 4 misrepresented a photo taken from across the street of the sniper's nest and directly behind the limo as a photo taken from the sniper's nest, suggests that the FBI was being deliberately deceptive on this issue. That the Warren Commission, which oversaw the May 24, 1964 re-enactment, measured the vertical angle of descent from the sniper's nest, but not the horizontal angle of the bullet into the car (which was subsequently shown to vary from 12 to 8 degrees during the assassination sequence), and that photos of this re-enactment show the limo at frame 313 in line with a shot from the sniper's nest, but out of alignment with the lines in the street, suggests, furthermore, that they were a witting part of this deception. This should make us wonder if some "executive decision" had been made on this point. That Legendary LAPD Chief William Parker called a press conference on 11-27-63, and told the big, fat, Canada goose-honking lie that the lateral movement of the limo during the shooting sequence was so small it would have been "imperceptible" to a shooter in the sniper's nest, should only intensify this suspicion.)

Four marksmanship experts testified before the Commission. Maj. Eugene D. Anderson, assistant head of the Marksmanship Branch of the US. Marine Corps, testified that the shots which struck the President in the neck and in the head were "not ... particularly difficult."

Robert A. Frazier, FBI expert in firearms identification and training, said: "From my own experience in shooting over the years, when you shoot at 175 feet or 260 feet, which is less than 100 yards, with a telescopic sight, you should not have any difficulty in hitting your target. I mean it requires no training at all to shoot a weapon with a telescopic sight once you know that you must put the crosshairs on the target and that is all that is necessary." (This avoids that, according to Frazier's own testimony, the crosshairs of Oswald's rifle were misaligned, and that his rifle, when first tested by the FBI, fired 4 inches high and 1 to the right at only 15 yards.)

Ronald Simmons, chief of the US. Army Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the Ballistics Research Laboratory, said: "Well, in order to achieve three hits, it would not be required that a man be an exceptional shot. A proficient man with this weapon, yes." (This avoids that Simmons actually tested the rifle, using three Master shooters employed by the Army, and that, of the 14 shots rapid-fired by these men, not one of them hit as close to the center of the stationary head and shoulders target as the two hits attributed to Oswald.)

The effect of a four-power telescopic sight on the difficulty of these shots was considered in detail by M. Sgt. James A. Zahm, noncommissioned officer in charge of the Marksmanship Training Unit in the Weapons Training Battalion of the Marine Corps School at Quantico, Va. Referring to a rifle with a four-power telescope, Sergeant Zahm said: "...this is the ideal type of weapon for moving targets... Using the scope, rapidly working a bolt and using the scope to relocate your target quickly and at the same time when you locate that target you identify it and the crosshairs are in close relationship to the point you want to shoot at, it just takes a minor move in aiming to bring the crosshairs to bear, and then it is a quick squeeze. I consider it a real advantage, particularly at the range of 100 yards, in identifying your target. It allows you to see your target clearly, and it is still of a minimum amount of power that it doesn't exaggerate your own body movements. It just is an aid in seeing in the fact that you only have the one element, the crosshair, in relation to the target as opposed to iron sights with aligning the sights and then aligning them on the target."

Characterizing the four-power scope as "a real aid, an extreme aid" in rapid fire shooting, Sergeant Zahm expressed the opinion that the shot which struck President Kennedy in the neck at 176.9 to 190.8 feet was "very easy" and the shot which struck the President in the head at a distance of 265.3 feet was "an easy shot." After viewing photographs depicting the alignment of Elm Street in relation to the Texas School Book Depository Building, Zahm stated further: "This is a definite advantage to the shooter, the vehicle moving directly away from him and the downgrade of the street, and he being in an elevated position made an almost stationary target while he was aiming in, very little movement if any." (It bears repeating that the vehicle was not actually moving directly away from the sniper in the school book depository, but away and to the right. It is also suspicious that Zahm was shown an overhead view of Dealey Plaza to convince him of this alignment, long after photographs of the May 24 re-enactment, and showing the exact angle of the limo to the sniper's nest, were available. It is also intriguing that Zahm was only asked to testify after the report had been completed, and was being re-written. Why was his speculation on the difficulty of the shots considered more significant than the tests performed by Simmons?)

Oswald's Marine Training

In accordance with standard Marine procedures, Oswald received extensive training in marksmanship. During the first week of an intensive 8-week training period he received instruction in sighting, aiming, and manipulation of the trigger. He went through a series of exercises called dry firing where he assumed all positions which would later be used in the qualification course. After familiarization with live ammunition in The .22 rifle and .22 pistol, Oswald, like all Marine recruits, received training on the rifle range at distances up to 500 yards, firing 50 rounds each day for five days.

Following that training, Oswald was tested in December of 1956, and obtained a score of 212, which was 2 points above the minimum for qualifications as a "sharpshooter" in a scale of marksman/sharpshooter/expert. In May of 1959, on another range, Oswald scored 191, which was 1 point over the minimum for ranking as a "marksman." The Marine Corps records maintained on Oswald further show that he had fired and was familiar with the Browning Automatic rifle, .45 caliber pistol, and 12-gage riot gun.

Based on the general Marine Corps ratings, Lt. Col. A. G. Folsom, Jr., head, Records Branch, Personnel Department, Headquarters US. Marine Corps, evaluated the sharpshooter qualification as a "fairly good shot" and a low marksman rating as a "rather poor shot." When asked to explain the different scores achieved by Oswald on the two occasions when he fired for record, Major Anderson said: "...when he fired that [212] he had just completed a very intensive preliminary training period. He had the services of an experienced highly trained coach. He had high motivation. He had presumably a good to excellent rifle and good ammunition. We have nothing here to show under what conditions the B course was fired. It might well have been a bad day for firing the rifle, windy, rainy,

dark. There is little probability that he had a good, expert coach, and he probably didn't have as high a motivation because he was no longer in recruit training and under the care of the drill instructor. There is some possibility that the rifle he was firing might not have been as good a rifle as the rifle that he was firing in his A course firing, because [he] may well have carried this rifle for quite some time, and it got banged around in normal usage." (This is classic obfuscation. The Commission offers speculation by Anderson that Oswald's "poor" shooting could have come as a result of bad weather, but fails to follow through and call the Weather Bureau or check a newspaper archive to see if this was true. Well, for what it's worth, early critic Mark Lane was a little more industrious and found the day in question to have been a warm sunny day with temperatures ranging from 72 to 79 degrees, with only a slight breeze. Anderson's speculation that Oswald's rifle in 1959 may have been inferior to the rifle he'd used earlier is also problematic. Oswald's Marine Corps-issued rifle was without doubt in far better condition and far more accurate than the presumed assassination weapon, a WWII surplus rifle that had not been cleaned for months, and had purportedly been carried to the assassination disassembled in a paper bag.)

Major Anderson concluded: "I would say that as compared to other Marines receiving the same type of training, that Oswald was a good shot, somewhat better than or equal to better than the average let us say. As compared to a civilian who had not received this intensive training, he would be considered as a good to excellent shot."

When Sergeant Zahm was asked whether Oswald's Marine Corps training would have made it easier to operate a rifle with a four-power scope, he replied: "Based on that training, his basic knowledge in sight manipulation and trigger squeeze and what not, I would say that he would be capable of sighting that rifle in well, firing it, with 10 rounds." (This avoids both that there is no evidence Oswald's rifle had ever been sighted in prior to the assassination, and that it could not be properly sighted-in when the FBI tried to do so.)

After reviewing Oswald's marksmanship scores, Sergeant Zahm concluded: "I would say in the Marine Corps he is a good shot, slightly above average, and as compared to the average male of his age throughout the civilian, throughout the United States, that he is an excellent shot." (More obfuscation: Zahm was asked to comment on Oswald's ability based upon his earliest test scores in the Marines, and was not asked to speculate on Oswald's presumed abilities after falling out of practice, and firing a rifle unlike any he'd ever been trained on.)

Oswald's Rifle Practice Outside the Marines

During one of his leaves from the Marines, Oswald hunted with his brother Robert, using a .22 caliber bolt-action rifle belonging either to Robert or Robert's in-laws. After he left the Marines and before departing for Russia, Oswald, his brother, and a third companion went hunting for squirrels and rabbits. On that occasion Oswald again used a bolt-action .22 caliber rifle; and according to Robert, Lee Oswald exhibited an average amount of proficiency with that weapon. While in Russia, Oswald obtained a hunting license, joined a hunting club and went hunting about six times, as discussed more fully in chapter VI. Soon after Oswald returned from the Soviet Union he again went hunting with his brother, Robert, and used a borrowed .22 caliber bolt-action rifle. After Oswald purchased the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, he told his wife that he practiced with it. Marina Oswald testified that on one occasion she saw him take the rifle, concealed in a raincoat, from the house on Neely Street. Oswald told her he was going to practice with it. According to George De Mohrenschildt, Oswald said that he went target shooting with that rifle. (Notice that the Commission could not find a single witness to Oswald's actually practicing with the rifle. Notice also that it fails to show how practice so many months before could be of any help in the shooting. It also avoids that neither cleaning supplies nor ammunition were found among Oswald's possessions.)

Marina Oswald testified that in New Orleans in May of 1963, she observed Oswald sitting with the rifle on their screened porch at night, sighting with the telescopic lens and operating the bolt. Examination of the cartridge cases found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building established that they had been previously loaded and ejected from the assassination rifle, which would indicate that Oswald practiced operating the bolt.

Accuracy of Weapon

It will be recalled from the discussion in chapter III that the assassin in all probability hit two out of the three shots during the maximum time span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds if the second shot missed, or, if either the first or third shots missed, the assassin fired the three shots during a minimum time span of 7.1 to 7.9 seconds. A series of tests were performed to determine whether the weapon and ammunition used in the assassination were capable of firing the shots which were fired by the assassin on November 22, 1968. The ammunition used by the assassin was manufactured by Western Cartridge Co. of East Alton, III. In tests with the Mannlicher-Carcano C2766 rifle, over 100 rounds of this ammunition were fired by the FBI and the Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the US. Army. There were no misfires.

In an effort to test the rifle under conditions which simulated those which prevailed during the assassination, the Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the Ballistics Research Laboratory had expert riflemen fire the assassination weapon from a tower at three silhouette targets at distances of 175, 240, and 265 feet. The target at 265 feet was placed to the right of the 240-foot target which was in turn placed to the right of the closest silhouette. Using the assassination rifle mounted with the telescopic sight, three marksmen, rated as master by the National Rifle Association, each fired two series of three shots. In the first series the firers required time spans of 4.6, 6.75, and 8.25 seconds respectively. On the second series they required 5.15, 6.45, and 7 seconds. None of the marksmen had any practice with the assassination weapon except for exercising the bolt for 2 or 3 minutes on a dry run. They had not even pulled the trigger because of concern about breaking the firing pin.

The marksmen took as much time as they wanted for the first target and all hit the target. For the first four attempts, the firers missed the second shot by several inches. The angle from the first to the second shot was greater than from the second to the third shot and required a movement in the basic firing position of the marksmen. This angle was used in the test because the majority of the eyewitnesses to the assassination stated that there was a shorter interval between shots two and three than between shots one and two. As has been shown in chapter III, if the three shots were fired within a period of from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds, the shots would have been evenly spaced and the assassin would not have incurred so sharp an angular movement.

Five of the six shots hit the third target where the angle of movement of the weapon was small. (This avoids that none of these hits landed as close to the center of the head and shoulders target as the final hit on Kennedy, even though the rifle, for this test, had been re-aligned, and was purportedly shooting straight as an arrow.) On the basis of these results, Simmons testified that in his opinion the probability of hitting the targets at the relatively short range at which they were hit was very high. Considering the various probabilities which may have prevailed during the actual assassination, the highest level of firing performance which would have been required of the assassin and the C2766 rifle would have been to fire three times and hit the target twice within a span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds. In fact, one of the firers in the rapid fire test in firing his two series of three shots, hit the target twice within a span of 4.6 and 5.15 seconds. (Note that they are discussing hitting the target, not hitting the target as close to center as the purported hits on Kennedy.) The others would have been able to reduce their times if they had been given the opportunity to become familiar with the movement of the bolt and the trigger pull. Simmons testified that familiarity with the bolt could be achieved in dry practice and, as has been indicated above, Oswald engaged in such practice. If the assassin missed either the first or

third shot, he had a total of between 4.8 and 5.6 seconds between the two shots which hit and a total minimum time period of from 7.1 to 7.9 seconds for all three shots. All three of the firers in these tests were able to fire the rounds within the time period which would have been available to the assassin under those conditions. Three FBI firearms experts tested the rifle in order to determine the speed with which it could be fired. The purpose of this experiment was not to test the rifle under conditions which prevailed at the time of the assassination but to determine the maximum speed at which it could be fired. The three FBI experts each fired three shots from the weapon at 15 yards in 6, 7, and 9 seconds (Not true: Agent Frazier later corrected his testimony and claimed the correct times were 5.9, 8, and 9 seconds) , and one of these agents, Robert A. Frazier, fired two series of three shots at 25 yards in 4.6 and 4.8 seconds. At 15 yards each man's shots landed within the size of a dime. (Deliberately overlooks that these shots all landed inches high and to the right and that, by Frazier's own testimony, the close grouping of these shots suggested that the scope had not recently been adjusted. This, of course, suggested that the sniper had shot at Kennedy with a severely misaligned scope!) The shots fired by Frazier at the range of 25 yards landed within an area of 2 inches and 5 inches respectively. Frazier later fired four groups of three shots at a distance of 100 yards in 5.9, 6.2, 5.6, and 6.5 seconds. Each series of three shots landed within areas ranging in diameter from 3 to 5 inches. Although all of the shots were a few inches high and to the right of the target., this was because of a defect in the scope which was recognized by the FBI agents and which they could have compensated for if they were aiming to hit a bull's-eye. They were instead firing to determine how rapidly the weapon could be fired and the area within which three shots could be placed. Frazier testified that while he could not tell when the defect occurred, but that a person familiar with the weapon could compensate for it. Moreover, the defect was one which would have assisted the assassin aiming at a target which was moving away. Frazier said, "The fact that the crosshairs are set high would actually compensate for any lead which had to be taken. So that if you aimed with this weapon as it actually was received at the laboratory, it would not be necessary to take any lead whatsoever in order to hit the intended object. The scope would accomplish the lead for you." (While it's true that Frazier said this, it is a completely ridiculous statement that should not have been repeated, let alone cited. FBI Director Hoover's letter to the Commission preceding Frazier's testimony specified that the misalignment as it was in March, AFTER the rifle had been sighted-in, could have been an advantage. Frazier then screwed up, or was pressured into screwing up, and said that the misalignment of the rifle as first received by the FBI in November could have been an advantage. There's a huge difference. If the scope was as misaligned in November as Frazier indicated, the assassin would have to have fired behind Kennedy in order to lead him while he was moving away. This is of no assistance whatsoever to a sniper.) Frazier added that the scope would cause a slight miss to the right. It should be noted, however, that the President's car was curving slightly to the right when the third shot was fired. (This is disingenuous. Yes, the car was curving slightly to the right at the time of the head shot, but earlier, in order to sell the relative ease of the shots, the report has claimed it was driving "virtually in a straight line away" from the sniper's nest. Well, which is it? One can not say that the car started out in a straight line but then curved away, because this simply is not true. It started out curving to the right and continued to curve to the right at a slightly reduced angle.) Based on these tests the experts agreed that the assassination rifle was an accurate weapon. Simmons described it as "quite accurate," in fact, as accurate as current. military rifles. Frazier testified that the rifle was accurate, that it had less recoil than the average military rifle and that one would not have to be an expert marksman to have accomplished the assassination with the weapon which was used. (Both Simmons and Frazier were discussing the relative consistency of the rifle, and were operating under the assumption the misalignment of the scope was either not present on the day of the shooting, or was something well known to the sniper. The problems with the scope were, in fact, so severe that the HSCA ballistics panel concluded that the sniper would not have even used the scope, and would have instead just used the iron sights of the rifle.)

Conclusion

The various tests showed that the Mannlicher-Carcano was an accurate rifle and that the use of a four-power scope was a substantial aid to rapid, accurate firing. Oswald's Marine training in marksmanship, his other rifle experience and his established familiarity with this particular weapon show that he possessed ample capability to commit the assassination. Based on the known facts of the assassination, the Marine marksmanship experts, Major Anderson and Sergeant Zahm, concurred in the opinion that Oswald had the capability to fire three shots, with two hits, within 4.8 and 5.6 seconds. Concerning the shots which struck the President in the back of the neck, Sergeant Zahm testified: "With the equipment he [Oswald] had and with his ability I consider it a very easy shot." Having fired this shot the assassin was then required to hit the target one more time within a space of from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds. On the basis of Oswald's training and the accuracy of the weapon as established by the tests, the Commission concluded that Oswald was capable of accomplishing this second hit even if there was an intervening shot which missed. The probability of hitting the President a second time would have been markedly increased if, in fact, he had missed either the first or third shots thereby leaving a time span of 4.8 to 5.6' seconds between the two shots which struck their mark. The Commission agrees with the testimony of Marine marksmanship expert Zahm that it was easy shot" to hit some part of the President's body, and that the range where the rifleman would be expected to hit would include the President's head. (This is as close to the truth as the Report comes. It was "easy" to hit some part of the President. The head is a part of the President. Therefore, it was "easy" to hit the President in the head. This, of course, presumes that the assassin was not actually all that skilled, and that he JUST GOT LUCKY, a presumption that becomes difficult to swallow once one considers that the previous hit is presumed to have landed but a few inches away and that BOTH of these shots landed closer to the middle of a head and shoulders target than ANY of the 14 shots rapid-fired by the Army's test shooters on STATIONARY head and shoulders targets.)

Oswald's Rifle Capability Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence reviewed in this chapter, the Commission has found that Lee Harvey Oswald (1) owned and possessed the rifle used to kill President Kennedy and wound Governor Connally, (2) brought this rifle into the Depository Building on the morning of the assassination, (3) was present, at the time of the assassination, at the window from which the shots were fired (4) killed Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit in an apparent attempt to escape, (5) resisted arrest by drawing a fully loaded pistol and attempting to shoot. another police officer, (6) lied to the police after his arrest concerning important substantive matters, (7) attempted, in April 1963, to kill Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, and (8) possessed the capability with a rifle which would have enabled him to commit the assassination. On the basis of these findings the Commission has concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin of President Kennedy. ("Possessing the capability" is, of course, another way of saying "well, it's possible..." Well, OF COURSE, it's possible. But was it likely? The Commission clearly felt the answer to this was "no", but was so committed to their premise that Oswald alone fired the shots that they saw no alternative other than to pull a Chico Marx and say "well, he musta gotta lucky.")

In a Word: Whitewash

Let's recall that the FBI found no evidence that Oswald had been practicing with his rifle in the weeks before the assassination. They found no extra ammunition or cleaning supplies among his possessions. The re-enactments of the shots by the FBI and outside experts, which suggested that Oswald may have been able to fire the shots as rapidly as presumed, were all conducted on stationary targets. The testimony on Oswald's shooting ability was based on test scores from many years before, and not based

on his presumed ability after failing to keep in practice. There was, moreover, no attempt to re-enact the shots using a rifle with the limitations of Oswald's rifle, and shooters of Oswald's presumed ability on 11-22-63, firing cold without any practice shots. It seems clear, moreover, that if such a test had been performed, the results would almost certainly have been negative, and have forced the Commission to explore the possibility Oswald did not fire the shots, and was, indeed, the "patsy" he claimed to be.

And how could they do that when the FBI, the Secret Service, and, gulp, Life Magazine, had already crowned Oswald the assassin?

But maybe I'm being unfair. Maybe, just maybe, the men writing the section of the report on Oswald's rifle capability had no idea how badly they'd distorted the evidence. Maybe they honestly thought the shots they'd assumed Oswald had fired really were easy for someone of Oswald's limited experience...

Leave It to Liebeler

Nope. Not going for it. On 9-4-64, after rapidly devouring a copy of chapter 4 of the report, Warren Commission Counsel Wesley J. Liebeler had nearly had a heart attack. Sensing that critics would see this chapter, which lays out the Commission's reasons for believing Oswald was the assassin, as, in his own words, "*a brief for the prosecution*," he fired off a 26 page long memorandum to Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin on 9-6. His comments on the Oswald's Rifle Capability section of chapter 4 follow... (with some of the key parts highlighted).

OSWALD'S RIFLE CAPABILITY

1. The purpose of this section is to determine Oswald's ability to fire a rifle. The third word at the top of page 50 of the galleys, which is apparently meant to describe Oswald, is "marksman." A marksman is one skilled at shooting at mark; one who shoots well. Not only do we beg the question a little, but the sentence is inexact in that the shot, which it describes, would be the same for a marksman as it would for one who was not a marksman. How about: the assassin's shots from the easternmost window of the south side of the Texas School Book Depository were at a slow-moving target proceeding on a downgrade virtually straight away from the assassin, at a range of 177 to 266 feet."

2. The last sentence in the first paragraph on galley page 50 should indicate that the slope of Elm Street is downward.

3. The section on the nature of the shots deals basically with the range and the effect of a telescopic sight. Several experts conclude that the shots were easy. There is, however, no consideration given here to the time allowed for the shots. I do not see how someone can conclude that a shot is easy or hard unless he knows something about how long the firer has to shoot, that is, how much time is allotted for the shots.

*4. On nature of the shots--Frazier testified that one would have no difficulty in hitting a target with a telescopic sight, since all you have to do is put the crosshairs on the target. On page 51 of the galleys, however, he testified that shots fired by FBI agents with the assassination weapon were "a few inches high and to the right of the target * * * because of a defect in the scope." Apparently no one knows when that defect appeared, or if it was in the scope at the time of the assassination. If it was, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary one may assume that it was, putting the crosshairs on the target would clearly have resulted in a miss, or it very likely would, in any event. I have raised this question before. **There is a great deal of testimony in the record that a telescopic sight is a sensitive proposition. You can't leave a rifle and scope laying around in a garage underfoot for almost 3 months, just having brought it back from New Orleans in the back of a station wagon, and expect to hit anything with it, unless you take the trouble to fire it and sight the scope in. This would have been a problem that should have been dealt with in any event, and now that it turns out that there***

actually was a defect in the scope, it is perfectly clear that the question must be considered. The present draft leaves the Commission open to severe criticism. Furthermore, to the extent that it leaves testimony suggesting that the shots might not have been so easy out of the discussion, thereby giving only a part of the story, it is simply dishonest.

5. *Why do we have a statement concerning the fact that Oswald's Marine records show that he was familiar with the Browning automatic rifle, .45-caliber pistol and 12-gage riot gun? That is completely irrelevant to the question of his ability to fire a rifle, unless there is evidence that the same skills are involved. It is, furthermore, prejudicial to some extent.*

6. *Under the heading "Oswald's Rifle Practice Outside the Marines" we have a statement concerning his hunting activities in Russia. It says that he joined a hunting club, obtained a license and went hunting about six times. It does not say what kind of a weapon he used. While I am not completely familiar with the record on this point, I do know for a fact that there is some indication that he used a shotgun. Under what theory do we include activities concerning a shotgun under a heading relating to rifle practice, and then presume not to advise the reader of the fact?*

7. *The statements concerning Oswald's practice with the assassination weapon are misleading. They tend to give the impression that he did more practicing than the record suggests that he did. My recollection is that there is only one specific time when he might have practiced. We should be more precise in this area, because the Commission is going to have its work in this area examined very closely.*

8. *On the top of galley page 51 we have that statement about Oswald sighting the telescopic sight at night on the porch in New Orleans. I think the support for that proposition is thin indeed. Marina Oswald first testified that she did not know what he was doing out there and then she was clearly led into the only answer that gives any support to this proposition.*

9. *I think the level of reaching that is going on in this whole discussion of rifle capability is merely shown by the fact that under the heading of rifle practice outside the Marine Corps appears the damning statement that "Oswald showed an interest in rifles by discussing that subject with others (in fact only one person as I remember it) and reading gun magazines."*

10. *I do not think the record will support the statement that Oswald did not leave his Beckley Avenue rooming house on one of the weekends that he was supposedly seen at the Sports Drome Rifle Range.*

11. *There is a misstatement in the third paragraph under rapid fire tests when it says "Four of the firers missed the second shot." The preceding paragraph states that there were only three firers.*

12. *There are no footnotes whatsoever in the fifth paragraph under rapid fire tests and some rather important statements are made which require some support from someplace.*

13. *A minor point as to the next paragraph--bullets are better said to strike rather than land.*

14. *As I read through the section on rifle capability it appears that 15 different sets of three shots were fired by supposedly expert riflemen of the FBI and other places. According to my calculations those 15 sets of shots took a total of 93.8 seconds to be fired. The average of all 15 is a little over 6.2 seconds. Assuming that time is calculated commencing with the firing of the first shot, that means the average time it took to fire the two remaining shots was about 6.2 seconds. That comes to about 3.1 seconds for each shot, not counting the time consumed by the actual firing, which would not be very much. I recall that chapter 3 said that the minimum time that had to elapse between shots was 2.25 seconds, which is pretty close to the one set of fast shots fired by Frazier of the FBI. The conclusion indicates that Oswald had the capability to fire three shots with two hits in from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds. **Of the 15 sets of 3 shots described above, only 3 were fired within 4.8 seconds. A total of five sets, including the three just mentioned were fired within a total of 5.6 seconds. The conclusion at its most extreme states that Oswald could fire faster than the Commission experts fired in 12 of their 15 tries and that in any event he could fire faster than the experts did in 10 of their 15 tries. If we are going to set forth material such as this, I think we should set forth some information on how much training and how much shooting the experts had and did as a whole. The readers could then have something on which***

to base their judgments concerning the relative abilities of the apparently slow firing experts used by the Commission and the ability of Lee Harvey Oswald.

15. The problems raised by the above analyses should be met at some point in the text of the report. The figure of 2.25 as a minimum firing time for each shot used throughout chapter 3. The present discussion of rifle capability shows that expert riflemen could not fire the assassination weapon that fast. Only one of the experts managed to do so, and his shots, like those of the other FBI experts, were high and to the right of the target. The fact is that most of the experts were much more proficient with a rifle than Oswald could ever be expected to be, and the record indicates that fact, according to my recollection of the response of one of the experts to a question by Mr. McCloy asking for a comparison of an NRA master marksman to a Marine Corps sharpshooter.

16. The present section on rifle capability fails to set forth material in the record tending to indicate that Oswald was not a good shot and that he was not interested in his rifle while in the Marine Corps. It does not set forth material indicating that a telescopic sight must be tested and sighted in after a period of non-use before it can be expected to be accurate. That problem is emphasized by the fact that the FBI actually found that there was a defect in the scope which caused the rifle to fire high and to the right. In spite of the above the present section takes only part of the material in the record to show that Oswald was a good shot and that he was interested in rifles. I submit that the testimony of Delgado that Oswald was not interested in his rifle while in the Marines is at least as probative as Alba's testimony that Oswald came into his garage to read rifle--and hunting--magazines. To put it bluntly that sort of selection from the record could seriously affect the integrity and credibility of the entire report.

17. It seems to me that the most honest and the most sensible thing to do given the present state of the record on Oswald's rifle capability would be to write a very short section indicating that there is testimony on both sides of several issues. The Commission could then conclude that the best evidence that Oswald could fire his rifle as fast as he did and hit the target is the fact that he did so. It may have been pure luck. It probably was to a very great extent. But it happened. He would have had to have been lucky to hit as he did if he had only 4.8 seconds to fire the shots. Why don't we admit instead of reaching and using only part of the record to support the propositions presently set forth in the galleys. Those conclusions will never be accepted by critical persons anyway.

Note that Liebel's complaints about this section of the report were largely ignored, as the problems he discussed went largely uncorrected. According to writer Edward Epstein, with whom Liebel confided regarding this matter, General Counsel Rankin at first refused to read the memo, declaring "*No more memorandums! The report has to be published!*" Rankin then relented and allowed Liebel to argue his points one by one with Norman Redlich, Rankin's top aide and the man responsible for reviewing and re-writing both the chapters on the shooting and those on Oswald's likely guilt. According to Epstein, Liebel told him that "*Redlich heatedly objected to all Liebel's criticisms*" and that Redlich said the chapter had been written exactly how the commissioners wanted it written, and had even admitted "*The Commissioners judged it an easy shot, and I work for the Commission.*" Rankin then adjudicated the memo point by point, almost always siding with Redlich.

Let's think about this for a second. Liebel, one of the Warren Commission's top lawyers, had told his superiors in the commission that there were deceptive, even dishonest, passages in their report. And they ignored him, by and large, telling him that this was what the commissioners wanted. This makes it clear that by September, if not earlier, they just didn't give a damn. They were there to sell the public what they wanted them to believe, not lay out all the evidence and let the public decide for itself.

Apparently they thought it best that someone else tackle that job...

And they weren't the only ones pushing back against Liebel and his efforts. In 1966, after books

criticizing the Commission, such as Epstein's Inquest, had garnered some attention, Liebeler went on the defensive, and lobbied his fellow Warren Commission counsel for help in fighting the critics. Ironically, however, he also wrote the FBI asking for their help, and was refused. The key reason, as spelled out in a 10-19-66 FBI memo from Assistant FBI Director Alex Rosen (the man tasked with investigating the basic facts of the assassination), was that Liebeler was "*obnoxious*" and that he'd pestered the FBI during the Warren Commission's investigation with "*completely unreasonable*", "*screwball*", and "*idiotic*" requests that they'd failed to respond to unless specifically asked to do so by his boss, Rankin.

That Liebeler would be so offensive to Rosen, moreover, should come as no surprise. Let's recall here that Rosen had 1) failed to acquire and study the autopsy report and note that the doctors' interpretation of the wounds had changed the day after the autopsy, 2) failed to bring the FBI's conclusions in line with the autopsy report once the FBI had received this report, 3) pretended he'd done so on purpose once his failure to adjust the FBI's conclusions had become a public embarrassment, 4) tried to blame his mistakes on the Kennedy family, 5) refused to investigate the rumor there was a bullet hole in the floor of the limousine beyond calling a top Secret Service official and asking if it was true, 6) threatened to refuse the Warren Commission FBI cooperation when it sought the opinions of non-FBI experts, and 7) refused to investigate when it was subsequently brought to his attention that the CIA and Mafia had teamed up to kill Castro and that one of those involved in the operation had claimed it had boomeranged back at Kennedy.

Wow. That's quite the resume. Is it any wonder then that, with a man like Rosen leading its investigation, the FBI had failed to uncover much of anything?

And there's an even more disturbing aspect to Rosen's refusing to help Liebeler. And that's that, by 1966, Liebeler had become every bit as disinterested in uncovering the truth as Rosen had been in 1964. On November 7, 1966, Liebeler, along with fellow Warren Commission counsel Joseph Ball and Albert Jenner, was interviewed on KCBS radio by Harv Morgan. They then took calls from the audience. One of the callers asked about Oswald's rifle capability and the difficulty of the shots. And Liebeler spewed forth the very nonsense he once had found so objectionable...

When asked if firing at stationary targets, as was done in the re-enactments, was easier than firing at moving targets, as was done in Dealey Plaza, he replied: *"It depends which way it's moving. If it's moving straight away from you, there's not much difference, is there? ...If the target is moving slowly and directly away from you on a line, there's little difference."* (Liebeler knew, of course, that the "target" in this instance was not moving directly away from the supposed sniper's nest.)

When asked why the Army's shooters didn't replicate the shots as closely as possible, he replied: *"It was probably too difficult to shoot at a moving target under the circumstances."* He then offered: *"We shot with a camera from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository towards a moving target."*

When the caller pointed out that the sniper in Dealey Plaza wasn't shooting with a camera, Liebeler responded: *"The point is that the Commission did set up a situation that was quite similar to the moving target by using three still targets. Now, as indicated, it might be somewhat easier to hit a still target but when the target was moving slowly away in a direct line, as this one was, very slightly curving to the right, there's not very much difference."* (Note: Liebeler had thereby admitted that he knew full well that the "target" in question was not moving in a "direct line" away from the sniper's nest, as he'd previously suggested.)

But he wasn't done. Even though the caller had by this time been cut off, Liebeler insisted on discussing the question of Oswald's shooting abilities further. In the process, he revealed just how far he'd come from the lone voice of dissent he'd been in 1964. He complained: *"I want to know whether he's asking the question of the accuracy involved or the time sequence involved. The accuracy is a very subjective thing and there may have been a good deal of luck involved in the shot. The time sequence is a different matter. In the time sequence, it was clearly established that there was plenty of time to make these shots. I've always taken the position that the best evidence that you could hit this target in this way from the sixth floor of the building was the fact that it did happen. In fact it was a very easy shot and that's exactly what did happen based on the existence of all kinds of other evidence."* (Note: this comes from the same man who'd previously observed that Oswald *"would have had to have been lucky to hit as he did if he had only 4.8 seconds to fire the shots"* and had similarly observed that the Commission's tests indicated the possibility *"Oswald could fire faster than the Commission experts fired in 12 of their 15 tries and that in any event he could fire faster than the experts did in 10 of their 15 tries."*)

When asked if the shot was truly easy, he then snapped: *"Of course, it's a simple shot. It's less than 200 feet away."* (Note: for the "shot" now in question, presumably the head shot, the presumed target, Kennedy, was 265 feet away, not less than 200 feet away.)

When finally asked why, if the shot was so easy, so many critics had claimed no one had duplicated Oswald's shooting, he spat: *"There are all kinds of people who've duplicated it. All these people ought to go up there and look out that window and see what an easy shot it is. It's like shooting, well--it's a very easy shot."* (Note: Liebeler had thereby pulled an old lawyer's trick, and had avoided answering a problematic question by answering another question entirely. What had started out as a discussion of the Commission's tests and whether Oswald could hit Kennedy two of three times in 4.8 seconds, as claimed by the Commission, had been blurred into whether it was possible for Oswald to hit Kennedy in the head from the sniper's nest when given all the time in the world.)

Ford's Theater

And Liebeler was not the only member of the Warren Commission and its staff spewing nonsense in order to sell the Warren Commission's conclusions to the public. Congressman (later President) Gerald Ford, as it turned out, had agreed to sell a story to Life Magazine on the conclusions and inner workings of the commission. This article was published in the October 2, 1964 issue, and on the stands when the commission's report was released to the public on September 28.

Within this story, moreover, were a number of claims in opposition to the commission's report, the report signed by Ford days earlier. These "mistakes" or mis-statements, if you will, all had one thing in common--they exaggerated the strength of the case against Oswald.

First and foremost, it claimed that assassination witness Howard Brennan *"identified Oswald in a police line-up."* This hid from Life's millions of readers that Brennan claimed in his 11-22 statement that he could identify the shooter he saw in the sixth floor window, but that he refused to identify Oswald in the line-up that evening. It also hid that Brennan only told the police he really could have IDed Oswald weeks later, after receiving a visit from the Secret Service. It also hid from Life's readers the words of the commission's report, which admitted: *"During the evening of November 22, Brennan identified Oswald as the person in the lineup who bore the closest resemblance to the man in the window but he said he was unable to make a positive identification. Prior to the lineup, Brennan had*

seen Oswald's picture on television and he told the Commission that whether this affected his identification "is something I do not know." In an interview with FBI agents on December 17, 1963, Brennan stated that he was sure that the person firing the rifle was Oswald. In another interview with FBI agents on January 7, 1964, Brennan appeared to revert to his earlier inability to make a positive identification, but, in his testimony before the Commission, Brennan stated that his remarks of January 7 were intended by him merely as an accurate report of what he said on November 22."

And this was just the beginning of Ford's trail of nonsense most foul. A paragraph later he claimed that Oswald's absence from the depository was noted a mere half hour after Brennan's initial description of a shooter was broadcast over the police airwaves, and that a bulletin regarding Oswald was then broadcast over the airwaves. He then claimed *"After this second bulletin was issued, Officer J.D. Tippit stopped Oswald on the street and Oswald shot him dead."*

Well, that would be most interesting, as Tippit had been dead for at least ten minutes before such a bulletin could have been issued. According to the Warren Report supposedly studied and signed by Ford: *"Although Oswald probably left the building at about 12:33 p.m., his absence was not noticed until at least one-half hour later. Truly, who had returned with Patrolman Baker from the roof, saw the police questioning the warehouse employees. Approximately 15 men worked in the warehouse and Truly noticed that Oswald was not among those being questioned. Satisfying himself that Oswald was missing, Truly obtained Oswald's address, phone number, and description from his employment application card. The address listed was for the Paine home in Irving. Truly gave this information to Captain Fritz who was on the sixth floor at the time. Truly estimated that he gave this information to Fritz about 15 or 20 minutes after the shots, but it was probably no earlier than 1:22 p.m., the time when the rifle was found. Fritz believed that he learned of Oswald's absence after the rifle was found. The fact that Truly found Fritz in the northwest corner of the floor, near the point where the rifle was found, supports Fritz' recollection."*

So there you have it, the Commission concluded Fritz first heard about Oswald's disappearance around 1:22, seven minutes after 1:15, the time they'd concluded Tippit had been shot. So much for Ford's fabricated scenario whereby Tippit stopped Oswald only after receiving a bulletin about him.

And so much for Ford's credibility. You see, he was not only blowing smoke about the timing of the bulletin regarding Oswald, he was blowing smoke about the existence of such a bulletin. None was ever issued. When asked by the Commission what he did with the information about Oswald given him by Truly, Fritz responded: *"Well, I never did give it to anyone because when I got to the office he (Oswald) was there."*

So why would Ford, who was in a position to know better, push total nonsense, and pretend the information provided Fritz led to the issuance of a bulletin, which in turn led to Tippit's stopping Oswald? Here's one possibility... As Tippit was killed before a bulletin on Oswald could be issued, he would, assuming he stopped Oswald due to his matching a description, be reacting to the earlier bulletin based upon the description given by Brennan; this description read *"white male, approximately 30, slender build, height 5 foot 10 inches, weight 165 pounds."* Well, in 1963, when the U.S. was far thinner than it is now, that could be most anyone. Tippit may well have seen dozens of men matching that description in the 20 minutes following the broadcast of that bulletin. And yet...there is no record of him stopping or pulling over anyone based upon that description. This suggests, then, that either Tippit stopped to talk to Oswald for reasons other than his thinking Oswald was a suspect in the assassination--which would be a heck of a coincidence--or that Tippit was out looking for Oswald specifically, based upon information coming from someone other than Fritz. This last possibility, one

can only assume, was something Ford would not want to share with his readers. He may have felt it better, then, that he simply pretend Tippit had a clear-cut reason for stopping Oswald.

In any event, that wasn't the end of Ford's fabrications surrounding this mythical bulletin about Oswald. After discussing the initial description of the shooter based upon Brennan's description, and the description of Oswald in his imaginary bulletin, Ford wrote: *"The two descriptions differed in some details...and it was this discrepancy which set off the first of the countless rumors concerning the President's assassination: namely, the story that two men were involved. Thus, both here and abroad began the cascade of innuendo, supposition, twisted fact, misunderstanding, faulty analysis, and downright fantasy that surrounded the tragic death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy."*

Well, this was more smoke, of course. The public's suspicion there were multiple shooters came not from divergent descriptions of the shooter and Oswald broadcast on the 22nd, but from the statements of witnesses suggesting shots came from somewhere other than the book depository. This suspicion was then fed by the statements of witnesses describing men other than Oswald running from the building. Ford's failure to note this, and his summing up the commission's investigation with *"there is not a scintilla of credible evidence to suggest a conspiracy"* made his purpose most plain. He was out to discredit conspiracy theories at any cost, even if it meant misrepresenting the facts and inventing incidents from whole cloth--even if in doing so he'd damage the long-term credibility of the commission.

He proved this yet again in the closing paragraphs of the article. He acknowledged there'd been rumors Oswald had been a government agent, but wrote these off as having been started by Oswald's mother, Marguerite, who was confused and in denial. He thereby hid from his readers that these rumors were actually started by a number of prominent journalists, who felt there was something odd about Oswald's actions in the years leading up to the shooting, that could best be explained by his being an American agent. Ford then claimed Marguerite's claims led the commission to conduct *"a massive search...to prove or disprove the secret agent theory"* that led nowhere. Here, he hid from his readers that back in January, when the rumors about Oswald being an agent first bubbled to the surface, Commissioner Allen Dulles, a former CIA Director, told his fellow commissioners that the heads of the CIA and FBI would probably LIE about Oswald's being an agent unless they were directed by President Lyndon Johnson NOT to lie about such things, and that no one from the commission dared ask President Johnson to make such a request. Ford was thus pushing that the question of Oswald's being an agent had been resolved--when he knew for a fact it had not.

In short, he was blowing a whole lotta smoke for a whole lotta bucks...precisely what one looks for in a future president...

(Or is that too cynical?)

The Mysterious Mr. Moore

Should the Warren Commission's refusal to reach a conclusion on the number and timing of the shots, and its deliberate and ongoing efforts to deceive the public regarding Oswald's rifle capability, not cause one to wonder if their entire investigation wasn't a political charade, and should Gerald Ford's misrepresentations of the evidence against Oswald not confirm these suspicions, then one needs to learn more about...Moore. Secret Service Agent Elmer Moore, that is.

After seeing Moore's name pop up numerous times in the most suspicious of circumstances, I asked researcher Gary Murr if he'd ever looked into Moore, and it turned out that he'd shared my curiosity. He sent me some of what he'd compiled on Moore. (Additional information comes from Moore's 1-6-76 testimony before the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities.) Here, then, is what we know about Moore...

At the time of the assassination, Elmer Moore was a Secret Service investigator assigned to their San Francisco office. A week after the assassination, **11-29-63**, he was instructed to go to Dallas and assist Inspector Thomas Kelley with his investigation of the assassination. Once there, he conducted the Secret Service's investigation of Jack Ruby, in order to establish the connection or lack thereof between Ruby and Oswald. Not surprisingly, he found no connection. On **12-5-63**, he oversaw the Secret Service Survey of Dealey Plaza. The survey plat of this re-enactment, published by the Warren Commission as CE 585, and Moore's subsequent reports, reveals that he concluded, after studying the Zapruder film, that the fatal head shot at frame 313 occurred when Kennedy was 34 feet further down the street than his fellow Agent Howlett concluded only the week before, and 29 feet further down the street than the Warren Commission would conclude 6 months later. This is a bit suspicious. Is it a coincidence that Kennedy's traveling this extra distance would give the presumed sniper more time to aim, and make Oswald's purported shooting feat less fantastic? The next week, on **12-11**, Moore engaged in more mysterious activity. He visited the doctors at Parkland hospital who'd worked on Kennedy, and showed them the official autopsy report stating that the throat wound was an exit. This came as a surprise to some of these doctors, who'd initially believed and stated that the throat wound was an entrance, and repeated this speculation to reporter Jimmy Breslin, whose article on their treatment of Kennedy was in that week's Saturday Evening Post. Since the doctors were giving interviews and repeating what was believed to be incorrect information, it only makes sense then that someone in the government would want to set them straight. Evidently, it was Moore's job to set them straight.

Now here's where things get weird. Moore's 1976 testimony reflects that on **12-19**, he was ordered to contact Chief Justice Earl Warren and request that he accept Secret Service protection. He had known Warren for over 20 years. But he had never worked in the protective detail of the Secret Service beyond temporary assignments. Nevertheless, he successfully convinced Warren he needed protection, and was Warren's near-constant companion and bodyguard from that day until after the Warren Report was issued the next September. In this role, as bodyguard, he accompanied Warren to Warren's questioning of Jack Ruby. But Moore was more than just a bodyguard. He admitted to the Senate Committee in 1976 that he had "discussions daily" with Warren. The obvious and vital question of whether or not Moore kept anyone informed of these discussions was not asked. The equally obvious question of whether anyone thought it was a conflict of interest to have one of the Secret Service's chief investigators act as Warren's personal security, when Warren was supposed to be reviewing the Secret Service's investigation, also was not asked. (A Church Committee document listing the names of 27 "Secret Service Agents investigating the Assassination of President Kennedy" lists Moore as one of three "supervisors," with 24 subordinates.)

What was discussed was Moore's relationship with James Gochenaur. Gochenaur had come forward with the allegation that he'd met Moore in 1970, and that Moore had told him about some of his experiences investigating the assassination. Gochenaur said that Moore had guiltily admitted that he'd badgered Dr. Malcolm Perry into changing his testimony about the throat wound. Moore admitted meeting Gochenaur, and discussing the assassination with him, but denied Gochenaur's allegation. Moore's testimony, however, reveals he was greatly concerned about Gochenaur's allegation. He'd arrived for questioning with a personal attorney. He expressed the opinion that "to induce any witness

to change his testimony, of course that's a felony."

Where Moore's testimony falls apart, in my opinion, is where he tries to explain what DID happen when he talked to Dr. Perry and the other Parkland doctors. Moore testified "I was given a copy of the Bethesda autopsy. A mimeographed copy. There were numerous copies sent to the Dallas office and it was assigned to attempt to determine the trajectory of the bullets, the missiles, from the wound, and the report I referred to covers this... Well, what happened here, when I received the autopsy reports, there were medical terms and measurements that I was not familiar with one. I recall it was the acromion which is a process of the shoulder blade, I learned through Dr. Perry. And I think the description of the neck strap wound, the first bullet in the President's neck, was determined about 14 centimeters from the acromion process arc, and another arc from the mastoid of 14 centimeters... They're exactly the same measurements. And I was not sure of these in medical terms. The logical thing I thought at the time was to go out to talk to these people and also to let them see for the first time the results of the autopsy because they had not had the opportunity to actually see the fatal wound at all. They had never turned the body over at Parkland. They were engaged in respiratory and circulatory, you know, the trauma actions rather than examining wounds. So I had talked to Dr. Perry and he was, as I recall, 34 years old, a very personable man. He was very disturbed, as he had been quoted, where he had performed the tracheotomy through the exit wound, which is right over the Adam's Apple, it went by part of the tie. He was quite disturbed that he had been quoted in the press as having said that is an entrance wound, and he had denied that consistently, that he ever said that, that what he said was there was a wound there and it could have been an entrance or an exit... And then when he saw the autopsy report, which was the first occasion, they got a copy, I think, the following day or so, was sent down from Bethesda, and they had been in contact with the doctors by phone, I believe... but they were quite interested in the autopsy report. And after reading it I think it was Dr. Perry first and then Dr. Carrico came in. And after they read it they asked if there would be any objection to other staff doctors seeing it who had attended the President in some manner or another and were interested in it. And I saw no objection. So they went into a little conference room—I would say six or seven doctors—and discussed it for possibly ten or fifteen minutes, and I left." (When asked why he went to Parkland) "(To see) If it could be determined from the wounds the trajectory of the bullets. Did they come from the sixth floor of this and could this be proven by the—(When asked what Perry told him) "Well, that was not actually for him to answer, but what he was doing for me was determining where this wound was on the body and what direction it went".

The problem with this is it's just not credible. I mean, really, Moore just so happens to show Perry the autopsy report, telling him the throat wound is officially an exit, to let him "see for the first time the results of the autopsy because they had not had the opportunity to actually see the fatal wound at all... They had never turned the body over at Parkland"? It was all just for Perry's general information, mind you, not to get him to shut up. And really, Moore just so happens to pick Perry, the guy who told the nation in a press conference the throat wound was an entrance, as the guy to teach him a little anatomy? His contention that he consulted with Perry about the relative locations of the wounds, as opposed to his telling Perry the official conclusion about the relative positions of the wounds, is also suspect. The measurements for the back wound on the autopsy report, 14 cm from acromion and 14 cm below the tip of the right mastoid process, as we shall see, place the back wound in the back, at the same level as the throat wound. Moore's 12-11 report, after his meeting with Perry, however, asserts that the missile path of the first bullet to strike the President "is from the upper right posterior thorax to the exit position in the low anterior cervical region and is in slight general downward direction." I doubt a doctor would say such a thing. The upper thorax is, by definition, below the lower cervical region, unless the body is leaning forward. And the Zapruder film studied by Moore demonstrated that Kennedy was not leaning forward before the shots were fired. The probability, then, is that Moore went to Parkland at least in part to bring Perry into line, and let him know that the throat wound was

officially an exit., and below the back wound. As Moore, in his testimony, was dismissive that wound locations could effectively establish a bullet's trajectory, he may honestly have figured an entrance on Kennedy's back was close enough. This doesn't explain, however, his reporting that the back wound was above the throat wound, something the measurements shown to Perry prove false. One should wonder, furthermore, if Moore noticed that the location of the back wound in the drawings created by the autopsy doctors in March was far higher than the wound location he'd mapped out with Perry, and if he told Chief Warren about this problem. Perhaps the apathetic attitude towards the wound locations and trajectories revealed by Moore in his work for the Secret Service infected the Commission's re-enactment in May.

If so, it may have been by design. A 1-7-64 Treasury Department memorandum for the file reflects that Moore, who'd been traveling with Earl Warren since 12-19, was asked by Warren on 12-2 if "he could be available to the Commission for an indefinite period to assist in its work." A 12-8 memo from Secret Service Chief Rowley reflects that Moore was assigned to "furnish any service, assistance, and cooperation the Commission considers necessary." These memos fail to mention Moore's purported role as Warren's bodyguard. This raises the question of whether Moore was protecting Warren or helping him run the investigation. In Professor Gerald McKnight's *Breach of Trust*, he discusses a document found in the voluminous archives of researcher Harold Weisberg, now held at Hood College. Among the documents recovered via Weisberg's numerous Freedom of Information Act cases was a February 7, 1964 letter from Chief Counsel Rankin's Secretary, Julia Eide. This letter reflects that "all the waste material" (that is, notes, carbons, tapes) of the 1-22-64 meeting of the Warren Commission, in which they discussed the possibility Oswald was working for the FBI, was to be turned over to Secret Service Inspector Elmer Moore and burned. Doesn't sound like straight guard duty to me.

That Moore was more than Warren's guard dog is undoubtedly intriguing. In the years following the assassination, it would be revealed that the Secret Service has been used at times by Presidents as a private intelligence unit. Richard Nixon used them to spy on his own brother, and, according to Nixon aide Alexander Butterfield, spy on other political candidates as well. This raises the uncomfortable possibility that Moore was President Johnson's eyes and ears on the Commission, put in place, with Warren's acquiescence, to help keep the commission "in line". This might explain why Moore, a long time Warren acquaintance, was brought into the Secret Service's investigation on the same day that Warren agreed to chair a Presidential Commission reviewing the Secret Service's findings. This might explain as well how Anthony Lewis, writer for the New York Times, while working on a book with Johnson's close associate Abe Fortas, became privy to information that could only have come from within the Commission. It could also explain Moore's seemingly exaggerated concerns about Gochenaur's statements, and his willingness to lie about his visit to Perry. It could also explain why Moore, the only one working with the Commission to admit measuring out 14 cms from the tip of the mastoid process on a body, failed to alert Warren that this put the wound on Kennedy's back, inches below the location on the drawings entered into evidence on March 16, 1964 as the official representations of the President's wounds.

And then there's this... On November 22nd 2003, Senator Arlen Specter addressed a crowd at an assassination conference held at Duquesne University. He told the crowd about his work for the Warren Commission and of being shown an autopsy photo of the President's back wound on May 24, 1964. This autopsy photo, as we shall see, should have convinced Specter that the wound on Kennedy's back was inches below the level depicted in the commission's exhibits, and that it was therefore doubtful the shooting had occurred as purported. Instead, Specter stuck by his belief that the bullet causing this wound, after striking Kennedy's back on a sharply downward trajectory, had somehow exited from his throat. In his 2000 book *Passion for Truth*, and in previous interviews, Specter had said that Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley had shown him this photo. On this day, however, he told

the audience it was “Elmer Moore, who was the Chief’s bodyguard.” If it was indeed Moore, it would suggest that Specter was shown the photo with Warren’s blessing. Which in turn suggests that Warren, Moore and Specter all knew the wound was on the back and inches lower on the body than in the commission's exhibits. And that they'd conspired to hide this from the public...

Chapter 4: "The So-Called Evidence"

An exhaustive look at an inadequate look



The Deliberation Dilemma



Above: a bunch of white men chatting. From left to right: Former CIA Director Allen Dulles (a Republican), Congressman Hale Boggs (a Southern Democrat), Senator Sherman Cooper (a Republican), Chief Justice Earl Warren (a Republican), Senator Richard Russell (a Southern Democrat), businessman John McCloy (a Republican), and Congressman Gerald Ford (a Republican). No women, blacks, or northern liberals allowed.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

The Deliberation Dilemma

As shown in the preceding chapters, the Commission’s conclusion that Oswald fired all the shots on Kennedy was not supported by the evidence. As it turns out, their conclusion that Oswald fired any of these shots is also far from convincing.

Oswald's murder while in the protective custody of the notoriously right-wing, racist, and corrupt

Dallas Police Department had raised reasonable questions on whether he had, in fact, been framed, and that someone or some group had conspired to ensure his silence. If he had been framed, of course, it would explain the most damning piece of evidence against him: that his rifle had fired the shots. To avoid conjecture that their preplanned conclusion of Oswald acting alone was, well, unWarren-~~ted~~, the Warren Commission needed solid evidence that:

1. Oswald was on the sixth floor before the shooting, putting together his rifle and building the sniper's nest.
2. Oswald was in the sniper's nest window, with his rifle.
3. Oswald fired a rifle on 11-22.

Without convincing evidence that these three events took place, there was room to doubt Oswald's involvement in the actual shooting. Without this evidence, all they really had to suggest he shot Kennedy was that his gun was found in the building, his fingerprints were found in the sniper's nest, he fled the scene after the shooting, he soon after shot a police officer, and that he was presumed to have lied to the police in the unrecorded interrogations conducted before he could find an attorney. All this damning evidence, and it is indeed damning evidence should it be accepted without reservation, could be explained, amazingly, by the not-unreasonable proposition that he worked in the building and fled for his life once he realized he'd been set up as the president's assassin.

And so the Warren Commission and its staff had its hands full. Did they dare reveal the holes in their case against Oswald? Or would they prop up some of the weakest aspects of their case, and hide important facts from the public? Would they behave like the prosecutors they had been, or like the truth-seekers they were tasked with becoming?

Sadly, it appears they chose the former.

The Strange Reliance on Charles Givens

First, we look into the question of whether or not Oswald was on the sixth floor in the moments leading up to the shooting.

According to Captain Will Fritz's handwritten notes on his 11-22 interrogation of Oswald, Oswald claimed that in the hour before the shooting, he'd went "to 1st floor had lunch/out with Bill Shelley in front." While this might sound like Oswald was claiming to have had lunch out in front of the building with Bill Shelley, Fritz's typed up notes reflect that Oswald said "he was having his lunch about that time on the first floor." (24H265) This indicates that Oswald told Fritz he saw Shelley at a different point, possibly when he was leaving the building. The next day Oswald clarified this, and said he'd "ate lunch with some of the colored boys who worked with him. One of them was called "Junior" and the other man was a little short man whose name he did not know." (24H267) The report of Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley confirms this account, stating "He said he ate his lunch with the colored boys who worked with him. He described one of them as "Junior," a colored boy, and the other was a little short negro boy." The report of FBI agent James Bookhout (WR622), however, gives a slightly different account of Oswald's statements. Bookhout relates: "Oswald stated that on November 22, 1963, he had eaten lunch in the lunch room of the Texas School Book Depository, alone, but recalled possibly two negro employees walking through the room in this period. He stated possibly one of these employees was called "Junior" and the other was a short individual whose name he could not recall, but whom he would be able to recognize." In any event, it now fell on the investigators to see if anyone could confirm that Oswald had been in this first floor lunch room in the moments before the shooting, and, if not, whether anyone could place him on a higher floor during this time.

An 11-23-63 FBI report (CD5 p329) on Oswald co-worker Charles Douglas Givens declares "On November 22, 1963, Givens worked on the sixth floor of the building until about 11:30 A.M. when he used the elevator to travel to the first floor where he used the restroom at about 11:35 A.M. or 11:40 A.M. Givens then walked around on the first floor until 12 o'clock noon, at which time he walked onto the sidewalk and stood for several minutes...Givens recalls observing Lee working on the fifth floor during the morning filling orders. Lee was standing by the elevator in the building at 11:30 A.M when Givens went to the first floor. When he started down in the elevator, Lee yelled at him to close the gates on the elevator door so that he (Lee) could have the elevator returned to the sixth floor...Givens observed Lee reading a newspaper in the domino room where the employees eat lunch about 11:50 A.M." This FBI report expanded on a statement signed by Givens on the day before (24H210). Givens swore "I worked on the sixth floor today until about 11:30 A.M. Then I went downstairs and into the bathroom. At twelve o'clock I took my lunch period. I went to the parking lot at Record and Elm Street." The FBI report on Givens thereby appeared to confirm Oswald's story that he'd come down and had lunch in the domino room, something that seemed unlikely if Oswald had planned on killing the president in 40 minutes and still needed to assemble his rifle.

That Oswald came down for lunch was confirmed by several others.

A 12-7-63 Secret Service Report (CD87 p780) recounting an interview with William Shelley, Oswald's immediate boss, states "Mr. Shelley last saw Oswald at about 11:50 A.M., at which time Oswald was working at his normal duties on the first floor." On 4-7-64 Shelley testified (6H327-334) "I do remember seeing him when I came down to eat lunch about 10 to 12." On 5-14-64, Shelley again testified (7H390-393) and clarified that he last saw Oswald before the shooting at "10 or 15 minutes before 12...On the first floor over near the telephone."

Even more convincing, an 11-23-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Dept. signed by Eddie Piper (19H499) states "Yesterday, at 12:00 noon, this fellow Lee says to me 'I'm going up to eat' and I went on to my lunch. I went to a front window on the first floor and ate my lunch. I went to the front window on the first floor and ate my lunch and waited to see the President's parade go by. I saw the President pass and heard some shots and looked at the clock there and saw it was 12:25PM." A 12-7 Secret Service report (CD87 p780) describing an interview with Piper confirms "At about 12:00 noon on November 22, 1963, Piper last saw Oswald on the first floor and at that time Oswald said 'I'm going up to eat lunch.'" Strangely, however, an FBI report (CD206 p13) from 12-20 conceals this event from view, declaring instead that Piper "advised he came to work at his usual time, 10 A.M., November 22, 1963, and during the course of his employment had seen Lee Harvey Oswald, a fellow employee, filling orders on the first floor. He did not recall the specific time he saw Oswald, stating it was shortly after he got to work and stated that this was the only time he saw Oswald on that particular day."

Should one refuse to think the FBI was up to something, and choose instead to believe that Piper changed his story, one should consider that on 2-17-64, when interviewed by the Dallas Police (CD950, p45), Piper repeated "At around 12:00 noon, I told Oswald that I was going to eat my sandwich. Oswald mumbled something that he was going up to eat. This was the last time I saw Oswald." He also told them "During the lunch breaks, Oswald usually made several phone calls, which were usually short in length." One should then consider that on 4-8-64, Piper testified before the Warren Commission (6H382-386), and made no bones about seeing Oswald around 12 noon, telling them once that "at 12 o'clock" and later on that "Just about 12 o'clock", "I said to him—'It's about lunch time. I believe I'll go have lunch.' So he says, 'Yeah'—he mumbled something—I don't know whether he said he was going up or going out..."

Piper's statements are thereby consistent, and indicative Oswald was on the first floor around noon. While Piper's original statement indicates he thought the President was shot around 12:25, when he was actually shot around 12:30, this suggests the clock he was looking at was a bit slow, and that he

actually saw Oswald around 12:05. Under no circumstances can it be taken to suggest he failed to see Oswald at all, or that he actually saw him much earlier in the day.

Only adding to the likelihood Oswald was not on the sixth floor during this period are the statements of Bonnie Ray Williams. An 11-23-63 FBI report on Bonnie Ray Williams (CD5 p330) states "At approximately 12 noon, Williams went back upstairs to the sixth floor with his lunch. He stayed on that floor only about three minutes." A 12-7 Secret Service Report (CD87 p784) on an interview with Williams went into more detail, stating "After Williams picked up his lunch on the first floor (Note: he came down at the same time as Givens) he returned to the sixth floor...Williams said he spent just a few minutes eating his lunch and that during that time he did not see anyone else or hear anything on the sixth floor. As soon as he finished his lunch, Williams went to the fifth floor of the building and he estimated the time to be prior to 12:15 P.M." An FBI report on a 1-8-64 interview (CD329, p13) cut Williams' time on the sixth floor back down again. It states that Williams "recalled that he ate lunch about noon on November 22, 1963 on the sixth floor of the TSBD Building and about that time he heard James Earl Jarman Jr. also known as "Junior" and Harold "Hank" Norman on the fifth floor and he joined them there by going down on the west elevator about 12:05 P.M." This time of 12:05 is a bit curious, and is quite possibly the approximation of Special agents Carter and Griffin, the writers of the report, and not Williams. Williams made it clear, after all, that he only came down to the fifth floor after hearing Jarman and Norman on the floor below. On 1-8-64, agents Carter and Griffin spoke to both Jarman and Norman. Jarman said he thought he went up to the fifth floor around 12:25 (CD329, p12) and Norman said he went up to the fifth floor "about 12:10 to 12:20" (CD329, p14).

From this one can gather that Williams was on the sixth floor until just a few minutes before the shooting at 12:30. Perhaps this explains why Williams' signed statement from the afternoon of the shooting (24H229) suggests he was at first too scared to say he'd been on the sixth floor at all. There, Williams declares that, after he came downstairs to get his lunch, "I went back on the fifth floor with a fellow called Hank and Junior, I don't know his last name. Just after we got on the fifth floor we saw the President coming around the corner on Houston from Main Street." Just after?

In any event, on 3-19-64, Williams, who'd originally stated he heard but two shots, signed a statement to the FBI (22H681) asserting he'd heard three shots. He also asserted that "The last time I saw Lee Harvey Oswald on November 22, 1963 was at about 11:40 A.M. At that time Oswald was on the sixth floor on the east side of the building. I did not pay particular attention to what he was doing." This directly contradicted his signed statement to Dallas County from the afternoon of the shooting, in which he claimed "I didn't see Oswald anymore, that I remember, after I saw him at 8 A.M." If the FBI and Warren Commission thought this signaled a new and improved Williams, one who would help them make their case that Oswald stayed on the sixth floor when everyone else came down for lunch, however, they had another think coming. When Williams testified on 3-24-64 (3H161-184) he stated that the sixth floor crew had quit working at 5 to 12 (his statement on the afternoon of the shooting said 10 to 12) and that he had went back up to the sixth floor looking for others after grabbing his lunch. He testified further that he ate lunch by himself for "5, 10, 12 minutes...no longer than it took me to finish my chicken sandwich" before heading back down to the fifth floor. When pressed further on what time he came down to the fifth floor, he responded "I finished the chicken sandwich maybe 10 or 15 minutes after 12. I could say approximately what time it was." He then told them something no one could expect: "Approximately 12:20, maybe." Later, when asked by Commissioner Dulles if he had heard anything on the sixth floor while he was eating, he responded "I felt like I was all alone. That is one of the reasons I left--because it was so quiet."

As Williams sat but a few yards from the sniper's nest and did not see or hear anyone else at this time, it suggests that, upon leaving Piper, Oswald went up to the second floor break room (where he was discovered within 90 seconds of the shooting) or to the domino room, and did not immediately head

back up to the sixth floor, if at all. An 11-26-63 FBI report on Mrs. Caroline Arnold (CD5 p41) relates "As she was standing in front of the building, she stated she thought she caught a fleeting glimpse of Lee Harvey Oswald standing in the doorway between the front door and the double doors leading to the warehouse, located on the first floor. She could not be sure that this was Oswald, but said she felt it was and believed the time to be a few minutes before 12:15 pm." Mrs. Arnold was never called to testify.

Since the only man identifying Oswald as the shooter in the sixth floor window, Howard Brennan, failed to do so while Oswald was still alive, and only did so after prodding by the Secret Service, the statements placing Oswald downstairs in the forty-five minutes before the shooting created a major problem for those seeking to blame him for the shooting. There was no hard evidence suggesting Oswald was the man seen in the window minutes before the shooting. If Oswald had been downstairs, moreover, there was no evidence he went back up. The Commission needed to explain how Oswald was able to build the sniper's nest and re-construct his dismantled rifle in the short time between Williams' departure and the arrival of the motorcade.

Incredibly, they decided to argue that Oswald had never come down for lunch.

They didn't get much help from James "Junior" Jarman, the man Oswald purportedly claimed to have seen in the domino room. In his 11-22 Affidavit to Dallas County, Jarman remembered last seeing Oswald "between 11:30 A.M. and 12:00 noon when he was taking the elevator upstairs to go get boxes. At about 11:45 A.M. all of the employees who were working on the sixth floor came downstairs and we were all out on the street about 12:00 noon." (24H213) Hmm... The vagueness of this statement leaves open the possibility that Jarman had seen Oswald take the elevator back up after the others had come down for lunch. In his testimony, however, Jarman made it clear that, although he'd been in the domino room after quitting for lunch at 5 to 12, he didn't remember seeing Oswald at this time. This suggests he last saw Oswald before 5 to 12. As he identified Shelley as one of those coming downstairs around 11:45, moreover, and as Shelley repeatedly claimed to have seen Oswald downstairs around 11:50, and Piper had repeatedly claimed to have seen Oswald at 12:00, the combined statements and testimony of the credible witnesses to Oswald's whereabouts before the shooting suggested Oswald went upstairs between 11:30 and 11:45, and then followed the sixth floor crew downstairs.

The statements and testimony of Harold "Hank" Norman, were even less helpful to the commission. In his 3-24-64 testimony, Norman admitted "I ate my lunch in the domino room." When asked if anyone had been in there with him, moreover, he answered in a strange manner: "I think there was someone else in there because we usually played dominoes in there but that particular day we didn't play that morning." Well, what does this mean? How would his normally playing dominoes but not on that day make him think someone else was in there? Well, I suspect this is explained in a 12-7 Secret Service Report on the depository employees, in which Billy Lovelady is quoted as stating "The other employees usually play dominoes during their lunch period after they have eaten, but Oswald never showed any interest in taking part in the games." (CD87 p780) This undoubtedly suggests that the "someone else" Norman thought was in the domino room was specifically one Lee Harvey Oswald. In either case, Norman next told the commission that he got together with Jarman after finishing his lunch and that the two of them went outside around "12 or 12:10." (3H186-197). As Norman was of small stature and was almost certainly the short man Oswald claimed to have seen, either Oswald had actually seen Norman and Jarman together during this lunch period or had made an incredibly lucky guess.

(FWIW, Vincent Bugliosi, in his monster tome *Reclaiming History*, tries to dismiss the possibility that Oswald was in the break room with Norman by claiming "But Danny Arce told the Warren Commission that he and Jack Dougherty ate their lunch in the domino room during the period Norman described. In fact, Arce was one of those who joined Norman and Jarman when they walked outside a

moment later. Obviously, Arce and Dougherty were the 'someone else' Norman had referred to." Uhhh...not so fast. Arce in fact testified that he went outside "With Billy Lovelady and Mr. Shelley and I was out there with Junior;" this indicates that he did not leave the break room with Jarman, as suggested by Bugliosi, but that he only saw Jarman outside. Even worse, Arce specified that he did not see Norman in the break room, telling the Commission, when asked if he had seen Bonnie Ray Williams downstairs "No, he stayed upstairs with Hank." Hank is Norman. If Arce thought Williams was upstairs with Hank, it follows then that he did not see Hank in the domino room. Bugliosi's dismissal is therefore so much moonshine, and the point he claims is "obvious" is obvious BS.)

So...was Oswald's description of Jarman and Norman just a lucky guess? I think not. Let's go back for a second. Agent Bookhout's report on Oswald's interrogation, let's recall, did not claim Oswald had said he'd eaten lunch with Jarman and Norman, as presented by Capt. Fritz. It said: "Oswald stated that on November 22, 1963, he had eaten lunch in the lunch room of the Texas School Book Depository, alone, but recalled possibly two negro employees walking through the room in this period. He stated possibly one of these employees was called "Junior" and the other was a short individual whose name he could not recall, but whom he would be able to recognize." Perhaps, then, Oswald had seen Jarman and Norman not when most assume he claimed he'd seen them--when he first came down for lunch--but later, when they came back in the building and went back upstairs.

Indeed, it seems a bit of a coincidence that, according to Jarman's testimony, there were "too many people standing on the stairway" in front of the building when he and Norman decided to go back inside and view the motorcade from an upstairs window, and that he and Norman had thereupon re-entered the building by its north entrance. In doing so, they would have passed in front of the open door to the domino room, where Oswald claimed to have been sitting. They were the only two to admit coming in that entrance when Oswald claimed to have been sitting there, and they were the only two Oswald recalled seeing while he was sitting there. (One can view the layout of the first floor of the building [here](#). Note in particular the relationship of the domino room to the north entrance, bathroom, and elevator.)

This brings us to the **4-8-64** testimony of Charles Givens (6H345-356). Here, Givens suddenly remembered "it was about a quarter till 12, we were on our way downstairs, and we passed him, and he (Oswald) was standing at the gate on the fifth floor. I came downstairs, and I discovered I left my cigarettes in my jacket pocket upstairs, and I took the elevator back upstairs to get my jacket with my cigarettes in it. When I got back upstairs, he was on the sixth floor in that vicinity, coming from that way...Toward the window up front where the shots were fired from....he had his clipboard in his hand...He was coming towards the elevators...He said..."When you get downstairs, close the gate to the elevator." When asked the time of his return to the first floor, Givens responded "Well, I would say it was about 5 minutes to 12, then because it was---" But Givens would never get to explain his reasoning. Counsel David Belin interrupted him with a question about what he did next. Givens testified "When I got down to the first floor Harold Norman, James Jarman and myself, we stood over by the window, and then we said we was going outside and watch the parade, so we walked out and we stood there a while, and then I said, "I believe I will walk up to the parking lot." Belin then asked Givens if he had ever told anyone he saw Oswald reading a newspaper in the domino room around 11:50 on November 22nd and Givens replied "No, sir."

While I, and I dare say most, researchers long assumed Givens to be lying on this last point, seeing as the FBI's initial report on Givens claimed "Givens observed Lee reading a newspaper in the domino room where the employees eat lunch about 11:50 A.M." I now see this as a mistake. In February 2012, I stumbled across the FBI's first teletype regarding Givens. (This teletype can be found in FBI file 62-109060 sec 9 p54 on the Mary Ferrell Foundation website.) Here, only hours after he'd been interviewed, it was claimed "Charles Douglas Givens, Employee, TSBD, worked on sixth floor until

about eleven thirty A.M. Left at this time going down on elevator. Saw Oswald on fifth floor as left going down. Oswald told him to close the gates when he got to first floor so Oswald could signal for elevator later. Givens stayed on first floor until twelve o'clock and then walked out of the building to watch the parade pass. Oswald was reading paper in the first floor domino room *seven-fifty A.M.* November twenty two last when Givens came to work."

Well, hell. What's this? Here in this summary of its interview with Givens it is claimed Givens told the FBI he saw Oswald at 7:50 A.M., not 11:50 A.M.

This led me to re-read the FBI's report on this interview. I then realized that the sentences I cut out of Givens' statement at the beginning of this chapter were far more important than I thought, and helped provide the proper context for Givens' statement about seeing Oswald in the domino room. Here is the oft-quoted statement in its proper context: "*Givens said that during the past few days Lee had commented that he rode to work with a boy named Wesley. Givens said all employees enter the back door of the building when Jack Dougherty, the foreman opens the door about 7 A.M. On the morning of November 22, 1963, Givens observed Lee reading a newspaper in the domino room where the employees eat lunch about 11:50 A.M.*" Within this context, the "about 11:50 A.M." represents the time the employees eat lunch, not the time Givens saw Oswald. Givens had thereby claimed he saw Oswald in the domino room EARLY in the morning. Before starting work. And not during lunch, as claimed by just about everyone.

That Givens told the FBI he saw Oswald before work, it should be noted, only adds to the suspicion he lied in his subsequent testimony. After establishing that Givens got to work at 7:45 on the day of the shooting, Warren Commission counsel David Belin asked a series of questions about Givens' seeing Oswald in the domino room at that time. He is clearly aware of the FBI report. And is anxious to have Givens refute it.

Mr. BELIN. Did you see him come into the domino room at all?

Mr. GIVENS. Not that morning, no, sir; I didn't.

Mr. BELIN. When did you leave the domino room to go up to the sixth floor?

Mr. GIVENS. 8 o'clock.

Mr. BELIN.. At 8 o'clock?

Mr. GIVENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BELIN. So you don't feel he came in the domino room before 8 o'clock?

Mr. GIVENS. No, sir; not that morning he didn't.

So why didn't Belin read Givens the FBI report, and ask Givens for an explanation?

A few minutes later, they returned, so to speak, to the domino room.

Mr. BELIN. Did you see Lee Oswald anywhere else in the building between 11:55 and the time you left the building?

Mr. GIVENS. No, sir.

Mr. BELIN. On November 22d?

Mr. GIVENS. No, sir.

Mr. BELIN. Did you see him in the domino room at all around anywhere between 11:30 and 12 or 12:30?

Mr. GIVENS. No, sir.

Mr. BELIN. Did you see him reading the newspaper?

Mr. GIVENS. No; not that day. I did--he generally sit in there every morning. He would come to work and sit in there and read the paper, the next day paper, like if the day was Tuesday, he would read Monday's paper in the morning when he would come to work, but he didn't that morning because he didn't go in the domino room that morning. I didn't see him in the domino room that morning.

Belin asked Givens about seeing Oswald around lunchtime, and Givens went out of his way to say he didn't see Oswald in the domino room that morning. Hmmm...

A few minutes later, Belin asked the magic question. He obviously understood that the FBI's report could be interpreted as claiming Givens saw Oswald at 11:50, and wanted to clear this up.

Mr. BELIN. Did you ever tell anyone that you saw Lee Oswald reading a newspaper in the domino room around 11:50, 10 minutes to 12 on that morning on November 22d?

Mr. GIVENS. No, sir.

Well, yucch. These questions raise even more questions. If Belin had avoided the subject of Givens' seeing Oswald in the domino room, one might believe he was simply asking questions and letting Givens tell his story. But he asked numerous questions about the subject. And had clearly read the FBI's report on its interview with Givens. And had allowed Givens to contradict the FBI report. And had failed to note this contradiction on the record.

Well, this, when coupled with Belin's similar failure to expose Givens' changing his story from his seeing Oswald as he went down for lunch to his seeing Oswald when he went back up for cigarettes, suggests Belin was complicit in Givens' lies. He, as the public's representative, either had reason to believe Givens was lying, and had refused to put it on the record, or had actually helped arrange the lies.

That Belin was himself a liar, moreover, is supported by his behavior when the inconsistencies of Givens' testimony came to light. In 1973, Belin published *November 22, 1963: You are the Jury!*, a defense of the Warren Commission. Here, he presented Givens as credible, never mentioning the inconsistencies he had previously acknowledged. Here, on at least three separate occasions, he claimed Givens was the last to see Oswald in the building before the shooting. Here, he never once mentioned Eddie Piper, the janitor who had consistently and from the beginning claimed to see Oswald on the ground floor around noon, five minutes *after* the time Givens had claimed to see Oswald. Piper's claim he saw Oswald at noon had been discussed, moreover, in a February 24, 1964 memo authored by Belin. This memo had in turn been discussed by Sylvia Meagher in an August 1971 article in the *Texas Observer*, upon which Belin had negatively commented. Piper's April 8, 1964 testimony had been taken, for that matter, by Joseph Ball, Belin's partner in the investigation. There is simply no way Belin was unaware of Piper's testimony, and his failure to acknowledge it in his book was inexcusable.

And that's but one example of Belin's slipperiness. In February 1976, in an extended article in the *National Review*, Belin once again defended his behavior regarding Givens. Here, he claimed Givens had first said he saw Oswald on the sixth floor with a clipboard months before his testimony, when he spoke to the Secret Service in December. Belin thereby suggested that Givens' testimony about seeing Oswald on the sixth floor was just a clarification of an earlier story, and not a brand new concoction worthy of cross-examination.

Let's take a look at the Secret Service's report on Givens: *"On November 22, 1963, Givens, along with other employees working on the sixth floor, was laying the new plywood floor. Givens stated that he saw Oswald on the sixth floor at about 11:45 A.M. on that date, and that Oswald was carrying a clipboard that appeared to have some orders on it. Givens felt that Oswald was looking for some books to fill an order, which is his job, and did not give the matter further thought. Shortly, thereafter, Givens and the other employees working on the floor-laying project quit for lunch and they took both elevators. They were racing the elevators to the first floor and Givens heard Oswald call to them to send one of the elevators back up. It is Givens' recollection that Oswald was wearing a brown shirt, when he last saw him."* (CD 87, p780).

Yikes! Belin had failed to tell his readers that Givens had told the Secret Service he saw Oswald on the

sixth floor BEFORE he--Givens--went down for lunch, and not after he returned to get his cigarettes, as he would later testify. As a number of witnesses, including Givens, claimed they saw or heard Oswald on the fifth floor as they went down for lunch, there is a world of difference in the stories, as one places Oswald on the fifth floor about 11:45 and one places Oswald on the sixth floor just before noon. It's hard to believe, moreover, that Belin would fail to appreciate the significance of this change in the story, and think it of such little importance he would fail to tell it to his readers. It follows, then, that he was being willfully deceptive.

But enough about Belin. Let's get back to Givens. Subsequent to his testimony, the FBI decided to interview Givens yet again. The 6-4-64 FBI report (CD1245 p182) on this meeting reflects that Givens stood by his Warren Commission testimony and that "he now recalls he returned to the sixth floor at about 11:45 p.m." Strangely, it fails to even address the question of whether or not Givens saw Oswald in the domino room on the morning of the shooting, and Givens' contradicting the FBI's initial report on this question.

So Givens, nearly five months after the shooting, "now recalled" seeing Oswald both before lunch, as he headed down from the sixth floor in an elevator, and a few minutes later, after going back up to get his cigarettes. Well, what is one to think of this? Maybe Givens had a bad memory. Was his new and improved recollection really all that important?

There are reasons to believe not. Givens' assertion that he went back upstairs and encountered Oswald shortly after 11:45, when taken with Shelley's and Piper's statements, after all, suggests only that Oswald followed Givens back downstairs and made a phone call, and then went back up to the second floor. Certainly, one can not take Givens' delayed recollection that he returned to the first floor "about 5 to 12" as evidence that Shelley failed to see Oswald at 10 to 12 or that Piper was wrong about seeing him at 12.

Well, at least no one reasonable--in Reclaiming History Vincent Bugliosi argues that we should believe that Shelley and Piper--who saw Oswald on the first floor at "10 to 12" and "12", respectively, had in fact seen Oswald several minutes before Givens--whose sense of time he inexplicably trusts--saw him on the fifth floor "about a quarter to 12". It seems much more likely that Givens was off by a few minutes and had returned to the first floor before 5 to 12, and/or that Shelley was off by a few minutes and saw Oswald after 10 to 12, than that Piper was off by more than 15 minutes in a statement signed the day after the shooting, and had completely mis-remembered the circumstances under which he saw Oswald. Piper, after all, knew when he went to lunch, and felt certain he saw Oswald as he went to lunch. This is the kind of thing that a janitor would be likely to know.

Of course, there is the already referenced possibility, first explored by researcher Sylvia Meagher, that Givens flat out lied when he said he'd went back up to the sixth floor after he came down for lunch. The 11-23-63 FBI teletype reporting on its interview of Givens, after all, claimed "Givens *stayed* on first floor until twelve o'clock and then walked out of the building to watch the parade pass." The 12-7-63 Secret Service Report (CD87 p780) summarizing an interview with Givens, moreover, not only failed to mention that he'd went back upstairs and encountered Oswald, it actually had him stating that he saw Oswald with the clipboard and heard him yell out *before* he came down for lunch. There's also this. The last line of the Secret Service report claims: "*It is Givens' recollection that Oswald was wearing a brown shirt, when he last saw him.*" This is most intriguing.

What with Givens' changing his story from seeing Oswald on the sixth floor with a clipboard before he came down for lunch to his seeing Oswald on the sixth floor with a clipboard after he came down for lunch between 12-7-63 and 4-8-64, and his being the only employee to say he thought he'd seen Oswald wearing a brown shirt after the FBI had discovered threads consistent with Oswald's brown shirt on the rifle, one might reasonably suspect that someone was pressuring or paying Givens to

change his story.

A 2-9-64 article in the Fort Worth Star Telegram gives us even greater reason to suspect Givens had deliberately changed his story. According to the article, written by Thayer Waldo, a Secret Service agent had boasted that a negro witness, who "had been arrested in the past by the Special Services office of the Dallas Police for gambling" had come forward, and had claimed to have seen Oswald actually fire the shots that killed Kennedy. According to Waldo, who claimed to have sat in on a conversation between this agent and another man, the agent said "*Wait till that old black boy gets up in front of the Warren Commission and tells his story. That will settle everything. Yes, sir. He was right there on the same floor; looking out the next window; and, after the first shot, he looked and saw Oswald, and then he ran. I saw him in the Dallas Police station. He was still the scariest nigger I ever seen. I heard him tell the officer, 'Man you don't know how fast fast is, because you didn't see me run that day.' He said he ran and hid behind the boxes because he was afraid that Oswald would shoot him.*" As Givens was the only school book depository employee with a notable police record, and was also one of the very few to have seen Oswald in the hour before the shooting, the "negro witness" described in the article is most certainly Givens.

Since Givens never signed a statement or offered testimony describing these events, however, it suggests that either Givens had lied to the police, the agent was lying to Waldo, or that Waldo himself had embellished his story. Perhaps the agent, who Waldo would later reveal to be Mike Howard, had merely indicated that Givens' story was damaging to Oswald, and Waldo had filled in the blanks.

On 2-13-64 the FBI looked into this story. They contacted Jack Revill, a Lieutenant in the Dallas PD's Special Service Bureau. Revill told them the man described in the article was most logically Charles Givens. Revill told them that Givens had a history of drug use and "would change his story for money". Revill told them, furthermore, that although he thought the character in the story was Givens, "that when Givens was interviewed immediately after the assassination, he stated he was not in the building at the time of the assassination." The FBI report then recounts Givens' earlier story that he came down for lunch around 11:30, and that, as he came down, he heard Oswald yell out and ask to have the elevator sent back up. (CD735, p295-296).

Months later, after Waldo's story was dredged up by Mark Lane as an indication the Secret Service had been planting false stories in the press, the FBI re-investigated. On May 28, 1964, the FBI wrote a report after talking with agent Mike Howard. (25H844-845). While Howard admitted that he and his brother, Deputy Sheriff Pat Howard, had had a conversation with Waldo, he claimed they did not know he was a reporter, and that they'd never discussed a negro witness to the shooting. On this same day Waldo signed a sworn statement backing his published version of the story. (25H846-848). A few days later, the Bureau contacted Pat Howard, and he admitted that he and his brother had told Waldo about a negro employee with a criminal record who had fled the building after the shots, for fear he would be implicated. (25H849-850) This is clearly a reference to Givens. If the Howards were telling the truth, and they just mentioned Givens because they thought his flight was an "amusing incident," it seems an incredible coincidence that Givens would shortly thereafter change his story and help the Warren Commission put the rifle in Oswald's hand.

Yes, you read that right...I wrote *shortly thereafter*. You see there is evidence that, although Givens first officially told his tale on 4-08-64, that he actually changed his story within days of Howard's talking to Waldo. The February 21, 1964 cover story of Life Magazine, which treated Oswald's sole guilt as a given fact, revealed "A few minutes *after noon*, as the President and his wife were pulling away from the airport in the open presidential limousine, an employee in the school book building, Charles Givens, saw Oswald on the sixth floor and said 'Let's go down and watch the President go by.' 'Not now,' Oswald responded. 'Just send the elevator back up.'" Hmmm...a story sneaks out that a black man with a criminal record is gonna implicate Oswald; a report is written indicating that this man is Charles

Givens, that he will change his story for money, and that he really doesn't know anything; a thoroughly-biased article then appears in a prominent magazine citing Givens as the source of previously undisclosed information, information that is extremely damaging to Oswald; this info, furthermore, is inconsistent with Givens' sworn testimony months later. From this one might gather Life paid Givens for his story, and that he lied to them, or that someone paid or pressured Givens to lie to them. One can not reasonably assert or assume his cloudy memory suddenly became clear.

Adding to the mystery surrounding Givens' sudden change of mind is the fact that only a few hours after Givens testified Dallas Police inspector J. Herbert Sawyer testified about the events leading up to his putting out an APB for someone matching Oswald's description (4H315-325)...and that his words appeared to confirm Givens' story. When asked if he'd put out an APB for anyone besides the white male observed in the sniper's nest, he replied "There is another broadcast in there somewhere, though. I put out another description on the colored boy that worked in that department...He is one that had a previous record in the narcotics, and he was supposed to have been a witness to the man being on that floor. He was supposed to have been a witness to Oswald being there." He was then asked if this man was Charles Givens, and replied "Yes, I think that is the name, and I put out a description on him." When asked the vital question of how he found out Givens had seen Oswald, he replied: "Somebody told me that. Somebody came to me with the information. And again, that particular party, whoever it was, I don't know. I remember that a deputy sheriff came up to me who had been over taking these affidavits, that I sent them over there, and he came over from the sheriff's office with a picture and a description of this colored boy and he said that he was supposed to have worked at the Texas Book Depository, and he was the one employee who was missing, or he was missing from the building. He wasn't accounted for, and that he was suppose to have some information about the man that did the shooting."

Well, this is peculiar. Who was this "somebody" who knew that Givens had seen Oswald? Givens had not come back in the building and talked to anyone after the shooting. Therefore, it must have been someone who'd talked to him after he'd come down from the sixth floor, but before he left the building...someone who'd spoken to the Dallas police on 11-22, or who'd spoken to someone who'd spoken to the police. This person could very well be James Jarman. While Jarman did not sign an affidavit until 11-23, he undoubtedly spoke to his boss Roy Truly (who spent a considerable amount of time with the police on 11-22) about the line-up of depository employees, in which it was discovered that both Oswald and Givens were missing. Jarman had also spoken to Givens after Givens had come down for lunch. It seems reasonable then to suspect that the two spoke about Oswald sometime around noon, before Givens walked up the street, and that Jarman had told this to Truly when both Oswald and Givens went missing. (When Jarman testified on 3-24-64, he was not asked about any conversations with Givens.) Perhaps Givens had told Jarman that Oswald had asked for someone to send the elevator back up for him when the sixth floor crew came down for lunch. And that no one had done so. Perhaps Givens had mentioned going back up to the sixth floor to get his cigarettes, and his seeing Oswald still up there.

But I doubt it. It seems highly unlikely that the Warren Commission, desperate to prove that Oswald had stayed up on the sixth floor during his lunch period, would fail to provide a corroborating witness for Givens' latter-day story that he saw Oswald at 5 to 12, should there have been one. It appears, therefore, that Jarman--or whomever--remembered Givens saying that he saw Oswald just before he came down with the others, and not that he saw him after going back up for cigarettes. Sawyer's testimony then suggests 3 possibilities: 1) that Sawyers' memory was accurate and that Givens had told someone he saw Oswald on the sixth floor when he went back up for cigarettes, but that the Warren Commission had failed to identify and interview this person; 2) that Sawyers lied to bolster Givens' testimony by pretending that the DPD was aware that Givens' had had important information on

Oswald all along; and 3) that Sawyers incorrectly remembered why they were looking for Givens. As Givens was the only convicted felon working in the building and as he just so happened to disappear after the shooting, it only makes sense that they'd be looking for him. The Dallas Police tapes of Sawyers' conversation about Givens, in fact, reflect that he explained why he wanted Givens to be located, and had said simply "*He is a porter that worked on this floor up here. He has a police record and he left.*"

At this point, I'm leaning toward option number three. On his website, single-assassin theorist Dale Myers makes what is at least for me a convincing argument that Sawyers was just clutching at straws, and had no real recollection of why they were looking for Givens.

But there's also reasons to suspect option two--that Sawyers deliberately lied in order to help prop up Givens' newfound story. On 5-13-64, Detective Jack Revill, who on 2-13-64 had warned the FBI that Givens would "change his story for money," testified before the Warren Commission. In his testimony, Revill discussed his actions in the hours just after the shooting. Strangely, he testified, that within hours of the shots, "I talked to a negro by the name of Givens...I asked him if he had been on the sixth floor, and as well as I recall, and Detective Brian was present at this same time, he said yes, that he had observed Mr. Lee over by this window. Well, I asked him who Mr. Lee was, he said, a "It is a white boy." He didn't know his full name. So I turned this Givens individual over to one of our negro detectives and told him to take him to Captain Fritz for interrogation." (5H33-47). Detective Brian testified just after Revill. He was not asked about Givens. When Captain Fritz testified he was also not asked about Givens. Even stranger, there is no record that Givens--who Revill, in his testimony, would have us believe was an important witness--was extensively interrogated on 11-22-63, or that he said he saw Oswald by the window. Givens' signed statement from 11-22, in fact, never even mentions Oswald. We should recall as well that Revill, when interviewed by the FBI on 2-13-64, failed to say anything about Givens' seeing Oswald by the window. He had, in fact, been dismissive that Givens knew anything about the shooting.

Ultimately, however, whether or not Givens or Sawyers or Revill lied is not as important as the fact that the Commission accepted Givens' inconsistent and not entirely credible testimony as evidence Oswald never came down for lunch. By doing so, the commission blatantly disregarded the consistent statements of the far more credible Shelley, Piper and Arnold. Even worse, the commission's report asserted that Givens saw Oswald at 11:55 and "was the last known employee to see Oswald inside the building prior to the assassination." Now this *is* a flat-out lie. Piper, of course, repeatedly claimed he saw Oswald at 12:00.

While I tend to give people the benefit of the doubt, this lie was most likely deliberate. When an official report, re-written numerous times by men supposedly versed in the facts, makes an almost certainly false claim, based on the statements of someone who has repeatedly changed his story, and then supports the relevance of this claim by making a demonstrably false claim, it seems reasonable to assume that a decision has been made to deceive the public and obstruct its search for truth.

Particularly when there's other false claims supporting this same almost certainly false claim... In its report, the Commission supports Givens' story by claiming: "The significance of Givens' observation that Oswald was carrying his clipboard became apparent on December 2, 1963, when an employee, Frankie Kaiser, found a clipboard hidden by book cartons in the northwest corner of the sixth floor at the west wall a few feet from where the rifle had been found. This clipboard had been made by Kaiser and had his name on it. Kaiser identified it as the clipboard which Oswald had appropriated from him when Oswald came to work at the Depository. Three invoices on this clipboard, each dated November 22, were for Scott Foresman books, located on the first and sixth floors. Oswald had not filled any of the three orders." This passage is incredibly deceptive.

The first of these deceptions is a subtle one. The significance of Givens' story about the clipboard did not become apparent when Kaiser found the clipboard, as contended in the report. Kaiser found the clipboard on 12-2; none of the statements by Givens or memos on Givens mentioned Oswald's having a clipboard until 12-7, when Givens was reported to have said he saw Oswald with the clipboard as he (Givens) first came down for lunch. By implying Givens' story about the clipboard preceded Kaiser's finding of the clipboard, of course, the Commission gives the impression Givens had told the story he first told more than four months after the shooting--about going back up to get his cigarettes and running into Oswald on the sixth floor--from the beginning. They knew this wasn't true.

The second deception is more concrete, and is another flat out lie. The clipboard was not hidden by book cartons, as contended. The discoverer of the clipboard, Frankie Kaiser, testified that the clipboard was "just laying there in the plain open...you see, we've got a pretty good space back there and I just noticed it laying over there...it was laying on the floor." When asked further if there were "any boxes between the wall and the clipboard?" he answered directly "No, not between the wall and the clipboard--there wasn't." When asked the more concrete question if there were any "boxes between the stairway and the clipboard?" he answered "No, you see, here's---let me see just a second---here's the stairs right here, and we went down this way and here's the stairs this way going up and here's the--and it was laying right in here by the cards--there are about four or five cards, I guess, running in front of it--just laying between the part you go down and the part you go up....right there in the corner" (6H341-345). Neither Kaiser nor his boss, William Shelley, nor the FBI's Nat Pinkston, who also saw the clipboard in this location, ever described it as being "hidden". The photo of the boxes by which the clipboard was found, moreover, marked by Kaiser and submitted into evidence as Kaiser exhibit A, shows that this clipboard would have been laying between two short rows of books with an open end, whereby anyone standing at the end of these rows, or even passing by, could see the clipboard laying right there on the floor. It was not hidden.

The third deception is also significant. The clipboard was found more than "a few feet" from the rifle. It was more like 10-12 feet, across an aisle and a row of boxes. By saying "a few feet" the report implies that Oswald most probably stashed the clipboard at the same time he was stashing the rifle. This is simply not true. The clipboard location was in fact past the entrance to the down staircase from the rifle location. It makes no sense whatsoever that Oswald would walk out of his way to hide a clipboard containing orders that gave him a legitimate excuse to be on the sixth floor, while in flight for his life. It makes a lot more sense that Oswald would leave these unfilled orders when he came down for lunch. The clipboard location was, after all, close to both the elevator and the staircase. (The relative locations of the rifle and clipboard are best demonstrated in the Commission's own exhibit, [Commission Exhibit 2707](#).)

This brings us to a fourth deception... While the report implies that there is something suspicious about the orders on the clipboard all being unfilled, the reverse is true--it is exactly as one should expect should Oswald have been innocent. An order-puller, after all, would take his completed orders downstairs to the shipping and billing department when he came down for lunch. As all three orders found on the clipboard were for books found on the sixth floor, moreover, there is no reason to believe Oswald wasn't intending to come back and fill those orders after lunch. These books, moreover, could very well have been found within a few feet of the clipboard location; the Commission doesn't say. As no real effort was made to determine what orders Oswald HAD filled on the 22nd, furthermore, there is no reason to believe Oswald hadn't filled an order for a book stored nearby the clipboard location, quit for lunch, lay down his clipboard, and transported the order downstairs. The Commission's implying the clipboard's being found in this location supported Givens' story, when it quite possibly had an innocent explanation, and may have actually supported Oswald's innocence, was unreasonable and unfair.

There was just no reason to trust Givens. The line in the 11-23 FBI report about Givens seeing Oswald in the break room on the morning of the shooting is quite clear, once read in the proper context. And it's not as if the FBI agent taking the notes was thinking of somebody else. At the very least, the Commission counsel tasked with this line of inquiry, David Belin and Joe Ball, should have called the FBI and Secret Service agents who'd interviewed Givens in the weeks after the shooting to see if they had notes on their meetings with Givens, and would vouch that Givens had made the statements attributed to him in their early reports. That the Commission's counsel did not, and lustily accepted Givens' sudden recollection 4 months later that "Oh yeah, I saw Oswald on the sixth floor about 5 to 12," is to their everlasting shame.

But their shame was destined to be shared. On June 25, 1967, CBS News debuted part 1 of a 4 part investigation of the Warren Commission's findings. As to whether or not Oswald was on the sixth floor at the time of the shooting CBS relied on the statements of one man: Charles Givens. Eddie Barker of CBS introduced Givens as the "last man known to have seen Lee Harvey Oswald before the assassination." Givens then repeated his story of seeing Oswald standing in the middle of the sixth floor with orders in his hand, and of Oswald asking him to close the door on the elevator when he got to the bottom, so that Oswald could call it when needed. When Barker asked Givens "This would be about what time?" however, Givens' gave a new response, indicating that someone, somewhere, had alerted Givens to Piper's testimony. Givens told Barker "Well, about one or two minutes after twelve." Not surprisingly, CBS failed to alert their viewers that Givens had thereby changed his story, yet AGAIN, and that Bonnie Ray Williams, cited elsewhere on their program, had testified he was on the sixth floor from about noon to 12:20 and had seen neither Givens nor Oswald.

(Although Edward Shields, Givens' lunch partner on 11-22-63, was interviewed by the FBI on 3-23-64, and signed a statement saying he'd left the building where he worked *"about twelve o'clock noon"* in order to watch the parade with Givens, he was more specific when talking to the HSCA on 10-23-77. Instead of lending credence to Givens' story--the story that only emerged after Shields had been interviewed--Shields told his interviewer that he'd met up with Givens on the street around 10 to 12. Just as damaging, on 9-25-77 James Jarman, told the HSCA that he believed he'd sent Oswald upstairs to correct a mistake around 11:25, or 11:30, and that Oswald had returned with the proper book shortly thereafter. These statements both erode Givens' credibility, and give Oswald a legitimate reason to be on the upper floors when last observed on the upper floors. From the sum of the evidence, then, the HSCA refused to accept Givens' story about seeing Oswald on the sixth floor at 5 to 12, and concluded instead that Oswald's whereabouts at 12:00--a half an hour before the shots were fired--were irrelevant as to his guilt.)

Threads of Evidence



The early reports all described the shirt Oswald was wearing when arrested as brown or "rust brown." Later, it was described as "multi-colored." Why? Was it because there were no brown fibers found on the rifle? Or was it because those who saw the sniper on the sixth floor all believed he'd been wearing light colored clothing? Or both?

Above: CE 150, the shirt Oswald was wearing when arrested.

Threads of Evidence

Now, let's look at the more pertinent question of whether Oswald had been in the sniper's nest window with the assassination rifle, or had even recently handled the assassination rifle.

At 12:45, 15 minutes after the shooting, Dallas Police Channel One broadcast a description of the shooter seen in the sniper's nest window. The presumed source of this information was Howard Brennan. The description was: "The suspect in the shooting is approximately thirty, slender build, height five feet ten inches, weight one hundred sixty-five pounds, reported to be armed with what is thought to be .30 caliber rifle. Attention all squads. The suspect from Elm and Houston is reported to be an unknown white male about thirty, slender build, five feet ten inches tall, one hundred sixty-five pounds, armed with what is thought to be a 30-30 rifle."

Here is how this suspect was described in that day's eyewitness statements..

Howard Brennan (11-22-63 statement to the Sheriff's Department, 19H470): "He was a white man in his early 30's, slender, nice looking, slender and would weigh about 165 to 175 pounds. He had on light colored clothing but definitely not a suit."

Amos Euins (11-22-63 statement to the Sheriff's Department, 19H474): "This was a white man, he did not have on a hat. I just saw this man for a few seconds."

Robert Edwards (11-22-63 statement to the Sheriff's Department, 19H473): "I noticed that he had on a sport shirt, it was light colored, it was yellow or white, something to that effect, and his hair was rather short. I thought he might be something around twenty-six, as near as I could tell."

Ronald Fischer (11-22-63 statement to the Sheriff's Department, 19H475): "all I could see was his head. I noticed that he was light-headed and that he had on an open-necked shirt, and that was before the motorcade rounded the corner. I noticed his complexion seemed to be clear, and that he was in his twenty's, appeared to be in his twenty's."

Arnold Rowland (11-22-63 statement to the Sheriff's Department, 24H224): "This man appeared to be a white man and appeared to have a light colored shirt on, open at the neck. He appeared to be of slender build and appeared to have dark hair." (11-22-63 interview reported in an 11-23-63 FBI report, 26H126) "He advised this person was a white male of slender build and appeared to have dark hair. He appeared to have on a light colored shirt, open at the neck." On the 24th, in a second interview with the FBI, Rowland confirmed (16H954): "He appeared to be slender in proportion to his height, was wearing a white or light colored shirt, either collarless or open at the neck. He appeared to have dark hair."

So far they all seem to be talking about the same man. Fischer says the man was light-headed and Rowland says he had dark hair, but they're almost unanimous that the man was slender and wore a light-colored shirt.

A problem was brewing. Motorcycle Officer Marrion Baker, who'd encountered Oswald in a stairway within a minute and a half of the shooting, described Oswald's dress as different than the man seen in the window (11-22-63 Affidavit, 24H199): "The man I saw was a white man approximately 30 years old, 5'9", 165 pounds, dark hair and wearing a light brown jacket." Had Oswald put a jacket on as he ran downstairs?

An 11-22 FBI interview with Mrs. Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at Oswald's rooming house, suggests he did not. It reports "While she was watching the TV, Lee came in, went to his room, got a coat, and left again...he proceeded to a bus stop which is near the house." (CD5 p353). So maybe Baker had got it wrong. Perhaps Oswald had been wearing a light brown shirt, not a jacket.

This possibility is supported by the 11-22 statement of Linnie Mae Randle, who'd spotted Oswald as he left for work. She swore "Lee was bareheaded, wearing a light brown or tan shirt. I don't remember what kind of trousers he had on." (CD87 p277)

Still another signed statement from 11-22 suggests Baker was wrong entirely. Mrs. Robert A. Reid, who saw Oswald just after his encounter with Baker, asserted "When I saw him he was dressed in a white T-shirt and I don't recall what his trousers were like." (24H223)

That afternoon, Oswald was arrested while wearing a dark brown, long-sleeved shirt. No coat or jacket. A gray jacket had been found near the Tippit killing. Dallas Chief of Detectives Captain Will Fritz interrogates Oswald at 3:15. Fritz's notes on this meeting reflect that Oswald told him at this time that he went "home by bus changed britches." No mention of taking a cab part of the way home nor of changing his shirt.

An itemized list with an 11-22-63 date in the Dallas Police Archives (Box 5, folder 5, document 88) reflects that among the items confiscated by officers Moore, Potts, Turner, and Senkel from Oswald's rooming house on this date are "1 brown shirt with button-down collar" and "1 pair gray trousers and other *miscellaneous men's clothing*."

Throughout that day and evening, Oswald was dragged repeatedly before the television cameras. The available footage shows he was still wearing the brown shirt he was wearing when arrested, torn from

his fight with the Dallas Police. Later that night, the shirt, along with the purported assassination weapon and much of the other first day evidence, was flown to Washington for testing by the FBI's crime lab (CD5 p159).

The next morning, the FBI Laboratory provided the Dallas police with the following information: "A small tuft of textile fibers was found adhering to a jagged area on the left side of the metal butt plate on the K1 gun. Included in this tuft of fibers were gray-black, dark blue and orange-yellow cotton fibers which match in microscopic characteristics the gray-black, dark blue and orange-yellow cotton fibers composing the Q11 shirt of the suspect. These fibers could have originated from this shirt. (CD5, p164)" As the gray-black, dark blue and orange-yellow fibers of the brown shirt could now be linked, if not conclusively, with the rifle found on the sixth floor linked to the bullets, it now behooved the FBI and Dallas police to establish that Oswald was in fact wearing this shirt at the time of the shooting.

But cracks in the facade were already starting to appear. At the end of the lab report on the shirt and fibers sent the Dallas FBI, an Addendum reads "You should attempt to obtain the remaining items of clothing suspect is believed to have worn during the shooting for comparisons with the *other* fibers found on the K1 gun." (FBI file 62-109060 Sec 21, p193). As we will see, although the FBI will eventually obtain the rest of Oswald's clothing, there is no record of further tests of Oswald's clothing against these "other" fibers. Just as telling, there is no record of comparison tests between the clothing of Dallas crime lab chief J.C. Day, who'd handled the rifle almost exclusively after the shooting, and these fibers. In short, there was either no effort to find out where these "other" fibers came from, or the efforts were unsuccessful, and made to disappear from the record. Either of these scenarios suggest that, once a few of the fibers found on the rifle were found to be similar to the fibers of Oswald's rust brown shirt, someone made the decision to use these fibers to suggest Oswald's guilt, and to conceal the simultaneous fact that someone who'd been wearing clothing with fibers similar to the "other" fibers found on the rifle...could still be at large.

But, in this charade they'd get no cooperation from Oswald. The 11-23-63 notes of Dallas Police Captain Will Fritz, who was leading the interrogation of Oswald, reflect that Oswald "Says 11-22-63 rode bus/got trans same out of pocket...Changed shirts + tr. Put in dirty clothes—long sleeve red sh + gray tr." Fritz's typed-up report on this interrogation states more clearly that "During this conversation he told me he reached his home by cab and changed both his shirt and trousers before going to the show" (WR605). This account is confirmed by a report on this interrogation by Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley (WR626). Kelley writes "He said he went home, changed his trousers and shirt, put his shirt in a drawer. This was a red shirt, and he put it in his dirty clothes. He described the shirt as having a button down collar and of reddish color. The trousers were grey colored." The FBI report on this interrogation confirms this as well, with Agent Bookhout relating that Oswald "stated that after arriving at his apartment he changed his shirt and trousers, because they were dirty. He described his dirty clothes as being a reddish colored, long sleeved shirt with a button-down collar and gray colored trousers" (WR622). It certainly seems possible from this that the "reddish" shirt with the button down collar described by Oswald was one-in-the-same as the "brown" shirt with a button down collar confiscated by the Dallas police the night before, and that Oswald's perception of red was slightly different than the policeman inventorying his clothes. In any event, there is no record whatsoever reflecting that they showed him this shirt or any of his other shirts to see which one he'd been wearing.

The FBI had bigger fish to fry. Having discovered fibers on the rifle that matched fibers from the shirt Oswald had been wearing when arrested, they sought to prove he was lying about having changed his shirt. An 11-24 FBI report (CD5 p340-341) reflects that on 11-23 they spoke to Mary Bledsoe, Oswald's former landlady, who'd claimed in an 11-22 affidavit to have seen Oswald on a bus after the shooting. While she didn't describe Oswald's clothes in her affidavit, the FBI report reflects she recalled

that Oswald was “wearing dirty clothes” and that “as best as she recalled, Oswald was dressed as follows: wearing ragged gray work pants, wearing a brown shirt with holes in the elbows.” The FBI has found itself a witness.

William Whaley, a cab driver, recognized Oswald from his picture in the paper, and came in to make a statement regarding his driving Oswald from a point near the assassination site to a point near Oswald's rooming house, shortly after the assassination. In his 11-23 sworn affidavit, (CD87, p275) Whaley describes Oswald as having on a "dark shirt with white spots of something on it." An 11-23 FBI report on Whaley (CD5 p349-350), however, reflects that he “recalled that the young man he drove in his cab that day was wearing a heavy identification bracelet on his left wrist, he appeared to need a haircut and was dressed in gray khaki pants which looked as if they had been slept in. *He had on a dark color shirt with some light color in it.* The shirt had long sleeves and the top two or three buttons were unbuttoned. The color of the shirt nearly matched the pants, but was somewhat darker. The man wore no hat. He appeared to be about 25 years of age, 5’7” to 8” tall, about 135 pounds, with brown hair thick on top. He had a long thin face and a high forehead.” Is it a coincidence that Whaley's own description of the shirt precludes the shirt being the brown shirt Oswald was wearing when arrested, while the description in the FBI report on Whaley does not?

With the FBI's reports on Bledsoe and Whaley it appeared the FBI was gonna make its case that Oswald was wearing the shirt at work before the assassination, and that therefore the fibers on the rifle most logically came from his shirt. But had Bledsoe and Whaley really remembered Oswald wearing a dark unbuttoned shirt, or were they merely describing the shirt they'd seen Oswald wearing on TV the day before? As Oswald had scuffled with a number of police upon arrest, it certainly seems possible, if not likely, that his shirt buttons were torn off during this scuffle. Officer Baker, after all, had failed to notice any missing buttons or tears in Oswald's clothing when he encountered him in the lunchroom. Furthermore, while the news footage of Oswald from 11-22, when he was wearing his shirt, was black and white footage, it seems likely that at least one of the newsmen present at Oswald's press conference had described the color of Oswald's shirt to his viewers or readers. As a result, it's hard to give Mrs. Bledsoe's statement that Oswald was wearing a brown shirt much weight. Not unless stronger witnesses, such as eyewitnesses to the shooting or co-workers, can be found to corroborate her impression.

And then along came the statement of James Worrell. (11-23-63 affidavit to Dallas County, 16H959) “I was standing on the sidewalk against a building on the corner of Elm and Houston Streets watching the motorcade of the President. I heard a loud noise like a fire cracker or gun shots. I looked around to see where the noise came from. I looked up and saw the barrel of a rifle sticking out of a window... While I was looking at the gun it was fired again. I looked back at Mr. Kennedy and he was slumping over. I got scared and ran from that location. While I was running I heard the gun fire two more times. I ran from Elm Street to Pacific Street on Houston. When I was about 100 yards from the building I stopped to get my breath and looked back at the building. I saw a w/m, 5’8” to 5’10”, dark hair, average weight for height, dark shirt or jacket open down front, no hat, didn't have anything in his hands, come out of the building and run in the opposite direction.”

Worrell's running man is a match for the shooter described by others with the singular exception that the man he saw was wearing a dark shirt or jacket. Oswald had been wearing a dark shirt when seen on TV. Did Worrell suspect his running man was Oswald, and subconsciously dress him in accordance with Oswald's appearance? Or had the shooter added layers as he ran down the stairs?



A Lighter Shade of Brown?

Oswald was killed the next day. The shirt he was wearing at the time of his death had been pulled from the Dallas Police Department's collection of clothes removed from his rooming house. Archive photos of this shirt (CE164) suggest that it could have been a light brown shirt. A document in the Dallas Police Archives (found in Box 9, folder 4, document 9) itemizing the clothes removed from Oswald's body describes it as merely a "shirt." Another list in the Archives from 2-2-64, when the clothes were loaned out to the FBI, however, describes it as a "gray flannel shirt." (This list can be found in Box 9, folder 4, document 10). As this previously unmentioned gray flannel shirt was presumably one of the items of "miscellaneous clothing" brought over from Oswald's rooming house on 11-22, it resurrects the question of whether or not a red shirt had been confiscated at this time.

Intriguingly, the reports and testimony of those watching Oswald dress before he was shot discuss in detail Oswald's putting on a black sweater, but say almost nothing of the shirt. Most of their statements, in fact, make it sound like Oswald took the shirt off in order to put on the sweater, and that he therefore was responsible for delaying his departure, a delay which gave Jack Ruby the time to get into the basement and kill him. Beyond the obvious purpose of these statements--blaming Oswald's death on his own vanity--this distracts from the central question of what other clothing had been confiscated from Oswald's rooming house.

On the odd chance you're interested here are the reports about the clothing change...

From Captain Fritz's typed-up notes on the interrogation of Oswald (24H270): "Oswald said he would like to have a shirt from his clothing that had been brought to the office to wear over the T-shirt that he was wearing at the time. We selected the best-looking shirt from his things, but he said he would prefer wearing a black Ivy-League Type shirt, indicating that it might be a little warmer. We made this change..."

From the 3-24-64 testimony of L.C. Graves (13H5): "when we got these clothes off the rack and started to give him a light-colored jacket or shirt, (he) said, 'if it is all the same to you'... 'I'd rather wear that black sweater.'"

From the 3-24-64 testimony of L.D. Montgomery (13H27): "Well, he put on a black sweater. I think he changed shirts, changed shirts, and put on a black sweater."

From the 5-7-64 testimony of Forrest Sorrels (7H357): "he requested that he be permitted to get a shirt out of his—the clothes that had been brought in, that belonged to him... And so Captain Fritz sent and got his clothes and, as I recall it, he selected a dark colored kind of sweater type shirt, as I recall it."

After Oswald's death the FBI attempted to solidify its case that he'd been wearing the dark brown shirt while at work.

An 11-25-63 FBI report (CD5 p142) reflects that Dallas Detective R.M. Sims "stated he had personally searched Oswald at the City Hall after his arrest and, while searching the person of Oswald just prior to the 'show-up,' Detective Sims stated he found a Dallas Transit Company transfer in the left shirt pocket of Oswald." This suggests the FBI was trying to use the transfer to show he hadn't changed shirts. This whole line of investigation, however, should never have come up, as Oswald had told Fritz on the 23rd that he'd swapped the transfer out of his other shirt. Hadn't Fritz told this to the FBI? Apparently not. Fritz's typed-up notes about Oswald and the bus transfer report simply that "He admitted this was given to him by the bus driver when he rode the bus after leaving the building." (WR604).

Was Something Up Their Sleeve?

Form 128-70-01

POLICE DEPARTMENT

CITY OF DALLAS

PROPERTY CLERK'S INVOICE OR RECEIPT

26 Nov 1963 10

Received of Roone, Petta, Turner, Benkel the following described articles,

§ recovered stolen property:

Evidence in Offense No. Arrest No. Charge MURDER

QUANTITY	ARTICLE	SIN NO.	DISPOSITION
1	tan sleeveless sweater	rel	
1	green long sleeve sweater w/white stripes		
5	sport shirts: 1 gray knit 1 red & gray short sleeve 2 blue short sleeve 1 white short sleeve		
1	brown leather belt		
1	brown necktie		

RECEIVED OF B. A. Smith

OF THE PROPERTY ROOM ON NOV 26 1963

ARTICLES AS CHECKED (✓) ON INVOICE # NUMBER

11208 TAKEN OUT FOR REASON OF

tag dated 11-22

ATTN: OSWALD, Lee Harvey w/a/M

1006 North Beckley

Nº 11208 6

D. J. SMITH

Property Clerk

If neither evidence nor recovered stolen property, write on face of this form in detail reason for police possession.

ARTICLE	SIN NO.
1 tan sleeveless sweater	rel
1 green long sleeve sweater w/white stripes	
5 sport shirts: 1 gray knit 1 red & gray short sleeve 2 blue short sleeve 1 white short sleeve	
1 brown leather belt	
1 brown necktie	

RECEIVED OF B. A. Smith

OF THE PROPERTY ROOM ON

ARTICLES AS CHECKED (✓)

- 1 - Brown tie
- 1 - Man's sleeveless, sweater - beige
- 1 - brown belt - Size 32
- 1 - pullover bulky sweater - Size small, 36-38 olive green color, with white & black stripes
- 1 - short sleeve gray & black pullover knit shirt (small size)
- 1 - Maroon & gray cotton long sleeve sport shirt (no size shown)
- 2 - light blue cotton short sleeve sport shirts (one small size - 14-16) (one large size 16-18)

- 1 - white cotton short sleeve sport shirt.

On the Dallas Police invoice for Oswald's clothes at left and at top, there is a "red and gray short sleeve" shirt. In the next day's Secret Service inventory, above, there is a "maroon and grey cotton long sleeve sport shirt." Was the DPD trying to hide something?

Was Something Up Their Sleeve?

Over the next few days, some other strange occurrences take place. An invoice in the Dallas Police Archives (Box 9, folder 5, document 21) reflects that on 11-26-63, some clothes removed from Oswald's rooming house, including a "red and gray short sleeve" sport shirt were released to Secret Service Agent John Joe Howlett by Captain George Doughty. Another notation by DB? on 9-22-66 says simply "gone." What did the Secret Service do with these items? An 11-27-63 Secret Service report (CD87 p252-253) lists the clothes and states "There is forwarded herewith a quantity of clean clothes taken from the apartment of Lee Harvey Oswald after the arrest. They are being forwarded as requested by the Chief, presumably for examination by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Lab. The remaining clothes taken from Oswald are in custody of FBI." Included in this list, in place of the "red and gray short sleeve" sport shirt is a "maroon and grey cotton long sleeve sport shirt."

Well, this is mighty curious, isn't it? Oswald claims to have been wearing a reddish long sleeve shirt on 11-22, and here is a reddish long sleeve shirt. And yet no one seems interested in finding out if this is the shirt he'd been wearing. Instead, we have the Dallas PD identifying it simply as a "shirt" on the inventory, and then typing over "shirt" with "short" and adding "sleeve." Is this a coincidence? Or is the Dallas PD trying to hide that they had a shirt that matched Oswald's description of the shirt he'd been wearing? If this is more than a coincidence then is it also more than a coincidence that Fritz left

out of his type-written notes--the only ones the FBI would ever see--that Oswald claimed to have taken the transfer out of the pocket of his reddish shirt and put it in the pocket of the rust brown shirt he was wearing when arrested?

And what about the Secret Service's statement that the clothes were being forwarded "presumably for examination by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Lab?" What kind of examination was this? Well, while researching another aspect of the case, I suspect I stumbled upon the answer. At the September 1966 First International Conference on Forensic Activation Analysis, three scientists from the Laboratory of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service (the forerunners to today's department of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms) discussed their use of neutron activation analysis on clothing, in order to determine whether an individual had fired a weapon. They reported: "Test firings were made with foreign rifles, and paraffin lifts of hair and shoulders were examined for the presence of antimony and barium. The data presented in Table V show that it is possible to detect the presence of these elements on the areas examined. This work indicates there is a distinct possibility that the method can be applied to the detection of rifle firings."

That this test was performed using "foreign rifles" makes me suspect they used one foreign rifle in particular--the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle purportedly used by Oswald. And since they found this method could be used to detect whether an individual had fired a rifle, and yet never testified about this before the Warren Commission, it seems clear their tests revealed no presence of antimony or barium on Oswald's clothes, including his red shirt.

Of course, the results of these tests were never revealed, so this is just speculation. Another indication that tests were performed on Oswald's clothes, however, can be found in the 2-6-64 testimony of Marina Oswald. While inspecting her husband's clothes, and confirming that they belonged to him, she came to Exhibit 155, a shirt not knowingly related to the assassination or its aftermath, and asked "Why is it all torn?" Intriguingly, her questioner, J. Lee Rankin, responded "We are advised it was when he was hurt, they cut into some of these." This didn't exactly satisfy her, however. Moments later, when she came to two pairs of pants, exhibits 157 and 158, she asked "Why were both of those cut? I don't understand." She was right not to understand. The shirt worn by Oswald when he was "hurt" was CE 164. Exhibit 157 was a pair of gray slacks matching the description of the pants Oswald wore on the 22nd. Exhibit 158 was indeed the pants worn by Oswald when "hurt". In any event, Rankin answered her question by admitting: "I have not been informed, but I will try to find out for you." While Marina told Rankin that this wouldn't be necessary, it certainly sounds possible that the shirt and pants had been cut so that some undisclosed tests could be performed.

(If anyone knows any other references to these tests, or is cognizant of their results, please let me know.)

The Cat's Pajamas?



COMMISSION EXHIBIT 152



COMMISSION EXHIBIT 154



COMMISSION EXHIBIT 155

149	Photograph of Oswald's shoes
150	Suspect's shirt
151	Man's brown cotton sport shirt with long sleeves, "Briarloom Traditionals by Enzo"
152	Red and gray sport shirt
153	Blue shirt
154	Blue sport shirt
155	White shirt

Above: from the FBI's master list of Warren Commission Exhibits, 10-14-64. (CD1554, page 3)

Across the top: exhibits 152, 154, and 155. Why did their descriptions change between 10-14 and 11-24?

149	Photograph of man's black shoes.
150	Man's brown shirt.
151	Man's light-brown cotton long-sleeved sport shirt.
152	Top portion of man's pajamas.
153-155	Man's blue short-sleeved sport shirts.

Above: from Warren Commission Volume 16 p. xiii, published 11-24-64.

The Cat's Pajamas?

The eventual whereabouts of the red shirt are even more curious. In January, the FBI provides the Warren Commission with a complete list of the physical evidence. At this point, a "red and gray sport shirt" re-emerges as C-144 (CD345, p3). On March 10, it provides another list. Here, the "red and gray sport shirt" again disappears. The report lists it as part of an assortment of Oswald's clean clothes. And leaves it off the list. It details: "C139-147: OSWALD'S clean clothes--belt, tie, tan sweater, olive sweater, blue-gray shirt, blue sport shirt, white shirt (Q179-187 respectively)." It thereby lists seven items for nine numbers (CD735, p74). Curious. Even more curious, the "red and gray sport shirt" was one of the two items missing, along with C-145, a blue shirt. On October 14, the FBI sends an updated list of exhibits over to the Warren Commission to be used in the twenty-six volumes of supporting evidence. By this point a re-emerged "red and gray sport shirt" has been re-dubbed CE 152 (CD1554, p10). The next month, when the Warren Commission's twenty-six volumes are published, a photo of this "red and gray sport shirt" is published on page 516 of Volume 16. Its caption reads simply "Commission Exhibit 152." At the beginning of the volume, on page viii, however, is a description of this exhibit. It reads simply "Top Portion of Man's Pajamas." This is almost in keeping with Marina Oswald's testimony of February 6, when she verified Counsel Rankin's suggestion that CE 152 was "a pair of pajamas" by stating "Yes. Lee's pajamas." The black and white photo may very well show a striped pajama top, quite possibly even a red and gray striped pajama top, but there is no bottom half to

this pajama top. So why did Rankin describe it as "a pair of pajamas?" And why, if it was only a pajama top, did Marina say it was "Lee's pajamas" and not "Lee's pajama top"? I've heard of men keeping the bottoms of their pajamas when they've lost the tops, but never the reverse. This feeds the possibility that Rankin and Marina were indeed describing a pair of pajamas. As a result, I think we should wonder how this pair of pajamas could have been mistakenly and repeatedly identified as a red sport shirt. Is it really just a coincidence that the pajama top was originally described as a pair of pajamas, and that substituting a red shirt for a *pair of* pajamas would have raised a, gulp, red flag that Oswald had indeed had a red shirt that he could have worn to work on 11-22, precisely as he'd told his inquisitors? And is it a coincidence that this shirt/pajama top was the only article of clothing whose Warren Commission description was less specific than its FBI description, whereby its color was removed from its description? Could it be that the pajama top formerly described as a red and gray sport shirt isn't even red and gray? (My search for a color photo of CE 152 continues.)

On 11-27 Mrs. Bledsoe received another visit from the FBI. This time she described Oswald's appearance when he got on the bus as "ragged and dirty...he was wearing a shirt which had a hole in one elbow and she remembers something "ragged" around his belt line. As she recalls he was wearing a brown shirt and gray pants and no jacket." (CD5 p342).

Okay. Okay. I know this is getting boring. But I'm trying to show how this case was built. Here, the FBI has found fibers on the rifle that match the fibers found in Oswald's shirt, and the only witness stating she saw Oswald wearing this shirt before he went home and changed clothes has been interviewed twice. Where are all the corroborating witnesses? Why haven't they routinely asked Oswald's co-workers what shirt he wore on the 22nd? They certainly can't be planning to use the fiber evidence against Oswald on the say-so of one witness? Can they?

On 11-29, the FBI's crime lab identifies a palm print purportedly lifted from the rifle on 11-22 as belonging to Oswald. When the FBI inspected the rifle on the morning on 11-23, they found no trace of this palm print. A Dallas Police officer, Lt. J.C. Day, however, insists he lifted this print before lending the rifle to the FBI. As Day would later admit this was an old dry print, it only serves to demonstrate that Oswald had handled the rifle in the past, and not that he'd handled it or fired it on November 22nd.

On 12-1, there's another brief red-shirt sighting. While writing a report on Buell Wesley Frazier and the brown paper bag he saw in Oswald's possession, agents Odum and McNeeley re-tell Frazier's story. When discussing his giving Oswald a ride to Irving, Texas on the 21st, so that Oswald could visit his wife and kids, they casually mention: "As Frazier recalls, Oswald was wearing a reddish shirt and a gray jacket, waist length." (CD7, p294) As no "reddish" shirt, as far as we can tell, was found at the Paine residence, where Oswald's wife Marina was staying, this suggests the possibility that Oswald wore this shirt back to work. Could this have been the red shirt found at the rooming house, before it morphed into a pair of pajamas?

No matter. Even though there's almost no evidence to support that Oswald wore the brown shirt to work on the 22nd, the FBI is determined to use the fibers found on the rifle, which may have come from that shirt, to hang him in the public eye. A 12-1 article in the Washington Star by Jerry O'Leary, a writer more than friendly with the FBI's Deke DeLoach, and someone upon whom the FBI regularly relies to get their stories before the public, declares: "PIECE OF OSWALD'S SHIRT FOUND SNAGGED IN RIFLE." It then goes on to claim "A fragment of Lee Harvey Oswald's shirt was snagged in the rifle that killed President John F. Kennedy, the FBI report of the assassination states. Disclosure of this evidence against the 24 year-old Oswald, himself slain two days after Mr. Kennedy's death, is regarded as one of the most solid pieces of evidence of his guilt. Officials said wisps of brown shirt material were caught in metal parts of the 6.5 mm Italian-made carbine found on the fifth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building a few minutes after the fatal shots were fired on November

22. When Oswald was arrested two hours later, he was wearing a brown shirt of the same material. Oswald claimed he had changed his shirt in his rooming house after leaving the assassination area, but this *proved* to be untrue. FBI Crime Lab technicians determined by microscopic and other scientific means that the fragment of shirt material came from the shirt the ex-Marine was wearing."

Wow, talk of your circular reasoning. Not only does O'Leary grossly overstate the specificity of fiber analysis, but he, apparently at the FBI's bidding, has told the public that we *know* Oswald handled the rifle because the fibers on the rifle matched the fibers of the shirt he was wearing two hours later, and that we *know* he was wearing this shirt two hours earlier because its fibers matched the fibers found on the rifle. Mind-boggling. This is like lashing two boats together in a harbor and wondering why they still drift out to sea. It completely ignores the fact that, if no one saw Oswald wearing the brown shirt while at work, the matching of the fibers found on the rifle and the fibers of his shirt is more indicative of a frame-up than of Oswald having worn the shirt to work. After all, if the police find bloodstains in the house of a suspect, and it turns out that there is real reason to doubt the suspect even visited his house after the crime had been committed, we don't just assume that, huh, he must have sneaked in the house when no one was looking, now do we? We assume that the detectives are up to something. Oswald deserves that same benefit.

On 12-2, the FBI Laboratory released the results of some more of its tests. "The K42 gray jacket is a size medium light gray cotton jacket...Dark blue, gray-black and orange-yellow cotton fibers, which match in microscopic characteristics the dark-blue, gray-black and orange-yellow cotton fibers composing the Q11 shirt, were found in the debris removed from the inside areas of the sleeves of the K42 jacket. These fibers could have originated from the Q11 shirt." (CD7, p352). As the K42 gray jacket was the jacket discarded by the presumed killer of Officer Tippit, the fibers now linked Oswald's shirt to both the murder of Kennedy and the murder of Tippit.

On 12-4 another witness comes forward. She claims to have seen a man on the fourth or fifth floors with a rifle before the shooting. The FBI report (24H522) of an interview with Mrs. Carolyn Walther reflects that "a man in the crowd across the street to the west of where she was standing apparently had an epileptic seizure, and an ambulance came by and took the man away. Shortly after the ambulance left, she looked back toward the TSBD Building and saw a man standing on either the fourth or fifth floor in the southeast corner window...In his hands this man was holding a rifle with the barrel pointed downward." The man she saw "was wearing a white shirt and had blond or light brown hair." She also offered that "the rifle was different from any she had ever seen. This man was standing in about the middle of the window. In the same window, to the left of this man, she could see a portion of another man standing by the side of this man with a rifle. This other man was standing erect, and his head was above the opened portion of the window. As the window was very dirty, she could not see the head of this second man. She is positive this window was not as high as the sixth floor. This second man was apparently wearing a brown suit coat, and the only thing she could see was the right side of the man, from about the waist to the shoulders."

Mrs. Walther thereby becomes the 6th witness claiming to have seen a man in either the sniper's nest, or with a rifle, within minutes of the shooting. None of them have described a man wearing a shirt like the shirt Oswald was wearing when arrested. On the other hand, the man Mrs. Walther claims to have seen standing to the left of the shooter is dressed like the man James Worrell saw run from the building.

On 12-4, the FBI decides to show the brown shirt worn by Oswald to Mary Bledsoe, to see if she could positively identify it as the shirt he'd been wearing on his bus ride home from work. After describing the shirt as "a dark rust colored shirt," the FBI's report on this interview tells us that: "Mrs. Bledsoe at first said, "No, no. That is not the shirt." She then inquired as to whether the shirt had a ragged elbow. Upon further examination of the shirt, she observed a hole in the right elbow of the shirt, at which time

she quickly stated, "Yes, yes. This is the shirt." Mrs. Bledsoe qualified her answer that this was not the shirt by stating that she seemed to recall the shirt she observed Oswald wearing on November 22, 1963 was more dirty in appearance. She said when she observed the ragged elbow on the shirt, she was positive this was the shirt Oswald was wearing when she saw him on the bus. She stated she is positive he was wearing a long sleeve shirt of the same dark appearance as the shirt she observed at her residence on December 4, 1963. She stated Oswald was not wearing a jacket or coat when she saw him on the bus on November 22, 1963. She stated the shirt she saw him wearing was of a brown or dark brown color...She stated her first impression was that the left sleeve on Oswald's shirt was the sleeve that had the ragged elbow; however, she was not positive...Mrs. Bledsoe said she did note Oswald had his shirttail tucked into his pants and that his pants were ragged around the top." (CD7, p302-303).

With Mrs. Bledsoe's raggedy identification of Oswald's raggedy shirt as the shirt he wore from work, the FBI's drive to use this shirt as evidence against Oswald had neared its destination.

On 12-4 FBI agent Vince Drain tries to shore up the chain of evidence of Oswald's shirt. He gets Patrolman Ray Hawkins, Captain W.R. Westbrook, Lieutenant Paul Bentley, Officer Bob Carroll, Captain Will Fritz, and Detective James Leavelle of the Dallas Police to verify that the "brown shirt" in FBI custody was in fact the shirt Oswald was wearing upon arrest. (CD7, p312-317).

Another report raises more questions. A report written by Agent Warren De Brueys on this day states "Detective Fay M. Turner, Dallas Police Department, was shown a faded brown long-sleeve shirt... Detective Turner identified this shirt as being the shirt he personally seized by search warrant from Lee Harvey Oswald's room...on November 22, 1963." (CD7, p318). As virtually no one can recall Oswald wearing a dark shirt at work on the 22nd, was this "faded brown" shirt, in fact, the shirt he'd been wearing? Or is this the shirt he was wearing when killed? Or both? And why write a report on this shirt if it was an unrelated article of Oswald's clothing?

After their success with Bledsoe, the FBI on 12-5 decides to see if anyone will confirm that Oswald had been wearing the dark brown shirt around the time of the shooting. Their results were less than spectacular.

Buell Wesley Frazier, who gave Oswald a ride to work on 11-22: "Frazier advised that he did not pay any attention as to what type of clothing Oswald was wearing; however, he felt certain that Oswald was wearing a jacket on this date...Frazier was shown a rust brown sport shirt...Frazier was unable to identify this shirt as having been worn by Oswald on November 22, 1963." (CD7, p304) A signed statement by Frazier to the Secret Service in this period confirms "All I recall about Oswald's clothing on the morning of the assassination was a gray wool jacket. I don't remember what kind of shirt or pants he was wearing." (CD87 p796).

Linnie Mae Randle, Frazier's sister, who'd seen Oswald walk up to her brother's car on 11-22: "to the best of her recollection Oswald was wearing a tan shirt and grey jacket...Mrs. Randle was shown a rust brown sport shirt...Mrs. Randle stated that the above-described shirt does not look familiar to her, that Oswald could have been wearing this shirt, but she believes that the shirt Oswald was wearing on the morning of November 22, 1963, was a solid color and light." (CD7, p308)

Roy S. Truly, Oswald's boss, who saw Oswald on the second floor after the shooting: "to the best of his recollection, on November 22, 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald was wearing either a white tee-shirt or a light colored shirt and light trousers. He stated that most of the employees usually worked in their tee shirts, and there was a small room on the first floor of the TSBD where the employees could smoke, play dominoes and hang up their shirts and coats. Mr. Truly was shown a rust brown sport shirt...Truly stated that the shirt looked familiar to him but as previously stated he believes that Oswald was wearing light clothing and had on a white tee-shirt or a light colored sport shirt." (CD7, p305). In confirmation, a Secret Service report from this period tells us "It is Mr. Truly's recollection that, at the time, he and the

patrolman met Oswald at the lunch room door, shortly after the shooting, Oswald was dressed in light colored clothing and probably a T-shirt.”(CD87, p778).

Charles Givens, a co-worker: “to the best of his recollection Oswald was wearing a long sleeve sport shirt, brown in color. He stated that on occasions, he had seen Oswald wearing a tee-shirt. Givens was shown a rust brown sport shirt...Givens stated that the above described sport shirt appeared to be similar to the one Oswald was wearing on November 22, 1963, but that he could not state definitely that this was the shirt.” (CD7, p306). The Secret Service report from this period confirms: "It is Givens' recollection that Oswald was wearing a brown shirt, when he last saw him." (CD87 p780).

James Jarman, a co-worker: “Jarman advised that he could not recall what type of clothing Oswald was wearing on November 22, 1963, but that Oswald usually worked in a white tee-shirt. He stated that there was a “dressing room” on the first floor of the TSBD where the employees could change their clothing or leave their shirts when they commenced work or during work hours. He said that when Oswald worked in a tee-shirt, Oswald usually had a regular shirt in the dressing room. Jarman was shown a rust brown sport shirt...Jarman stated that the above-described shirt was vaguely familiar, but he could not recall if this shirt was worn by Oswald on November 22, 1963.” (CD7, p307)

Bonnie Ray Williams, a co-worker: “to the best of his recollection, Lee Harvey Oswald was wearing a grey corduroy pair of pants and a grayish looking sport shirt with long sleeves on November 22, 1963. Williams was shown a rust brown sport shirt...Williams was unable to identify this shirt and could not recall ever seeing Oswald either wearing this shirt or a shirt similar in appearance.”(CD7, p310)

Mrs. Robert A. Reid, who saw Oswald just before he left the building: “to the best of her recollection, Oswald was wearing a white tee-shirt and a pair of pants, color unknown. She stated that she had never seen Oswald wear a regular shirt...Mrs. Reid was shown a rust brown sport shirt...She said that she could not recall ever seeing this shirt before and was certain that Oswald did not have this shirt on at the time she saw him on November 22, 1963.” (CD7, p309). The Secret Service report from this period confirms that “to the best of (Mrs. Reid's) memory, Oswald was wearing a white T-shirt at that time and was carrying a coke bottle in his hand.” (CD87 p786). She signed a statement for the Secret Service on 12-4-63 stating “At the time Oswald came through the office he had a coke in his hand. All I recall about Oswald’s appearance is that he had a white T-shirt on.” (CD87 p798).

This Secret Service report, based on interviews conducted between 12/2 and 12/6, also tells us that William Shelley, Oswald’s direct boss, had “last saw Oswald at about 11:50 A.M...It is Mr. Shelley’s recollection that Oswald was wearing khaki trousers and a T-shirt.” (CD87, p780)

If Oswald had worn a dark brown shirt with a torn sleeve to work on the 22nd, as suggested by the statements of Mrs. Bledsoe, how come no one from his work, outside Charles Givens, who would dramatically change his story and call his credibility into question, remembered it? And why was the FBI so determined to shore up that Oswald was wearing this shirt, when NO ONE who saw the shooter saw him wearing this shirt? Why don't they just make the reverse claim, that Oswald had been wearing a T-shirt when he'd fired the shots? I think we know. They have a report saying that fibers from the brown shirt were found on the rifle. Well, couldn't these fibers have landed on the rifle at an earlier point, like the night before the assassination, when Oswald was purportedly in the garage with the rifle? Sure, but this scenario entails that Oswald went back to the domino room to get his shirt before leaving the building after the shooting, and that doesn't quite jive with the picture that Oswald fled the building in fear for his life. It also introduces the new problem that, of the four witnesses to say the shooter was wearing a light shirt, none so far have hinted that it could have been a T-shirt.

On 12-5, the effort to connect Oswald’s shirt to the killings suffered another setback. Mrs. Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at Oswald’s rooming house who saw Oswald when he came home, signed an affidavit stating “Oswald did not have a jacket when he came in the house and I don’t recall what type

of clothing he was wearing. Oswald went to his room and was only there a few minutes before coming out. I noticed he had a jacket he was putting on. I recall the jacket was a dark color and it was the type that zips up the front. He was zipping the jacket up as he left.” (7H439) The jacket found near the Tippit killing, with Oswald's shirt fibers inside, was, of course, a light jacket.

Despite the myriad problems affiliated with the fiber evidence, the FBI Summary Report of 12-9 (CD1, p17), presents its fiber analysis of the gun and shirt as evidence of Oswald's guilt. This is precisely as predicted by Jerry O'Leary in his 12-1 article. The report further hides the dubious nature of the fiber comparison by describing the shirt as multi-colored, failing to note that the shirt was primarily brown and that no brown fibers had been found on the rifle. It also uses Mrs. Bledsoe to support that Oswald had in fact been wearing this shirt at work that day. It fails to note that none of the eyewitnesses to the man in the sniper's nest saw him wearing a dark brown shirt, and that a number of Oswald's co-workers refused to ID the shirt as a shirt Oswald had ever wore to work. The report declares:

“When apprehended, Oswald was wearing a long-sleeved, multi-colored sport shirt. A small tuft of textile fibers was found adhering to a jagged area on the left side of the metal butt plate of the rifle owned by Oswald. Included in this tuft were gray-black, dark blue, and orange-yellow fibers which the FBI laboratory determined matched in microscopic characteristics the fibers in the shirt worn by Lee Harvey Oswald.

According Mrs. Bledsoe, Oswald's former landlady, Oswald was wearing this sport shirt on the bus shortly after the assassination.”

The report, of course was rapidly leaked to the media. That the leaker of the report (the FBI itself) was not entirely convinced by this thread of evidence is revealed, however, through a comparison of what was leaked against what was actually shown by the evidence. Articles mentioning the threads found on the rifle--such as the 12-1 article in the Washington Star and a 12-11 AP article (found in the San Francisco Chronicle)--invariably claimed the threads found on the rifle were brown, when, as admitted in the report, NONE of them were brown. This, then, would appear to be a lie orchestrated by either the FBI or the press to convince the public these threads came from the brown shirt Oswald wore on television. The AP article includes another lie as well. There it was claimed that the threads "identified as from Oswald's shirt, were found snagged in the mechanism of the Italian-made bolt-action rifle which also bore his palm print." This, of course, was nonsense. Oswald's palm print was reportedly found on the barrel of the rifle, and was believed to have been an old print. The threads--which were NOT identified as having come from Oswald's shirt, but were found to be consistent with having come from his shirt--were found wrapped around the butt plate. While both pieces of evidence suggested Oswald had handled the rifle at one time or another, neither of these pieces of evidence proved Oswald had fired the shots. By claiming the threads were snagged in a "mechanism," however, an image was created of Oswald firing the rifle. Pretty sneaky.

A Darker Shade of Brown

The Warren Commission would have even more problems with the shirt evidence.

On 12-23, they received a 12-18 FBI report on cab driver William Whaley. The FBI's Bardwell Odum had shown him the brown shirt in an attempt to find a second positive identification. No such luck. Odum relates: "He stated that this may well be the shirt since, as he recalls, Oswald was wearing grey work pants and a grey work jacket and had on a darker shirt which had a gold streak in it. He also recalled that this shirt was opened down the front to about the fourth button, and he does not recall Oswald's wearing an undershirt. He also recalled that the shirt, as well as the rest of Oswald's attire, was unpressed and wrinkled, as though it had not been ironed after washing or as though he had slept in the clothes." (CD205, p150) Oswald, of course, had been wearing a white undershirt, and had left his jacket at work. It's also problematic that Whaley remembered his passenger having a "gold streak" in

his shirt. The shirt in which Oswald was arrested had no "gold streak."

On 1-22-64 they received a number of upsetting reports. A 1-8-64 FBI interview with Mrs. Lillian Mooneyham (CD329 p17-18) reflects that she watched the shooting from the courthouse at Houston and Main and that "about 4 1/2 to 5 minutes following the shots fired by the assassin, that she looked up towards the sixth floor of the TSBD and observed the figure of a man standing in a sixth floor window behind some cardboard boxes. This man appeared to Mrs. Mooneyham to be looking out the window, however, the man was not close up to the window but was standing slightly back from it, so that Mrs. Mooneyham could not make out his features. She stated that she could give no description of this individual except to say that she is sure it was a man she observed, because the figure had on trousers. She could not recall the color of the trousers." This report is troublesome for a number of reasons. For one, Oswald had been observed downstairs and had already left the building by 4 1/2 to 5 minutes after the shooting; the figure seen by Mooneyham, therefore, could not have been him. For two, by strange circumstance, Officer Baker, the first policeman in the building, had taken an elevator from the fifth to the seventh floor, before proceeding on up to the roof. As a result, there was no police presence on the sixth floor 4 1/2 to 5 minutes after the shooting and someone could have indeed been in the sixth floor window as claimed. For three, she said there were boxes in the window, which cuts into the possibility she was looking at the wrong floor. For four, she said this man was wearing trousers, suggesting he was not one of the police officers rushing into the building. So who was this man? Mrs. Mooneyham was never called before the Warren Commission.

Yet another report gives the commission yet another reason to believe the sniper's nest shooter wore light-colored clothing. The FBI report of a 1-9-64 interview with James Crawford (CD329, p22) explains "By the time the sound of the third shot had passed, Mr. Crawford looked around and in looking up at the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, he observed a movement which he described as a movement such as something being withdrawn quickly...Mr. Crawford stated he could describe the movement he observed as light colored, possibly white, and it might have been the reflection of sunlight upon a light colored object...Mr. Crawford stated that he believes that the motion he observed in the window was a person, but he could not determine if it was the figure of a man or a woman because of the short glimpse he got. He stated he could therefore, not give a description of what he had observed except that it was a quick white movement made by a figure which he had immediately concluded to be a person."

Things got a little smoother from there. For awhile.

On 2-6-64, when asked what shirt Oswald had worn on the morning of the 22nd, Marina Oswald testified "I don't remember" When shown a number of shirts, including Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt, and 151, a "light brown, cotton, long sleeved sport shirt", and asked if they were Lee's shirts, she replied "Yes." When asked if Lee wore Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt, on the morning of the 22nd, she said "It was a dark shirt." When asked again if she thought exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt, was the one, she picked up the hint and replied "Yes." Her awareness of his clothing on that morning is perhaps better demonstrated by her response to other questions, however. At one point she volunteered "The thing is that I saw Lee in the room, and I didn't see him getting dressed in the room. That is why it is difficult for me to say." As if to prove this point, when asked what shirt Lee had worn to her place on Thursday night, she stated "I think he wore this shirt." Well, "this shirt" as pointed out by chief counsel Rankin, was Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt she had just said he'd worn to work on Friday morning. Would Lee really wear the same shirt to work two days in a row? (As he was in the habit of spending his weekends with Marina, a change of clothes was certainly available.) Marina then volunteered "It seems he had that jacket, also." Rankin then clarifies "Exhibit 162?" and she says "Yes." The problem with this, of course, is that Exhibit 162 was the gray zippered jacket found near the Tippit killing, and Oswald was believed to have been jacket-less on his way home from work, and have

picked up this jacket at his rooming house.

After Marina's self-discrediting statement regarding CE 162, Rankin moved on to other topics. In his haste, he neglected to ask Marina the highly pertinent question of whether or not she remembered seeing a torn sleeve on Oswald's rust brown shirt prior to his going to work on the 22nd. If she knew it had not been torn, of course, it would indicate that the shirt had been torn during Oswald's scuffle with the police and that Mary Bledsoe, who'd identified the shirt by the fact it was torn, was simply thinking of the shirt she'd seen on television the night before when she identified the shirt as the shirt Oswald was wearing on the bus. (1H93-126) (Intriguingly, in 1969, Marina would testify in the trial of Clay Shaw that Oswald wore "fresh" shirts whenever he went downtown, and that she had no recollection of his ever wearing "sloppy" or "dirty" clothes. In 1977, Priscilla Johnson McMillan would publish her book on the Oswalds, Marina and Lee, based upon interviews with Marina in the aftermath of the shooting. McMillan reports that, when Lee came to visit Marina on Thursday evening after work, Marina pointed to a "clean shirt and socks and pants" and told him to wash up. This undoubtedly suggests that Oswald wore clean clothes to work on Friday, and that Bledsoe was mistaken.)

On 3-4, Rankin writes J. Edgar Hoover and asks that some items of evidence be brought to the commission for use in upcoming testimony. Among the items listed is "the so-called rust colored sport shirt with a hole in the right sleeve." He then asks "In addition, we would like to have the shirt and trousers worn by Oswald at the time of his arrest." Apparently, Rankin was so overwhelmed that he failed to realize that the "rust colored sport shirt" WAS the shirt worn by Oswald at the time of his arrest. If this is so, however, we can only wonder where he thought it came from. Did he think the FBI picked it out of Oswald's clothes, and showed it to Mrs. Bledsoe, to see if it had been the shirt he'd been wearing on the bus? Did he really not realize that she saw Oswald wearing this shirt on TV before she ever described this shirt as the shirt that he'd been wearing?

On 3-10, the road to nailing Oswald got a wee bit muddier. Arnold Rowland, one of the earliest witnesses to say he saw a man on the sixth floor with a rifle, dropped a big rock in an unforeseen puddle. He testified "This was 12:15...at that time I noticed on the sixth floor of the building that there was a man back from the window, not hanging out the window. He was standing and holding a rifle. This appeared to me to be a fairly high powered rifle...this was on the west corner of the building, the sixth floor...this was the only pair of windows where both windows were completely open and no one was hanging out the windows, or next to the window...He was rather slender in proportion to his size. I couldn't tell for sure whether he was tall and maybe, you know heavy, say 200 pounds, but tall whether he would be and slender or whether he was medium and slender, but in proportion to his size his build was slender...I can't state what height he would be. He was just slender in build in proportion to his width...he appeared to be fair complexioned, not fair, but light complexioned but dark hair...I would say either a light Latin or Caucasian...(about his hair) it was dark, probably black...It didn't appear as if he had a receding hairline but I know he didn't have it hanging on his shoulders. Probably a close cut from—you know it appeared to me it was either well-combed or close cut...(when asked about his clothes) He had on a light shirt, a very light colored shirt, white or a light blue, or a color such as that. This was open at the collar. I think it was unbuttoned about halfway, and then he had a regular T-shirt, a polo shirt under this, at least this is what it appeared to be. He had on dark slacks or blue jeans. I couldn't tell from that. I couldn't see but a small portion...I think I remember telling my wife that he appeared in his early thirties...I would say about 140 to 150 pounds"

Rowland then explained that he'd told his wife about this man but that their attention was distracted when another parade-watcher had an epileptic seizure. He said this discussion took place around 12:22. He then dropped the bomb: "Something I would like to note is that the window that I have been told the shots were actually fired from, I did not see that, there was someone hanging out that window at that time...At the time I saw the man in the other window, I saw this man hanging out the window

first. It was a colored man, I think...this was the one on the east end of the building, the one that they said that the shots were fired from...(when asked where he saw the man with the rifle) The west, southwest corner. (when asked where he saw a man hanging out the window) The east, southeast corner...On the same floor...This was before I noticed the other man with the rifle...My wife and I were both looking and making remarks that the people were hanging out the windows. I think the majority of them were colored people...then she started watching the colored boy, and I continued to look, and then I saw the man with the rifle...(when discussing the colored man) he was there before I noticed the man with the rifle and approximately at 12:30 or when the motorcade was at Main and Ervay he was gone when I looked back and I had looked up there about 30 seconds before or a minute before.” (Later, when asked to describe the man he saw in the sniper’s nest window) “He was very thin, an elderly gentleman, bald or practically bald, very thin hair if he wasn’t bald. Had on a plaid shirt. I think it was red and green, very bright color, that is why I remember it.” (when asked the man’s age) “Fifty; possibly 55 or 60.” (Height?) “5’8”. 5’10”, in that neighborhood. He was very slender, very thin. (skin color?) “Very dark or fairly dark, not real dark compared to some negroes, but fairly dark. Seems like his face was either—I can’t recall detail but it was either very wrinkled or marked in some way.” (2H165-190)

After Rowland, James Worrell testified. Worrell repeated his claim of seeing a man run from the back of the school book depository after the shots. Through a series of questions he described the man as “5’7” to 5’10”...155 to 165 (pounds)...in his late twenties or middle—I mean early thirties. Because he was fast moving on.” He said the man was “White but with “black” hair, and that he’d “just saw the back of his head and it was full in the back.” And that he was dressed in a dark sports jacket...”I don’t know whether it was blue, black, or brown, but it was dark, and he had light pants. And that is all I can say on his clothes, except his coat was open and kind of flapping back in the breeze when he was running.” This man was definitely not Oswald.

Later that day, another witness to the shooting, Amos Euins, testified. He had little to say about the appearance of the man in the window. “All I got to see was the man with a spot in his head, because he had his head something like this” (indicating his face down)...I could see the spot on his head...I wouldn’t know how to describe him, because all I could see was the spot and his head.” (When asked if he could tell the man’s race) “I couldn’t tell because these boxes were throwing a reflection, shaded. (When asked “But you could tell he had a bald--”) “Spot on his head. Yes, sir; I could see the bald spot on his head.” (2H201-210). While Oswald had a receding hairline, he had no bald spot on his head. Why didn’t the commission have Euins work with a sketch artist to depict what he was trying to describe?

Buell Wesley Frazier testified on 3-11-64. When asked if he recognized Exhibit 163, the gray blue jacket which the Commission believed Oswald had worn to work on 11-22-63: “No sir, I don’t.” When asked if he’d seen Oswald wear Exhibit 162, the gray zippered jacket found near the Tippit killing: “No sir, I haven’t.” When shown exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt worn by Oswald at the time of his arrest: “No sir, I don’t believe I have because most time I noticed when Lee had it, I say he put off his shirt and just wear a T-shirt the biggest part of the time so really what shirt he wore that day I really didn’t see it or didn’t pay attention to it whether he did have a shirt on.” When asked if he remembered anything about Lee’s clothing in the morning: “It was a gray, more or less flannel, wool-looking type of jacket that I had seen him wear and that is the type of jacket he had on that morning.” After he told them he wouldn’t remember what type of pants Oswald wore, and was asked if he remembered Oswald wearing gray pants: “yes, to be frank with you, I had seen something more or less of that order, that type of material, but so far as that, being sure that, was his pants or some kind of his clothes, I couldn’t be sure.” (2H210-245)

They then asked Frazier’s sister, Linnie Mae Randle, if she could recall what Oswald was wearing on

the morning of 11-22: "He had on a white T-shirt. I just saw him from the waist up. I didn't pay any attention to his pants or anything... But he had on a white T-shirt and I remember some sort of brown or tan shirt and he had a gray jacket, I believe." (When shown Exhibit 163, the gray blue jacket later found at Oswald's work) "Similar to that. I didn't pay an awful lot of attention to it." (Later, after being shown the gray jacket found near the Tippit killing (162) and the blue-gray one found at Oswald's work (163)) "I would choose the darker one." (Exhibit 163) "I remember his T-shirt and the shirt more so than I do the jacket." (When shown Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt) "Well now, I don't remember it being that shade of brown. It could have been but I was looking through the screen and out the window but I don't remember it being exactly that. I thought it was a solid color."

The next day, 3-12, William Whaley, the cab driver who gave Oswald the lift home, testified. He described Oswald's clothing in a unique manner: "I didn't pay much attention to it right then. But it all came back when I really found out who I had. He was dressed in just ordinary work clothes. It wasn't khaki pants but they were khaki material, blue faded blue color, like a blue uniform made in khaki. Then he had on a brown shirt with a little silverlike stripe on it and he had on some kind of jacket, I didn't notice very close but I think it was a work jacket that almost matched the pants. He, his shirt was open three buttons down here. He had on a T-shirt. You know, the shirt was open three buttons down." (When shown Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt) "That is the shirt, it has my initials on it... Yes, sir; that is the same one the FBI man had me identify." (When asked if this is the shirt that Oswald was wearing) "as near as I can recollect as I told him. I said that is the shirt he had on because it had a kind of little stripe in it, light colored stripe. I noticed that." (After being shown the pants) "I am not sure about the pants. I wouldn't be sure of the shirt if it hadn't had that light stripe in it." "That jacket now it might have been clean, but the jacket he had on looked more the color, you know like a uniform set, but he had this coat here on over that other jacket, I am sure, sir." (When asked if he meant the "blue-gray jacket", probably Exhibit 163) "Yes, sir." (2H253-262). Well, Whaley was giving them pretty much what they wanted until he said that Oswald had been wearing a jacket. As the jacket he was "sure" he saw Oswald wearing had been found in the school book depository days or weeks after the shooting, Whaley's credibility re Oswald's clothing was non-existent.

On 3-24, the commission brought in their star witness, Howard Brennan. Brennan had told the Dallas Police on 11-22 that he'd seen a sniper in the sixth floor window and could identify him; he then refused to identify Oswald as this man. Then, weeks later, after Oswald's murder, and after the media had started pushing that he'd acted alone, the Secret Service talked to Brennan and, presumably, convinced him it was now safe to say that, of the men he saw in the police line-up, Oswald most resembled the man he saw in the window. He repeated this to the FBI. In his testimony, he improved his position. He told the Commission that he could have identified Oswald all along, and had been less than straightforward with the DPD, Secret Service, and FBI when he'd indicated that Oswald only "most resembled" the man he saw in the window. When asked to clarify his position, once and for all, and explain why he'd been holding back his positive ID, Brennan testified *"Well, as I previously have said, I had saw the man in the window and I had saw him on television. He looked much younger on television than he did from my picture of him in the window--not much younger, but a few years younger--say 5 years younger. And then I felt that my family could be in danger, and I, myself, might be in danger. And since they already had the man for murder, that he wasn't going to be set free to escape and get out of the country immediately, and I could very easily sooner than the FBI or the Secret Service wanted me, my testimony in, I could very easily get in touch with them, if they didn't get in touch with me, and to see that the man didn't get loose."* Note that Brennan admitted, in the very testimony the Warren Commission would use to push it was Oswald in the window, that the man in the window looked five years older than Oswald. This is not a convincing ID. I mean, it's not as if Oswald had a hair cut and a facial after the shooting in preparation for his appearance on TV. If anything, the events of Oswald's day--his scuffle with the police, his being charged with murder--would have aged

Oswald's appearance by five years.

But if Brennan's ID of Oswald was problematic for the commission, his description of the shirt worn by the shooter was a disaster. When asked to describe the color of the shirt worn by the shooter. "No, other than light, and a khaki color—maybe in khaki. I mean other than light color—not a real white shirt, in other words. If it was a white shirt, it was on the dingy side." (When shown Exhibit 150) "I would have expected it to be a little lighter—a shade or so lighter." (When asked about the shooter's trousers) "I remember them at that time as being similar to the same color of the shirt or a little lighter. And that was another thing that I called their attention to at the lineup... That he was not dressed in the same clothes that I saw on the man in the window... he just didn't have the same clothes on." (3H140-161) As Brennan is purported to have seen Oswald in a lineup early Friday evening, before Oswald's rust brown shirt was sent to Washington, and as Oswald is known to have complained about being made to stand in Saturday's lineup in just a T-shirt, it follows that Oswald was wearing the rust brown shirt in the lineup, and that Brennan was thereby testifying that the shirt Oswald was wearing when arrested was not worn by the shooter in the sniper's nest. This draws into question the value of the fiber evidence, and demonstrates the Commission's bias. They found Brennan credible only when he told them what they were dying to hear. He'd ID'd the shooter as Oswald, even though the shooter looked five years older and was wearing a different shirt. Far from being the decisive witness for the prosecution many have claimed him to be, he may very well have been a star witness for Oswald's defense...should he have been allowed one.

James Jarman, Oswald's co-worker, also testified on 3-24. Counsel Ball asked him how Oswald was dressed on the 22nd: "I don't exactly recall how he was dressed. I think he had on some dress pants. But I didn't notice the color. (When asked what kind of shirt) "Ivy leagues, I believe. (When asked again) "he never hardly worked in a shirt. He worked in a T-shirt... Yes, he had on a T-shirt that morning."

The next day officer Marrion Baker testified. When asked to describe Oswald's appearance when confronted in the second floor break room, Baker replied: "At that particular time I was looking at his face, and it seemed to me like he had a light brown jacket on and maybe some kind of white-looking shirt. Anyway, as I noticed him walking away from me, it was kind of dim in there that particular day, and it was hanging out his side." (When shown Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt) "Yes, sir; I believe that is the shirt that he had on when he came—I wouldn't be sure of that. It seemed to me like that other shirt was a little bit darker than that whenever I saw him in the homicide office there. (When asked by Belin "What about when you saw him in the School Book Depository?) "I couldn't say whether that was—it seemed to me it was a light-colored brown but I couldn't say it was that or not...all I can remember it was in my recollection of it was a light brown jacket." (When asked to clarify if what he thought was a jacket was the same color as Oswald's shirt, Exhibit 150) "Well, it would be similar in color to it—I assume it was a jacket, it was hanging out." (When asked how Oswald was dressed at the police station) "He did have a brown-type shirt on that was out." (When asked if it looked similar to the jacket) "I could have mistaken it for a jacket, but to my recollection it was a little colored jacket, that is all I can say." (When later asked specifically if he thought Oswald had changed clothes between the time he saw him in the break room and the time he saw him at the police station) "He looked like he did not have the same on." (3H241-270).

Brennan and Baker's testimony that Oswald was not wearing the shirt linked to the rifle when they saw him is a significant problem for the Commission. After Baker testified, they brought Mrs. Robert Reid, who'd talked to Oswald just before he left the building, to the stand. (When asked how he was dressed) "he had on a white T-shirt and some kind of wash trousers. What color I couldn't tell you." (After repeating that she couldn't identify the trousers, and being asked about a jacket.) "He did not. He did not have any jacket on." (When asked by Belin "Have you ever seen anyone working at the

book depository wearing any kind of a shirt or jacket similar to Commission Exhibit 150, or do you know?" (THIS IS QUITE INTERESTING--IF SHE HAD SEEN SOMEONE WEARING A SHIRT, WOULD THAT PERSON HAVE BECOME A SUSPECT BASED UPON THE FIBER EVIDENCE?) "No, I do not. I have never, so far as I know ever seen that shirt. I have been asked about that shirt before, I have seen it once before, but not since all this happened." (I believe she means "when all this happened") (3H270-281)

On 4-1-64, the Commission called in two more witnesses who may have seen the shooter. First they talked to James Crawford. Crawford told them: "If I were asked to describe it, I would say that it was a profile, somewhat from the waist up, but it was a very quick movement and rather indistinct and it was very light colored. It was either light colored or it was reflection from the sun" (6H 171-174). Later, they talked to Ronald Fischer. He described the shooter as follows: "he had on an open-neck shirt, but it—uh—could have been a sport shirt or a T-shirt. It was light in color; probably white. I couldn't tell whether it had long sleeves or whether it was a short-sleeved shirt, but it was open-neck and light in color. Uh—he had a slender face and neck—uh—and he had a light complexion—he was a white man. And he looked to be 22 or 24 years old...His hair seemed to be—uh—neither light nor dark; possibly a light—well, possibly—a, well, it was a brown was what it was, but as to whether it was light or dark, I can't say." (When asked about his hair) "He couldn't have had very long hair, because his hair didn't seem to take up much space—of what I could see of his head. His hair must have been short and not long...I believe I could see the tip of his right cheek as he looked to my left...like he was looking straight at the triple underpass." (6H191-200) (Note: Fischer would later discuss his testimony with the Dallas Morning News. A 12-19-78 article reflects that Fischer claimed that Warren Commission counsel David Belin and he had "had a fight almost in the interview room over the color of the man's hair...He wanted me to tell him that the man was dark-haired and I wouldn't do it." The article goes on to quote Fischer's 15-years-on description of the man he saw in the window. It was nearly identical to his earlier statements. He said that the man he saw was wearing "some kind of a light-colored shirt, like maybe a T-shirt.")

Now desperate to provide some corroboration that Oswald was wearing the shirt linked to the rifle, on 4-2 the Commission finally dragged in good ole Mary Bledsoe, who'd seen Oswald on the bus for all of a few seconds. Now relishing her role as the Oswald buster, she described his appearance on the bus in a dramatic fashion: "He looks like a maniac. His sleeve was out here (indicating). His shirt was undone...Was a hole in it, hole, and he was very dirty, and I didn't look at him. I didn't want (him) to know I even seen him, and I just looked off..." (When asked if she looked at him as he passed by) "I don't know. I didn't look at him. That is—I was just—he looked so bad in his face, and his face was so distorted. (When asked if he had a hat on) "No." (When asked about his shirt) "He had a brown shirt...Hole in his sleeve right here (indicating). (When asked if this hole was on the right elbow or left elbow) "Right." (When asked if his shirt were opened) "Yes, all the buttons torn off." (When asked if he had anything on underneath the torn shirt) "I don't know." (When a surprised Ball clarifies "Do you know the color of any undershirt he had on?) "No." (When asked about his pants) "they were gray, and they were all ragged in here (indicating)...At the seam...At the waist, uh huh...(When asked if his shirt was tucked in) "it was tucked in." Later when asked if she thought she got enough of a glimpse of Oswald to recognize him, she responded "Oh, yes." Ball then asked her if she'd looked very carefully at Oswald, she replied "No, I just glanced at him, and then looked the other way and I hoped he didn't see me." (When finally shown Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt) "That is it." (When asked to clarify what she means) "Because they brought it out to the house and showed it...because I can recognize it...I recognize—first thing I notice the elbow is out and then I saw—when the man brought it out and let me see it?" (When Ball asks her again what she means by "That is it.") "That is the one he had out there that day?" (When asked who) "Some Secret Service man." (When asked if she'd seen it before the Secret Service showed it to her) "No, he had it on, though...Oswald...Oswald had it on." (When asked

what about the shirt makes her think Oswald had it on) “See all this (indicating)? I remember that...I saw the—no: not so much of that. *It was done after*—that is the part I recognize more than anything.”

Well hold it right there! It sure sounds like she was about to point to something about the shirt, perhaps the buttons she'd already said were "torn off", and say that that was what led her to recognize the shirt. Only she stopped herself, saying “That was done after.” Had someone “preparing” her testimony informed her that Oswald’s shirt had received most of its damage in his struggle with the police, after she’d seen him?

Now back to Bledsoe...(When asked if she were pointing to the hole in the elbow) “Yes.” (When asked about the color) “Well, I—What do you mean?...When he had it on?...Before he was shot? Yes, I remember it being brown... Yes, it was that color...”

Okay, now what's she mean by "Before he was shot?" Does she think he was wearing the rust brown shirt when he was shot? Does she think its dark color comes from his blood?

More Bledsoe... (When an unconvinced Ball challenges her to convince him that she really thinks the shirt was worn by Oswald on the bus) “Well, I would say it was. That hole...(When asked again about the color) “Yes, I remember the color...(When asked if the color was similar) “No; same color.” (When asked if she thinks it is the shirt) “Yes, it is the shirt.” She was then shown two pairs of Oswald’s pants, and says Exhibit 156 may have been the pants he was wearing. (6H400-427).

Fabrics, Fibers, Fibs and Fabrications

The next day the FBI’s fiber expert, Paul Stombaugh, testified before the commission. Much of his testimony was taken up with discussion of the blanket found in the Paines’ garage, and whether it could be linked to Oswald or the rifle. This led to a discussion of Oswald’s pubic hairs. This enabled Stombaugh to connect the blanket to Oswald but not the rifle. This led to a discussion of Oswald’s shirt and the fibers found on the rifle butt.

There are several minor revelations in his testimony. On page 74 he discusses his inspection of the rust brown shirt and states “I noted in my notes the two buttons from the top were forcibly removed, the right elbow was worn through, the bottom front inside the shirt was ripped forcibly...” Stombaugh was thereby suggesting that most of the damage to the shirt had occurred during Oswald's struggle with the police, and not before. Had someone discussed his notes with Mary Bledsoe? Is that why she stopped herself when identifying the characteristics of the shirt, stating "No, that was done after".

(FWIW, Vincent Bugliosi, in his 2500 page plus defense of the Warren Commission, Reclaiming History, shares a similar distrust of Bledsoe. On page 549 of his end notes, he relates "I am not including Bledsoe’s observations as evidence of Oswald’s guilt. Apart from her probable bias against him, her observations of Oswald’s physical condition were such that if they were accurate, at least one of them would have been noticeable to Roy Truly or Dallas police officer Marrion Baker. But they apparently saw no such thing, and I can’t reasonably envision anything that Oswald would have done between the time he saw Truly and Baker and was in Bledsoe’s presence that would have caused him to get in such a bedraggled condition.")

Back to Stombaugh's discussion of the rust brown shirt. After prompting by WC counsel Melvin Eisenberg, he then added "down the face of the shirt I did find some wax adhering to it." Now this is interesting, as it suggests he took a good look at the shirt. Which makes what he doesn't say remarkable. He doesn't mention finding any grease on the shirt, or anything indicating it had been used to wipe down the rifle. (The proposition that Oswald wore his t-shirt during the shooting, and used the brown shirt to wipe down the rifle, is hereby reduced to the level of unsupported speculation, at odds with the available evidence.)

Stombaugh then discussed his inspection of the rifle: "Latent fingerprint powder was all over the gun: it was pretty well dusted off, and at the time I noted to myself that I doubted very much if there would be any fibers adhering to the outside of the gun—I possibly might find some in a crevice some place—because when the latent fingerprint man dusted this gun, apparently in Dallas, they use a little brush to dust with, they would have dusted any fibers off the gun at the same time; so this I noted before I ever started to really examine the gun." He explained further: "ordinarily a fiber would adhere pretty well, unless you take a brush and brush it off on the floor and it is lost." He then described his inspection of the rifle on the morning of the 23rd: "I noted it had been dusted for latent prints. So I proceeded to pick off what fibers were left from the small crevices and small grease deposits which were left on the gun. At the point of the butt plate, the end of the stock...I found a tiny tuft of fibers which had caught on that jagged edge, and then when the individual who dusted this dusted them, *he just folded them down very neatly* into the little crevice there, and they stayed."

This duster would be Lt. J.C. Day, the same Dallas Crime Lab Detective who "found" Oswald's palm print on the rifle after giving it to the FBI and having them find no identifiable prints on the rifle. Day explained later that he'd lifted this palm print off the rifle on the night of the assassination before sending it to the FBI crime lab in Washington. He said he was surprised they'd found no trace of this print upon inspection. He admitted further that he had not protected this print, or marked its location, in any way. Nor had he sent a note along with the rifle explaining the work he had performed, and that he'd lifted a palm print from the underside of the barrel on a part of the barrel only accessible when the rifle is disassembled. He'd also failed to photograph the print while it was on the rifle (which is pretty much standard procedure). From such mistakes reasonable doubts arise.

Stombaugh, continued: "These I removed and put on a glass microscope slide...because this little group of fibers—little tuft of fibers, appeared to be fresh. The fibers on the rest of the gun were either adhering to a greasy, oily deposit or jammed into a crevice and were very dirty and apparently very old...the other fibers I cleaned up, removed the grease and examined them but they were of no value. They were pretty well fragmented...They all appeared old...in excess of a month or two months." Returning to the "tuft," Stombaugh explained: "this was just a small tuft. They were adhering to the gun on a small jagged edge. In other words the gun had caught on a piece of fabric and pulled the fibers loose. *They were clean, they had good color to them, there was no grease on them and they were not fragmented. They looked as if they had just been picked up. They were folded very neatly down in the crevice...*they were adhering to the edge rather tightly...it had the jagged edge sticking up and *the fibers were folded around it* and resting in the crevice...I believe when the fingerprint man dusted it he probably ran his brush along the metal portion here...Of the butt plate, and *at the time the brush folded these down into the crevice...Because of the presence of fingerprint powder being down in and through the crevice here.* It looked as if it had been dusted with a brush. You could make out the bristlemarks of the brush itself." Stombaugh had thereby testified that the fibers found in the butt plate crevice did not end up there on their own, and were apparently folded down in there only AFTER Day had dusted the butt plate.

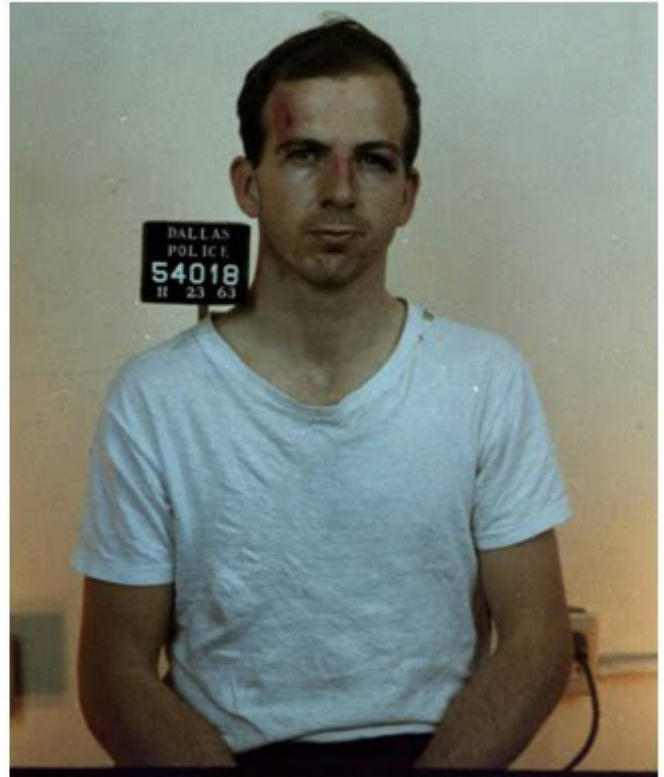
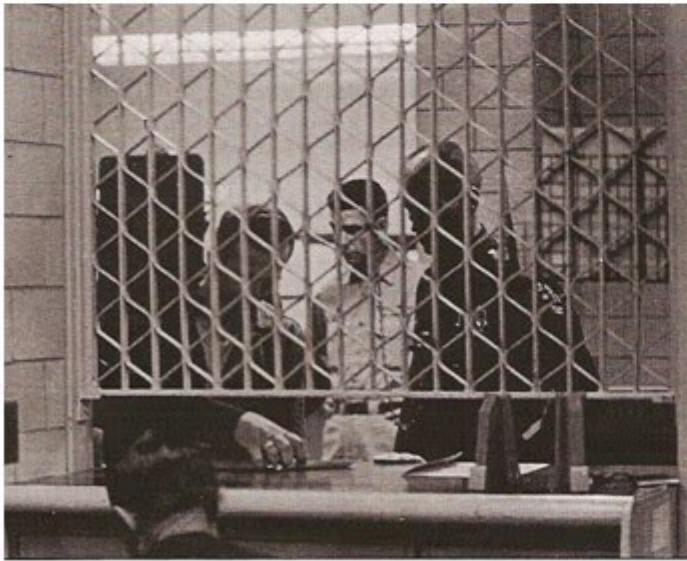
When asked what it would take for someone to loosen the threads from the jagged edge, he responded "Well, I would imagine if one took a brush and started brushing pretty hard these would have worked loose and come out...They were adhering to the jagged edge...they were adhering pretty tightly to the gun. I believe through ordinary handling of the gun eventually they would have worked loose and fallen off...I had to take a pair of tweezers and work them out...And after I had the fibers lifted up which could have been the original position they were in, then I had to pull them off. They were wrapped around rather snugly to the sharp edge." Later, when asked if the rifle should have had fibers from the blanket, he replied "No, because the gun was dusted for fingerprints and any fibers that were loosely adhering to it could have been dusted off. The only reason, I feel, that these fibers remained on

the butt plate is because they were pulled from the fabric by the jagged edge and adhered to the gun and then the fingerprint examiner with his brush, I feel, when brushing and dusting this plate, stroked them down into that crevice where they couldn't be knocked off. In time these fibers would undoubtedly have become dislodged and fallen off the gun" (4H56-88).

If Oswald had been allowed an attorney, he (or she) would have just loved Stombaugh. Stombaugh pretty much admitted it's possible the fiber evidence was planted. He also gave an indication who did it, or at least knew about it. When asked if he was "unhappy" about being handed a rifle that had already been dusted for fingerprints, and asked to inspect it for trace evidence, Stombaugh replied: "I was; however, it is not uncommon for fingerprint processing to be given priority consideration. They wanted to know whether or not the gun contained any fibers to show that it had been stored in this blanket." He then explained who this "they" was: "Well, this is our Dallas office. They sent the gun in wanting to know this fact."

So let's get this straight. The Dallas office wanted to know if there were any fibers on the rifle that could link it to the blanket found in the Paine's garage and Surprise! Surprise! Stombaugh found fibers from Oswald's shirt on the rifle instead. This is most interesting. Fiber evidence is most commonly found on clothing, linking a suspect to a victim, or a victim to a suspect, or at the crime scene, linking a suspect to a crime scene. Sometimes it can be used to suggest a victim had been at the suspect's house, or in the suspect's car. And yet there is no record of either the Dallas Police or the FBI examining the sniper's nest for fiber evidence. None. The Dallas Police searched for fingerprint evidence only. They picked the paper bag up almost as an afterthought. They failed to photograph it in place. They carried it an upright position with the opening at the bottom, allowing fibers to fall freely from the bag. They didn't even inspect the inside of the bag before handing it over the FBI. And yet, we are to believe that, despite all the carelessness and lack of concern for the fiber evidence in Dallas, the Dallas FBI asked the FBI Crime Lab in Washington to inspect the rifle for fibers and lo and behold! it strikes the mother load and finds fibers from Oswald's shirt on a weapon that had already been dusted for fingerprints? Simply incredible! When one reads books and articles on firearms evidence and fiber evidence, one can find references to fibers from the clothing of a victim who had been shot at close range being found on the outside or even on the inside of the barrel of a revolver connected to a suspect, but I have not found a reference to one case, outside this one, where fibers from a suspect's shirt were found on an abandoned weapon, let alone a weapon that had already been dusted.

What's Up With That?



While Oswald wore his brown shirt to the midnight press conference (as shown at upper left) and his subsequent fingerprinting (as shown at left), he was not wearing it in his mug shot, taken just after (as shown above). It follows then that it was taken at this time. So why did both the Dallas Police and FBI claim it had been boxed up about 11:45, an hour earlier?

What's Up With That?

If Oswald had lived, and had found himself a smart attorney, the attorney would have hired someone to wear a shirt like Oswald's, and handle a rifle like Oswald's, and may even have had him fire a few shots. He'd then have the rifle dusted for fingerprints and inspected for fibers, in that order. If they found fingerprints, he'd ask why no legible fingerprints from Oswald were found on the gun. If they found no fibers, he'd ask how Oswald's shirt fibers came to be on the gun. If they claimed that Oswald had used the shirt to wipe down the gun, he'd ask why no grease from the gun was found on the shirt. The lawyer would then ask if it was possible the fibers came from the shirt of J.C. Day, who'd dusted the rifle for fingerprints, or Vincent Drain, who'd delivered the shirt to Washington. He'd also ask if Day and Drain had kept Oswald's shirt separate from the rifle at all times. He'd show the jury an FBI photograph (published in Ian Griggs' No Case to Answer) of the brown paper bag purportedly used by Oswald to carry the rifle into the building astride the blanket purported to have held the rifle when it was in the Paine family's garage, and ask if its possible the fiber found within the bag matching the fibers from the blanket had been transferred during the posing of the evidence photo.

And then, after softening up the jury to consider that the fiber evidence against Oswald was not evidence for his guilt, but for someone else's, he'd hit them with a zinger...He'd show them the press photos of Oswald's midnight press conference and subsequent fingerprinting...He'd then wonder aloud

how it came to be that Oswald was still wearing his "brown" shirt at the time of his late night fingerprinting--about 12:45 in the morning of 11-23--when, according to the reports and testimony of both the Dallas PD's Crime Lab Chief, Lt. Day, and the FBI agent tasked with shipping "all" the first day evidence to FBI headquarters, Vincent Drain, it had been boxed up along with all the other key evidence for an hour.

This, one can only guess, would have blasted a hole in the official story, and have fed speculation that the evidence, far from being boxed up at 11:45 for its 3:10 departure from Carswell Air Force base, was actually fiddled with and added to up until Drain's departure for the Airport around 2:00 or so...

I mean, something is just strange here. Why, when for all the DPD or FBI knew the killers of Kennedy were still on the loose, would they pack up the evidence found in the sniper's nest--most of it not yet photographed or studied by the primary investigating agency, the DPD--and then have it sit around for hours before shipping it to Washington? Does this make much sense? Secret Service Agent Win Lawson, in his report on the assassination (17H633) notes that he "went to the FBI Dallas office, met FBI Agent Drain again, and proceeded with him and the packaged evidence to Carswell AFB. I departed Carswell AFB aboard USAF Plane #276 at 3:10 A.M. CST, November 23, 1963, and arrived at Andrews AFB 6:30 A.M., E.S.T." Note that he went to the Dallas FBI office, and proceeded from there with the evidence. Well, why was this evidence at the FBI office to begin with?

From this, it's clear that not only was there ample opportunity for the Dallas Police to switch or tamper with the evidence before it was handed off to the FBI, but ample opportunity for the Dallas FBI to switch or tamper with the evidence afterward. As Drain's report makes no note of his stopping by the office for an hour or more while waiting to head to the airport, and as he was never questioned by the Warren Commission and asked to account for this time, it's just impossible to piece together why he collected the evidence from a crime lab and then whisked it off to an office.

Fortunately, however, Drain was interviewed by Larry Sneed many years later, and offered an explanation, of sorts. According to Sneed, Drain claimed he was ordered to pick up the evidence around 8:00, but didn't get around to doing so until after 11:30. He claimed it was then and only then that he realized there were no commercial flights to Washington. He claimed that he, on his own, arranged for the flight out of Carswell. If so, well, then Drain may have taken the evidence to his office while he figured this all out.

But this still doesn't explain why both Day and Drain insisted the evidence was boxed up well before midnight, and how Oswald was still wearing his supposedly boxed-up shirt an hour later...

Of course, Oswald never had the chance to hire such an attorney, and the President of the United States and the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court made sure no such attorney was allowed to work on Oswald's behalf, and get to the bottom of this mess.

Which brings us back to the 4-3-64 testimony of the FBI's fiber expert, Stombaugh...

He eventually discussed the fibers: "I tried to match these fibers with the fibers to the blanket, and found that they had not originated from the blanket, because the cotton fibers were of entirely different colors. So I happened to think of the shirt and I made a known sample of the shirt fibers...I removed fibers from the shirt to determine the composition of it and also the colors. I found that the shirt was composed of dark-blue, grayish black, and orangish-yellow cotton fibers, and that these were the same shades of fibers I had found on the butt of the gun..."

He then presented some photographs to prove his point: "Color photographs are very difficult to make microscopically because the color isn't always identical to what you see in the microscope. So these colors are slightly off." "These are the orangish fibers. The color is not exactly the same as what one would see under the microscope. However, you can see that the fibers on both sides, namely the fiber

from the rifle, here... And the fibers from the shirt, which are on the left hand side of Exhibit 674, do match. The colors are the same and also, we find the same twist in the fiber." He then moved on to the grayish-black fibers: "These are the gray-black cotton fibers and the color didn't come out well on these in this instance because of time and color process limitations... The same would apply to Exhibit 675 as to 674, with the exception of the color. The color on these is much darker and we tried up to last night to duplicate the exact color and this is the best I could come up with under the time and color process limitations. It took us about four hours to make a photograph such as this."

Well, this is a bit of a surprise. Stombaugh was unable to get his photographs to match and expected the commission to take his word for it that the fibers really did match, when seen under his super spiffy microscope. Of course, they did just that. Not surprisingly, a detailed report by Stombaugh, explaining how and why he came to his conclusions, when his photographs didn't even match, never surfaced. A defense attorney could get fat on this stuff.

Stombaugh then moved on to the dark blue cotton fibers: "the color match of the dark blue cotton fibers shows rather well in this photograph, Exhibit 676..." (When asked about a violet fiber in the picture) "I asked the photographer about this when he developed this and I said "Why did we get this; this is not in the slide at all," and he said that is one of the orange fibers. They use different techniques in bringing out the blue and yellow-orange in a photomicrograph... this shade in the photograph is different from what that fiber actually is. It is in the development process. I am not too familiar with color photography. There is an art to it. However, I do know that there are times and technical limitations on the accuracy of color reproductions... I believe (I recovered) a total of six or seven fibers from the butt plate, and three of them are blue fibers and all matched... Two shades."

When asked his conclusions, Stombaugh declared: "it was my opinion that these fibers could easily have come from the shirt... Mainly because the fibers or the shirt is composed of point one, cotton, and point two, three basic colors. I found all three colors on the gun. Now if the shirt had been composed of 10 or 15 different colors and types of fibers and I only had found 3 of them, then I would feel that I had not found enough, but I found fibers on the gun which I could match with the fibers composing the shirt, so I feel the fibers could easily have come from the shirt."

Could Stombaugh really have stated that a rust brown shirt was made up entirely of dark blue, grayish-black, and orange-ish yellow fibers? I must admit I'm skeptical. Since when is there no brown in brown? His assurance that the fibers found on the rifle "could easily" have come from Oswald's shirt is also questionable, and notable for its lack of precision.

Stombaugh Humbug

Years later, Stombaugh's integrity would come under direct fire. As detailed in the 1998 book *Tainting Evidence*, Stombaugh was the prosecution's chief forensic expert in the 1979 trial of Jeffrey MacDonald. Here, once again, he found fibers that had eluded others. After CID lab technician Dillard Browning had inventoried a vial of fibers, Stombaugh inspected the vial, and found that two of the fibers were in fact a hair from one of the victims, Colette MacDonald, magically wrapped around a fiber from Jeffrey MacDonald's pajama top, thereby suggesting that a struggle had occurred. The authors of *Tainting Evidence*, not to mention MacDonald's defense team, found this highly suspicious. Perhaps even more suspicious, and damaging to MacDonald, was that Stombaugh testified that his examination of MacDonald's blood-stained pajama top revealed that some of the blood stains were made before the top was cut and torn in his supposed struggle with his wife's killers. This suggested that MacDonald had murdered his wife, and then staged the attack on himself. According to the CourtTV Crime Library, "When Segal (MacDonald's defense attorney) asked for the photographic evidence to support this dangerous new theory, Stombaugh was not able to prove it in court, but maintained that it was so. Thus, the jury heard very damaging new testimony, even though there was no

way to refute it or disprove it during the trial. Years later, when the defense team finally got its hands on the Army's lab notes through the Freedom of Information Act, they found that the Army's "CID lab tech Janice Glisson years earlier had explored the same bloodstain theory and had come to a different conclusion. She had determined that the stain edges on either side of the rips did not intersect, that the pajama tops was therefore, stained [after] it was ripped, not before."

After reading Stombaugh's testimony in the MacDonald trial, and noting his comments on his Warren Commission experience, it is hard not to share the suspicions of the authors of Tainting Evidence and the CourtTV Crime Library. When asked "In what subject did you testify or about what matter did you testify for the Warren Commission?" he replied "In that case I testified to hairs, fibers, and if I recall correctly, there was a blanket involved in that one which was used to cover the gun." As we've just seen, Stombaugh's testimony did not positively link the blanket to the gun, but was much more conclusive in linking the gun to the shirt purportedly worn by Oswald. Can Stombaugh's "failure" to mention the true significance of his testimony, and that he had previously found fibers overlooked by others in a prominent murder investigation, have been entirely innocent? Sure. But there's certainly room for doubt.

Buying Into Bledsoe

On 4-7-64, in an effort to undo the damage done by Arnold Rowland the month before, the commission called his wife, Barbara Rowland, to testify. To their likely dismay, Mrs. Rowland partially verified her husband's story and confirmed that he had told her about seeing a man with a rifle in the far west window of the building, 15 minutes before the shooting. (A 12-23-63 FBI report confirms that this part of Rowland's story had not changed, noting "Arnold Louis Rowland states he saw man with a rifle in the southwest corner (shots fired from southeast corner) of TSBD at about 12:15 PM 11/22/63." CD205 p.i) Mrs. Rowland contradicted her husband, however, on another central point and said that the colored men she saw hanging out windows were not by the sixth floor sniper's nest window, but "On a lower floor, about the fourth floor, I think, and nearer the center window. The windows nearer the center." When taken as a whole then it seems likely the colored men noticed by the Rowlands were James Jarman, Bonnie Ray Williams, and Harold Norman, who'd actually been on the fifth floor. (6H177-191).

On 4-8-64, Frankie Kaiser testified that he found Oswald's blue-gray jacket, Exhibit 163, in the domino room of the school book depository sometime after the shooting. (6H344-345)

Charles Givens testified after Kaiser. As discussed previously, Givens now claimed he'd seen Oswald on the sixth floor shortly before the shooting. He also claimed Oswald was wearing "a greenish looking shirt and pants was about the same color as his shirt, practically the same thing he wore all the time he worked there. He never changed clothes the whole time he worked there, and he would wear a grey looking jacket." As he'd previously stated Oswald had been wearing a brown shirt on the day of the shooting, Givens' testimony is remarkable in that, since he'd first talked with the FBI in the days after the shooting, ALMOST EVERY SINGLE DETAIL IN HIS STORY HAD CHANGED!!! (6H345-356)

Mrs. Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at Oswald's rooming house, was next in line. When asked what Oswald did when he got home on the 22nd, she testified "He went to his room and he was in his shirt sleeves but I couldn't tell you whether it was a long-sleeved shirt or what color it was or nothing, and he got a jacket and he put it on—it was kind of a zipper jacket." (When asked if she'd seen the jacket before) "I can't say I did—if I did, I don't remember it." (When asked about the shirt he'd been wearing) "He was in his shirt sleeves." (When asked the color of the shirt) "I don't remember." (When

shown Exhibit 162, the jacket found near the Tippit killing, and asked if she's seen it before) "Well, maybe I have, but I don't remember it. It seems like the one he put on was darker than that. Now I won't be sure, because I really don't know, but is that a zipper jacket?" (When told it was, and asked if he was wearing a zipper jacket) "Yes, it was a zipper jacket. How come me to remember it, he was zipping it up as he went out the door." (When shown Exhibit 150, the rust brown shirt, and asked if she'd seen it) "Well, maybe I have. Now that looks kind of like the dark shirt that he had on." (When asked if it looks like the shirt Oswald was wearing when he came in) "It was a dark shirt he had on—I think it was a dark one, but whether it was long sleeve or short sleeve or what—I don't know." (When asked again if the color of Exhibit 150 looks anything like the shirt Oswald wore when he came in) "I'm sorry, I just don't know." (6H434-444)

On 4-9, Robert Edwards, one of the first witnesses to say he saw the shooter, was finally called to testify. When asked to describe the culprit, he replied: "White man" (When asked if he was tall or short) "I couldn't say." (When asked what the shooter was wearing) "Light colored shirt, short sleeve and open neck." (When asked how much of him he could see) "From the waist on." (When asked the man's build) "Oh, about average. Possibly thin." (When asked if he could tell if he was light skinned or medium) "No." (When asked the man's hair color) "Light brown." (When asked about his earlier affidavit saying the shooter was on the fifth floor) "That is incorrect. That has been straightened out since."

On 4-22, the Commission finally called Lt. J.C. Day of the Dallas crime lab as a witness. Despite the fact that Agent Stombaugh of the FBI had testified less than 3 weeks earlier that a fingerprint man, presumably Day, had brushed the fibers purportedly matching Oswald's shirt into the small crevice by the butt plate, Day was never asked about dusting the butt plate. In fact, Day never mentioned dusting any area of the rifle butt. Instead, he described his handling of the rifle as follows: "Captain Fritz was present. After we got the photographs I asked him if he was ready for me to pick it up, and he said, yes. I picked the gun up by the wooden stock. *I noted that the stock was too rough apparently to take fingerprints*, so I picked it up, and Captain Fritz opened the bolt as I held the gun. A live round fell to the floor." He then described taking the rifle to the station and locking it up, and then returning later to dust it for prints. He claimed he found an old palm print on the bottom of the barrel, and lifted it without photographing it or informing the FBI of its existence. By midnight, he'd handed the rifle over to Agent Vincent Drain of the FBI.

In Larry Sneed's book, *No More Silence*, Day goes into far more detail on his handling of the rifle. He explains that, when he began his inspection, he "applied powder to it; there was nothing on the stock. Around the trigger guard there was a trace of a print which showed. It wasn't very legible, just traces there...Then, when I was adjusting the thing, down under the bottom of the barrel, there was a print." After dismantling the rifle and lifting this print, Day continues that he "got word from one of my captains, which came directly from the chief's office, not to do anything else...So I slipped the barrel back on the stock and put it back in the lock box...Somewhere in the course of time, Captain Fritz came in...He said that he had Marina down in his office and wanted her to look at the gun and see if she could identify it...So I just picked up the gun by the strap again and went on the elevator with him down to the third floor. When we opened the door there was a mob out there!...If I had known how many people were there, I would have done something besides show that gun. It was definitely a poor way to handle evidence!" Day says that after showing the gun to Marina, he once again went to work trying to photograph the print on the bottom of the barrel--which he claimed was still there even after he'd performed his lift--but that he was once again ordered to stop and turn the rifle over to the FBI. He never mentions dusting the butt plate.



At left is a photo taken by one of the members of the mob encountered by Day on the evening of 11-22-63, apparently around 6:15. It shows that Day handled the rifle by its butt when he held it for the press. This raises a few questions...1) If Day had just dusted the butt plate looking for prints, as described by Stombaugh, would he hold the rifle in such a cavalier manner? He had to have known the FBI was gonna double-check his work. Which leads to 2) When they inspected the rifle the next morning in Washington, why didn't the FBI find Day's palm print on the butt plate? When one considers that just about every book on fingerprinting in existence mentions that the carbon powder used by Day needs to be brushed "lightly" (according to 1964's Crime Lab, 1968's Invisible Witness, and 1995's Crime Scene, among many) for fear of damaging whatever fingerprints may be revealed, and that Stombaugh had testified that the fibers on the rifle had been "wrapped around rather snugly to the sharp edge" it seems doubtful that Day actually dusted the butt plate in the aggressive manner described by Stombaugh, and that his brushing led to the fibers appearing on the butt plate. It seems more likely, sadly, that someone planted the fibers from Oswald's shirt on the rifle and made it appear they'd been folded into the crevice by Day during his dusting. Perhaps Day did this himself. Perhaps the FBI, on the other hand, planted the fibers, and tried to make it look like the fibers pre-dated their inspection. Something sure smells bad but we can't be sure who dealt it.

But I know how we might find out. Lt. Day testified he used black fingerprint powder on the rifle. Sebastian Latona, who dusted the rifle for fingerprints at FBI headquarters the next day, testified on April 3rd, 1964, that he "completely covered the rifle" with gray fingerprint powder, and that the palm print received from Lt. Day had indeed been made with black powder. One can presume the fibers have been well-preserved. If they are tested and show traces of black powder the official story that Stombaugh inspected the rifle for fibers before the FBI dusted it for prints is supported, and it remains unclear who planted the fibers, and even if they were planted. If they show traces of gray powder, on the other hand, it suggests that Latona inspected the rifle BEFORE Stombaugh, and, that, after he failed to find any fingerprints on the rifle, someone decided to plant some fibers from Oswald's shirt on the

rifle, and have Stombaugh "find" them. While this might sound outrageous, a desperate act of this nature only makes sense when one considers that, at this point of its investigation, the FBI was not yet aware of the palm print recovered by Day in Dallas, and had no way of linking Oswald physically to the rifle that killed the President. They were also unaware that Oswald hadn't worn his shirt to work.

The Warren Report was published on 9-24-64. The sections on the shirt and fiber evidence are copied below. The most outrageous section has been highlighted. It's truly hard to believe they believed this stuff.

The Assassin (WR136-137)

Fibers on Rifle

*In a crevice between the butt plate of the rifle and the wooden stock was a tuft of several cotton fibers of dark blue, gray-black, and orange-yellow shades. On November 23, 1963, these fibers were examined by Paul M. Stombaugh, a special agent assigned to the Hair and Fiber Unit of the FBI Laboratory. He compared them with the fibers found in the shirt which Oswald was wearing when arrested in the Texas Theatre. This shirt was also composed of dark blue, gray-black and orange-yellow cotton fibers. Stombaugh testified that the colors, shades, and twist of the fibers found in the tuft on the rifle matched those in Oswald's shirt. (See app. X, p. 592.) Stombaugh explained in his testimony that in fiber analysis, as distinct from fingerprint or firearms identification, it is not possible to state with scientific certainty that a particular small group of fibers come from a certain piece of clothing to the exclusion of all others because there are not enough microscopic characteristics present in fibers. Judgments as to probability will depend on the number and types of matches. He concluded, "There is no doubt in my mind that these fibers could have come from this shirt. There is no way, however, to eliminate the possibility of the fibers having come from another identical shirt." **Having considered the probabilities as explained in Stombaugh's testimony, the Commission has concluded that the fibers in the tuft on the rifle most probably came from the shirt worn by Oswald when he was arrested, and that this was the same shirt which Oswald wore on the morning of the assassination. Marina Oswald testified that she thought her husband wore this shirt to work on that day. The testimony of those who saw him after the assassination was inconclusive about the color of Oswald's shirt, but Mary Bledsoe, a former landlady of Oswald, saw him on a bus approximately 10 minutes after the assassination and identified the shirt as being the one worn by Oswald primarily because of a distinctive hole in the shirt's right elbow. Moreover, the bus transfer which he obtained as he left the bus was still in the pocket when he was arrested. Although Oswald returned to his rooming house after the assassination and when questioned by the police, claimed to have changed his shirt, the evidence indicates that he continued wearing the same shirt which he was wearing all morning and which he was still wearing when arrested. In light of these findings the Commission evaluated the additional testimony of Stombaugh that the fibers were caught in the crevice of the rifle's butt plate "in the recent past." Although Stombaugh was unable to estimate the period of time the fibers were on the rifle he said that the fibers "were clean, they had good color to them, there was no grease on them and they were not fragmented. They looked as if they had just been picked up." The relative freshness of the fibers is strong evidence that they were caught on the rifle on the morning of the assassination or during the preceding evening. For 10 days prior to the eve of the assassination Oswald had not been present at Ruth Paine's house in Irving, Tex., where the rifle was kept. Moreover, the Commission found no reliable evidence that Oswald used the rifle at any time between September 23, when it was transported from New Orleans, and November 22, the day of the assassination. The fact that on the morning of the assassination Oswald was wearing the shirt from which these relatively fresh fibers most probably originated, provides some evidence that they were placed on the rifle that day since there was limited, if any, opportunity for Oswald to handle the weapon during the 2 months prior to November 22. On the other hand Stombaugh pointed out that fibers might retain their***

freshness if the rifle had been "put aside" after catching the fibers. The rifle used in the assassination probably had been wrapped in a blanket for about 8 weeks prior to November 22. Because the relative freshness of these fibers might be explained by the continuous storage of the rifle in the blanket, the Commission was unable to reach any firm conclusion as to when the fibers were caught in the rifle. The Commission was able to conclude, however, that the fibers most probably came from Oswald's shirt. This adds to the conviction of the Commission that Oswald owned and handled the weapon used in the assassination.

Appendix X: Expert testimony (WR591-592)

The shirt. Stombaugh received the shirt, Commission Exhibit No. 150, at 7:30 a. m. on November 23, 1963. Examination showed that it was composed of gray-black, dark blue, and orange-yellow cotton fibers. The orange- yellow and gray-black cotton fibers were of a uniform shade, and the dark-blue fibers were of three different shades. All the fibers were mercerized and of substantially uniform degree of twist.

The C2766 rifle. The rifle, Commission Exhibit No. 139, was received in the FBI Laboratory on the morning of November 1963, and examined for foreign material at that time. Stombaugh noticed immediately that the rifle had been dusted for fingerprints, "and at the time I noted to myself that I doubted very much if there would be any fibers adhering to the outside of this gun, I possibly might find some in a crevice some place because when the latent fingerprint man dusted this gun, apparently in Dallas, they use a little brush to dust with they would have dusted any fibers off the gun at the same time..." In fact, most of the fibers Stombaugh found were either adhering to greasy, oily deposits or were jammed down into crevices, and were so dirty, old, and fragmented that he could not even determine what type of fibers they were. However, Stombaugh found that a tiny tuft of fibers had caught on a jagged edge on the rifle's metal butt plate where it met the end of the wooden stock, and had adhered to this edge, so that when the rifle had been dusted for fingerprints the brush had folded the tuft into a crevice between the butt plate and the stock, where it remained.

Stombaugh described these fibers as "fresh," by which he meant that "they were clean, they had good color to them, there was no grease on them and they were not fragmented." However, it was not possible to determine how long the fibers had been on the rifle, in the absence of information as to how frequently the rifle had been used. Examination showed that the tuft was composed of six or seven orange-yellow, gray-black, and dark-blue cotton fibers. These fibers were compared with fibers from the shirt, Commission Exhibit No. 150, which was also composed of orange-yellow, gray- black, and dark-blue cotton fibers. The orange-yellow and gray-black tuft fibers matched the comparable shirt fibers in all observable characteristics, i. e., shade and twist. The three dark-blue fibers matched two of the three shades of the dark-blue shirt fibers, and also matched the dark-blue shirt fibers in degree of twist. Based on these facts, Stombaugh concluded that the tuft of fibers found on the rifle "could easily" have come from the shirt, and that "there is no doubt in my mind that these fibers could have come from this shirt. There is no way, however, to eliminate the possibility of the fibers having come from another identical shirt."

The commission's proposal that Oswald was wearing the brown shirt at work that day is remarkably ill-founded. Their use of the bus transfer to support this claim is particularly disingenuous. They willfully ignored that Earlene Roberts said Oswald originally went to the bus stop after leaving the rooming house, and that it would only make sense for Oswald to have moved the transfer from one shirt to another in anticipation of such a ride. They also gave Mary Bledsoe's testimony far more credence than it deserved. After all, in her original statement she failed to describe Oswald's shirt. Then, the next day, after Oswald had been seen on TV by half the world wearing the brown shirt, she said the shirt she'd seen had had holes in both elbows. Then, four days later, she was once again interviewed, and only then did she say it had a hole in ONE elbow. Then, a week later, she was shown the actual shirt,

and claimed it was NOT the shirt, only to change her mind after being shown the hole in the right elbow. Then, in her testimony, she identified the shirt as the shirt she'd been shown by the FBI, and only under repeat questioning did she relate that it was the shirt she saw Oswald wearing on the bus. She is simply not credible, and there is no reason to believe she had an independent recollection of the shirt's appearance prior to seeing Oswald on TV and every reason to believe her testimony was deliberately or accidentally coached by the FBI, from asking her the same questions over and over, asking her if she didn't recognize the hole in the elbow, etc, until she got it "right."

By relying on the easily-discredited Givens to make the case Oswald never came down for lunch, and the ridiculous Bledsoe to support their case that Oswald never changed his shirt, the commission revealed their single-mindedness, and lack of objectivity. There is simply NO WAY they'd have found these witnesses remotely credible if they'd have said anything suggesting Oswald's innocence.

Still, even though the commission accepted the words of an almost certain liar to conclude Oswald was on the sixth floor before the shots, and the words of an easily-manipulated fool to conclude his shirt fibers were found on the rifle, their conclusion of Oswald's guilt was well-founded, as the Dallas Police and FBI had compelling evidence he'd been in the sniper's nest and had recently fired a rifle. Right?

Wrong.

Chapter 4b: Sack of Lies

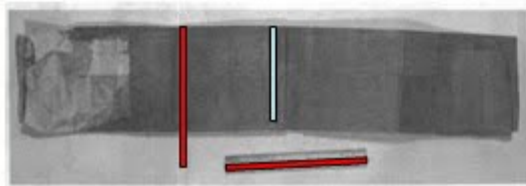
A search for a smoking gun in the bottom of an old paper sack

Most Definitely Not in the Bag



At left: a Dallas Times-Herald photo of the paper bag purportedly used by Oswald to smuggle his rifle into the depository, as it was removed from the depository on 11-22-63.

At right: a simulation of the photo at left using a piece of cardboard 8" wide. A sheet of white printer paper, 8 1/2 x 11, has been added for ease of comparison



At left: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 142, purported to be the bag in the photo at left above. The bag has most definitely changed proportions, if it's even the same bag.

Red lines in all photos are 12" wide. Blue lines in all photos are 8" wide.

Most Definitely Not in the Bag

Should one think the commission's failure to clear up how the shots were fired--and whether or not Oswald was even on the sixth floor at the time of the shooting--was an isolated failure, one should be reminded that, as the Dallas Police, the Secret Service, and the FBI before them, the Warren Commission was unable to figure out how Oswald (or anyone) got the assassination rifle into the building. The only two people to see Oswald with a bag on 11-22, Buell Wesley Frazier and his sister Linnie Mae Randle, after all, both testified that the bag they saw in his possession was far smaller than the bag put into evidence. The Warren Commission, not surprisingly, assumed they were mistaken.

But the problem with Frazier and his sister's failure to ID the bag, when compounded by other factors, elevates the case to what many believe is a reasonable doubt. Consider that Jack Dougherty, the only one to see Oswald come into the building, didn't even recall his carrying a small package, let alone a large package, when he came inside. Consider that no one else saw Oswald with a package in the building. Consider that the paper bag purportedly used by Oswald to transport the rifle to work was made from materials found within the school book depository, and was apparently, due to the nature of the tape's being all torn from one piece and its being automatically moistened as it was pulled from the machine, made on the premises. Consider that, as the paper from which the bag was made was purported to match the paper roll in use in the depository on 11-22, and the paper rolls used lasted but a

few days, the bag must have been made within a few days of the assassination. Consider that the only day Oswald went to Irving, where he reportedly picked up his rifle and sealed it in the bag, during the whole time the paper roll was in use, was the day before the assassination, 11-21. Consider that the company's shipper, Troy West, testified that Oswald had never worked at his shipping table, and that people didn't just come up and use his shipping paper and tape, and that, besides, he was always at his shipping table, even during lunch. Consider that nobody else saw Oswald take paper or tape from the table on 11-21, or at any other time. Consider that Buell Wesley Frazier, who gave Oswald a ride home on 11-21, didn't notice a large paper package in Oswald's possession, or any stiffness in Oswald's movements to suggest he was hiding such a package under his shirt. Consider as well that Marina Oswald and Ruth Paine, two grown women living in a tiny house, failed to notice such a stiffness in Oswald's behavior when he came home from work, and failed to see the bag in the house or in the garage, after he arrived. Consider that there is no photograph of the bag where it was purportedly found near the sniper's nest...

And now consider that the bag removed from the building, and as photographed by the Dallas Morning News, Dallas Times-Herald, and Fort Worth Star-Telegram, appears to be far wider than the bag placed into evidence by the FBI (as shown on the slide above).

We interrupt this discussion to bring you a quick response to some annoying criticism.

First, yes, of course I know that the comparison above is not 100% precise. But that does not mean it is automatically suspect, or would be prohibited from being introduced into a court of law. Hard Evidence, a book written in 1995 with the cooperation of the FBI Crime Lab, notes that "Sometimes a bank robber's height can be established simply by putting a height marker precisely where he stood then photographing it with the same camera and doing an overlay." This is the methodology attempted in the comparison above, which opens my comparison to four legitimate criticisms: 1) that the photos are improperly sized, with both the "bag" and model in my re-enactment photo under-sized, in comparison to the press photo; 2) that the photos are properly sized, but that the angle and/or distance of the bag from the model in my re-enactment photo was inaccurately re-created, causing the bag to appear far smaller in my re-enactment; 3) that my choice of camera and camera lens was incorrect, and that this caused the "bag" to appear far smaller in my re-enactment; and 4) that the bag in the press photos was much closer to the camera than the "bag" in the re-enactment photo, to the extent that the apparent relationship between camera-bag-person holding the bag was altered.

Now, initially, no one even attempted a criticism along the last two lines. While Marquette Political Science Professor and avowed single-assassin theorist John McAdams claimed my comparisons were of no value unless I used the exact same camera and lens used to create the press photos, he refused to back this up by explaining why we should believe certain cameras using the same type lens could distort the apparent size of specific sections of an image by 25% or so in comparison to other cameras. No, the dozen or so single-assassin theorists to initially criticize this comparison did so along the first two lines, essentially sharing the same argument. They all claimed the difference in size between the bag in the press photo and the piece of cardboard in my hand on the slide above came either as a result of my improperly sizing the two photos or the bag in the press photo's slightly leaning toward the camera.

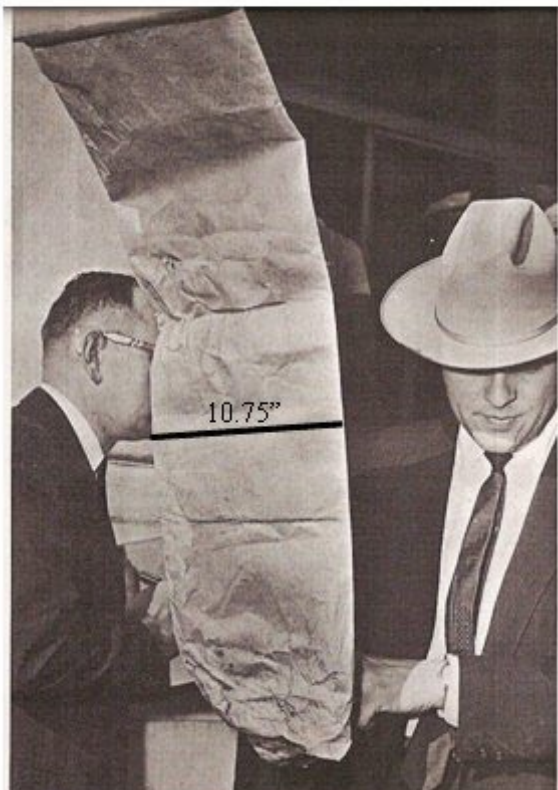
Well, this could be tested...by taking the opposite approach and making the bag in the news photo and the piece of cardboard in the re-enactment photo the exact same width...



The Opposite Approach

Well, this looks pretty silly, doesn't it? While I'm 6'4" tall, I'm no giant. And Detective Montgomery was most certainly not a midget. This not only proves that the difference in bag width in my comparison did not come as a result of my simply mismatching the photos, but suggests that, in order for the piece of cardboard in the re-enactment photo to be the same width as the bag in the news photo, it would have to have been YARDS closer to the camera. This, then, also squelches the argument that the difference in width in my comparison came as a result of the bag's tilting a few inches to the camera in the news photo.

$10 \frac{3}{4}$, Not $8 \frac{1}{2}$



Brown paper bag assassin used to conceal rifle is carried from the building by homicide detective L. D. Montgomery. — Dallas Morning News photograph by Jack Beers.

At left: a photo by Jack Beers of the paper bag as it was removed from the book depository on 11-22-63.

At right: a photo of me holding some standard 8.5" printer paper, taped end to end, for comparison purposes.

(Horizontal lines and measurements added.)



Since we know the width of the printer paper in the photo at right—8.5 inches—we can estimate the width of the paper bag in the photo at left by matching the size of the heads and hands in the photos, and then measuring. It's 10.75 inches.

$10 \frac{3}{4}$, Not $8 \frac{1}{2}$

That the bag's leaning to the camera caused its apparent width to be distorted in the press photo was further undermined, moreover, by my re-enactment of a second photo, in which the apparent lean was more closely replicated. When I approximated the apparent width of the paper bag in this press photo,

moreover, it matched the apparent width of the bag in the first photo I'd re-enacted. The bag in the press photos appeared to be close to 11" wide, while the bag currently in the archives is less than 9.

Still not convinced? Convinced that this re-enactment is improperly sized and/or that the bag in this photo is leaning slightly to the camera, causing a distortion in its appearance?

Okay, you asked for it.

The Opposite Approach 2



At left: a photo taken by Jack Beers on 11-22-63.

At right: my re-enactment of the photo

(Identical black lines added.)

Since I am not a giant, it should be clear that the bag in the Beers photo was much wider than the 8 1/2 " wide piece of printer paper used in my re-enactment.



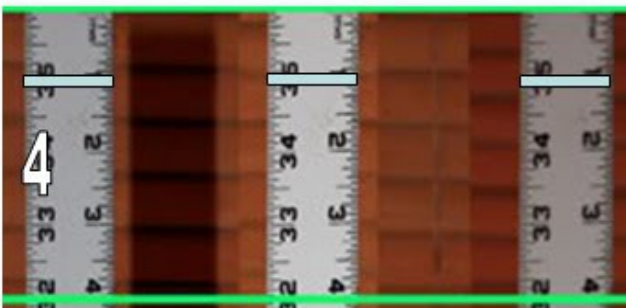
The Opposite Approach 2

When one makes the width of the bag in this second photo match the width of the 8 1/2 inch piece of paper in my re-enactment shot, it becomes startlingly clear this bag was not 8 1/2 inches wide as purported. I am certainly not a giant in comparison to Detective Montgomery, so it follows that the width of the bag in the photo with him was far wider than an 8 1/2 inch wide piece of paper. Or does it?

Thank You, Craig!



- 1: three photos taken as a camera grew closer to a yardstick
- 2: the three photos when sized to make the yardsticks match at the top.
- 3: identical blue lines show that the closer you get to the yardstick, the wider it appears in the middle.
- 4: these lines reveal further, that, in the first photo, the width was almost uniform.



In 2010, photographer Craig Lamson tried to counter my “bag” analysis by pointing me to a series of photos he’d taken of a yardstick, which showed that as one got closer to a yardstick, its proportions seemed to change. He had inadvertently proved my point!

Thank You, Craig!

In February, 2010, photographer Craig Lamson sent me a series of insulting emails, telling me the bag seen in the press photos was clearly the bag now in the archives, and that I couldn't photo-analyze my way out of a paper bag, etc. Not surprisingly, he claimed the different proportions of the bag in the press photos and my simulated bag were readily explained not by my inaccurately sizing the photos, as others had proposed, but by the photos having been taken from vastly different distances. He pointed out--not that it needed pointing--that as a camera gets closer to an object it distorts its appearance, both in relation to itself, with the part closest to the camera getting bigger and the part furthest from the camera smaller in comparison, and to other objects around it. While he refused to actually test the veracity of this explanation by recreating the press photos using an object the purported size of the paper bag in the archives, and a full-sized human being, Lamson did nevertheless send me links to photos he'd created demonstrating this distortion.

Well, this proved most surprising....seeing as the photos Lamson had taken to demonstrate this concept supported my position. The ruler in the photo he'd taken from across the room had nearly uniform proportions; its width varied little from its one inch mark to its twenty inch mark. As one section of the ruler was almost certainly inches closer to the camera than the other, this suggested that the lean of the ruler, and by extension, the lean of the bag in the press photos, a few inches one way or the other would have little effect on its apparent size.

As the camera grew closer to the ruler, however, the section closest to the camera grew wider in comparison to the rest of the ruler.

But not enough... Even with the camera at its closest to the ruler, the closest section of the ruler was nowhere near 25% or so wider than the parts of the ruler furthest from the camera.

This demonstrated beyond any doubt that the bag in the press photos leaning a bit this way or that would have little effect on its relative proportions in a photo taken from as far away as the press photos were taken, and would not distort the width of the bag in the press photos to near the amount necessary to explain the overly-wide appearance of the bag...

While Lamson and others might claim "But look at the monitor! The computer monitor shrinks about 20% in comparison to the ruler as you get closer to the ruler!" and think this explains the problem with the bag in the press photos, they ignore that this shrinkage is in height as well as width, and that the bag in the press photos appears to be the same height as the bag in the archives. They would also be ignoring that the closest of Lamson's photos showing such distortion was quite clearly taken from much closer to the ruler than the camera was to Montgomery in the first photo we studied, and that the ruler is almost certainly further from the monitor than the bag was from Montgomery.

I'm sorry. I just don't buy Lamson's sorry excuse. When re-enacting the first photo, above, the camera was approximately 14 feet away from the simulated bag, and I was at most a half a foot behind that. This means that the bag was about 1 and 1/28 its actual size in comparison to me. In order for the bag in the press photos to appear 25% wider than this bag, then, it means that the bag in the press photos would have to be about 1 and 8/28 its actual size in comparison to Det. Montgomery. (This, of course, assumes both that Montgomery was roughly my size, and that I matched our sizes on my comparison.) Since the bag held by Montgomery was at most 1 foot in front of him, moreover, it suggests (at least to me) that the camera would have to be around 3 and 1/2 feet from the bag before the bag could appear so distorted in comparison to Montgomery.

And that still wouldn't explain why only the width of the bag was distorted...

Thank You, Craig! 2

Images resized to make the 23/13 inch marks on all rulers the same size



21mm lens

40mm lens

50mm lens

Full frame 35mm digital Canon 5D camera
Full frame 35mm digital Canon 5D camera



At left, the rectangles from the 50 mm and 21 mm photos at right, with lines added for the purpose of comparison

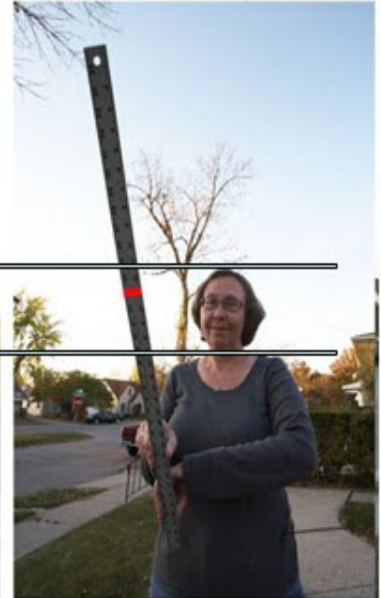
The ruler in the clearly distorted 21 mm photo is only 32 percent wider.



50mm lens



40mm lens



21mm lens

In late 2010, Craig Lamson struck again, and posted the image at left, purportedly proving that the 25% too wide appearance of the bag in the press photos could be explained by the camera being closer to the subject than in my re-enactment, or by the use of a different lens. While making the ruler in his photos 32% wider, his experiments also made it longer, and drastically changed the appearance of the background. He'd once again proved my point.

Below: Lamson's photos at left, re-sized to match up the head of his model.

Thank You, Craig! 2

But this didn't stop Lamson from unleashing another assault on yours truly in October 2010. In his usual friendly manner, he now accused me of being "even more ignorant than a blockhead" and "a moron of the first order." To accompany this rant, he posted some photos he'd taken of a woman holding a ruler on the Education Forum, our usual field of battle. These photos are depicted above. As shown in Lamson's original image, at upper left, he has indeed shown that photos taken from different subject to camera distances, and with different lenses, may show a radically different physical relationship between the object closest to the camera, and those beyond.

This was never in dispute. What Lamson missed, once again, was that I never questioned whether or not the extra-wide appearance of the bag when compared to my re-enactment photos could be explained by the camera's being closer to the bag in the press photos than in my re-enactment. I questioned whether such a distortion of the image would affect the appearance of the width of the bag, and *no other aspect of the photo*. In Lamson's experiments he used radically different subject to camera distances, and radically different lenses, and was able to make the ruler appear 32% wider in comparison to his model, more than the 25% wider appearance of the bag in the press photo when compared to my re-enactment. But he also made the ruler appear far longer in comparison to his model, and distorted the appearance of the photo so that it was obvious different lenses had been used.

He had thereby failed to demonstrate that the extra-wide appearance of the bag in the press photo could

be explained by the press photographers' using something other than the 50 mm lens used in my re-enactment photo, or by my being too far from the camera in the photo.

Thanks, But No Thanks

Pat and Jim are SHOCKED to find they have it wrong...again!



A 16" photo light is photographed from 10 feet away with a 50mm lens, per Pats instructions. The light is moved towards the camera 6 inches in the right hand photo. Notice it "grows" wider by 25% but does not get any taller. Pat loses again.

At left: another attempt by Craig Lamson to discredit my observation that the bag in the press photos is too wide to be the bag in the archives. Note that he has taken to attacking researcher Jim DiEugenio—who supports my analysis of the bag—as well as myself. Note also that he has stopped demonstrating photographic principles—such as the acknowledged fact that the proportions of an object change as it gets closer to the camera—and has taken to deliberate deception. He knows that the "bag" in my original re-enactment photo (the one shown on The Most Definitely Not in the Bag slide) faces the camera, and yet here, in order to create the illusion the bag would appear 25% wider if moved 6 inches closer to the camera, he has turned the photo light from the camera in the first photo and then turned it to face the camera in the second.

There was a time I thought he was sincere, and his photography "lessons" helpful, but that time is long past.

Thanks, But No Thanks

After reading my response to this last batch of photos, Lamson sent me another supportive email, in which he claimed: 1) that "my stupidity knows no bounds," 2) that I have once again "buried" my head up my "ass," 3) that I suffer from a "total lack of intellectual honesty," 4) that I am an "idiot," 5) that I am a "major league dumbass," and 6) that I am "stupid beyond belief." At the heart of his complaint is his strange belief that I think his use of different lenses in the photos above made the ruler actually get wider, and not just appear wider in comparison to his model, and that one can not measure something in a photo without knowing everything about the photo--the lens used, the camera to subject distance, etc--*even to make an estimate on how things appear*. To his thinking, it would be unscientific to claim that Shaquille O'Neill appears to be six or more inches taller than Charles Barkley simply because one saw a photo of the two of them standing side by side, because how do we know they were really side by side, etc. Fine. If that's what being scientific means, let him be scientific.

Meanwhile, I'll be right. The bag in the press photos is wider than the bag in the archives. If it was remotely conceivable that there was a logical explanation for the bag's appearing so much wider than the bag in the archives, after all, wouldn't some "expert" as full of piss and vinegar as Lamson have

found it, and rubbed my face in it? I would think so. But no, instead of posting photos of people holding 8 1/2" wide bags that appear to be as wide as the bag in the press photos he has taken to posting 1) trick photos of inanimate objects taken from inches away, in which the rulers on each side of the object give different measurements (One of the rulers was slightly further from the camera than the other); 2) trick photos of photo lights in which the light in one photo appears to be much more narrow than the other even though they are the same light (It also appeared to be much more elliptical than the other, which proves the illusion was created in part by turning the light sharply from the camera...He'd also moved it 6 inches closer to the camera); and 3) photos of myself in which my face gets bigger in comparison to another picture of my face when the first one is moved closer to the camera and shot with a different lens (It gets both taller and wider; this once again supports my position that it would not simply get wider).

But that's just my layman's analysis, and my layman's response to his "expert" analysis.

Martin Lends a Hand



In November 2010, Martin Hinrichs, a 3D animator intrigued by my analysis of the paper bag, performed an analysis of his own. He assumed the bag was indeed 8 1/2 inches wide, as presented in Warren Commission Exhibit 142 below, and then superimposed a 7 1/2 inch DVD case and hand onto the top end of the bag in the press photos. The result, as shown at left, was comical, and confirmed my analysis that the bag removed from the building in the press photos was far wider than the bag placed into evidence.

It occurred to me, however, that those claiming the overly wide appearance of the bag was caused by its leaning toward the camera in the press photos would continue to do so. And so I added a second hand to the bag by Det. Montgomery's hand, and made it proportionate to the width of the bag at that point. It was still far too large... The bag removed from the building was much wider than the 8 1/2 inch width of the bag in the archives. Believe it.



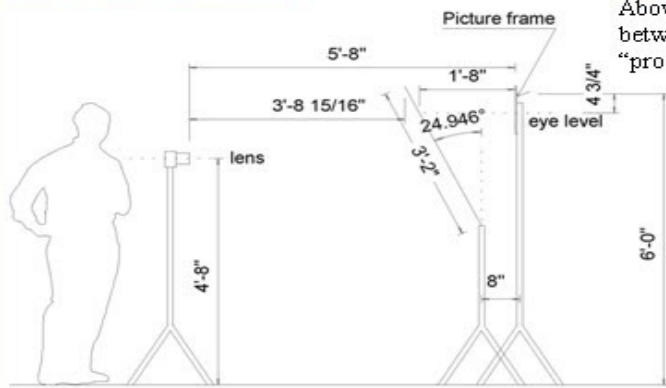
Martin Lends a Hand

In November 2010, however, Martin Hinrichs, a 3D animator, entered the fray, and came down on my side of the dispute. He performed his own analysis of the bag, and confirmed that the bag in the press photos was wider than the 8 1/2 inch wide bag in the FBI photos. He did this by inserting objects he knew to be 7 1/2 inches or 19 cm in length--a DVD case and his hand--onto the bag in a second press photo taken by William Allen, under the presumption the bag was 8 1/2 inches wide. These proved to be grossly disproportionate in comparison to Montgomery's body.

Believe It or Not



Above: the Allen photo set between two of Craig Lamson's "proof of concept" photos.



In December 2010, Craig Lamson created a series of photos of an object the size and shape of the bag in the archives, which he claimed matched the proportions of the bag in the Allen photo. The specs he provided for these photos, however, raised many questions. (A side-view of his photo shoot, as reconstructed by Martin Hinrichs from Lamson's specs, is at left.) More troublesome for Lamson still was my realization that the man walking at the far right of the photo was, according to Lamson's analysis, but 9 feet from Allen's camera. (He admits this in the image above.) This places the man but a foot or so behind the newsman clearly yards in front of him. Lamson was wrong. Believe it or not.

Believe It or Not

It wasn't but a few days after Martin came down on my side, however, that Craig Lamson returned in a fury. He suddenly claimed he'd created a "proof of concept" photo in which his 8.5 inch simulated bag matched precisely the proportions of the bag in the Allen photo. He posted this photo on several different forums, along with the claim he'd "buried" mine and Martin's claims the bag in the press photos was wider than the bag in the archives.

Well, this, on the surface, was bizarre. You see, he'd taken his photo in a hallway with a stick figure, and a photo of my face on top. Although the "bags" matched, there was no indication the photos actually matched, as no human figures were shown in his photo. This, then led him to perform another re-enactment, in which he stood in the photo. This second photo, to some, appeared convincing. Some viewing our feud from a distance, including single-assassin theorist ringleader John McAdams, moreover, jumped in and declared Craig the winner. (Craig's "proof of concept" photos are shown on the slide above.)

But they were guilty of a rush to judgment.

If they'd really have thought about Craig's "proof of concept" photo, they'd have realized that it actually proved I was correct, and not Craig.

You see, in Craig's analysis, the bag in the Allen photo did not appear to be 8.5 inches wide when compared to Montgomery because, and only because, it was much closer to the camera than Montgomery. It appeared wider but not longer than the 8.5 inch-wide bag in the archives, moreover, because it was leaning toward the camera. In the specs provided by Craig, to be precise, Allen's camera was 5' 8" from Montgomery, and the bag leaned forward 25 degrees, starting out 8 inches from Montgomery at his waste and ending up 20 inches from him at the level of his eyes.

Well, I knew this was nonsense. It is readily apparent to anyone that the bag in the Allen photo is fairly vertical and not leaning 25 degrees forward to the camera. It is also apparent that the top of the bag, which, in Craig's analysis is only at the level of Montgomery's hat, is actually well above his hat. It is also quite clear that the top of the bag in the Allen photo is far more than the 44 inches away from Allen that Craig was now claiming. 44 inches is, after all, a mere lean and a reach away. When you look at the Allen photo do you believe the photographer could lean out and touch the bag? I don't. Not remotely.

When one looks at the other Allen photo (the one shown on the Most Definitely Not in the Bag slide above) this is even more clear. In this photo, taken from almost certainly the same location, and from the same distance from Montgomery, the bag is folded forward. This means it was, in Lamson's strange analysis, less than 44 inches from the camera, approximately three feet. Well, there is a man on the left side of this photo looking at the bag. This man is Lt. J.C. Day of the Dallas Police. He certainly appears to be in front of the bag, that is, between the bag and the camera. Scroll back up and look at this gentleman. Ask yourself...could William Allen, the man taking this photograph, reach out with his left hand and slap Lt. Day in the face? If your answer is no, then it's clear you agree that Lamson's recreation of the Allen photo is nonsense.

(For those still not so sure, Martin Hinrichs created a schematic view of Lamson's "proof of concept" photo shoot. It is presented on the slide above.)

Anyhow, I wasn't sure how to prove this. Craig was claiming that what seemed obvious was not, and that he had "proved" the bag was actually taken from less than 6 feet from Montgomery, and that the bag in the photo was actually the same size as the bag in the archives.

It then hit me that, IF the bag appeared to be wider than it was due to its proximity to the camera, as Craig had claimed, and that this had nothing to do with the lens beyond that the 24mm lens Craig claimed was used would allow Allen to take a wide angle shot from so close to Montgomery, that Montgomery would then also appear distorted in size when compared to objects in the background of the photo.

I looked back at the photo. To Montgomery's left is his partner, Marvin Johnson. He is clearly three feet or so further from the camera than Montgomery. Far to Johnson's left, moreover, there is a man coming down the steps with a cigarette in his mouth. This man, to my estimation, would have to be 9 feet or so away from Montgomery. And yet he is approximately 2/3 his size. Well, if Montgomery is 6 feet from the camera, and this man 15 (or even 13 if one is to grant that he is not directly behind Montgomery, but a bit forward and closer to the camera) then he SHOULD appear to be less than half Montgomery's size, and not 2/3 his size. For the man to appear 2/3 Montgomery's size, moreover, he would have to be about 9 feet from the camera, and not 13.

I pointed this out to Lamson, half-expecting him to claim I knew nothing of perspective. But no, to no doubt the utter horror of those thinking he'd proved me wrong, he AGREED with me, and claimed that the man REALLY IS only 9 feet from the camera.

To be precise, on 12-16-10, on the Education Forum, to my assertion the smoker would have to be about 9 feet from the camera for Lamson's claims to have merit, he responded:

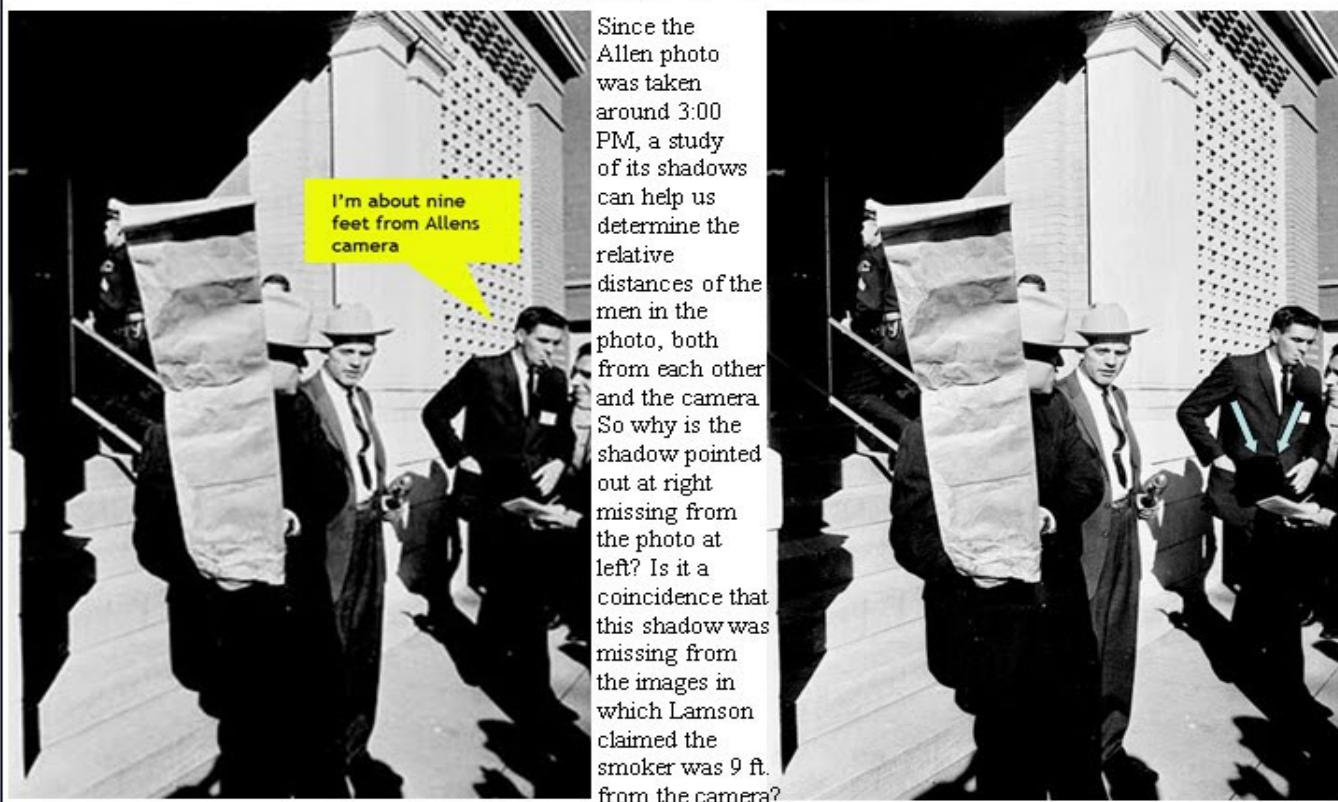
Actually, for a 6 foot person to be shown 1/3 less tall than a 6 foot person 6 feet from the camera, he WOULD be 9 feet away from the camera. That's HOW perspective works and it's exactly what we see in Allen. if we are talking about the guy smoking a cig. 6 feet from the camera is PERFECT fit for this guy. Amazing how it ALL fits, except for Pat Speers silly theory. (btw, it plots perfectly at 9 feet! LOL!) (Lamson's image claiming as much is on the slide above).

Yes, this would be laughable, if it was not so positively bizarre. I mean, look at the photo yourself.

There is a newsman at the right edge of the photo who is clearly further from the camera than Montgomery, but closer than Johnson. This makes him, quite obviously, in Lamson's analysis, at least 8 feet from the camera, and a mere foot in front of the smoker behind him. Well, the newsman's right shoulder stretches almost a foot in the smoker's direction. If Lamson is to be believed, these two men are about to collide.

HOGWASH! Look down at the smoker's feet. They are much higher on the sidewalk than where the newsman's feet would have to be, should they be shown. If they were but a foot apart, as Lamson claims, they would be near the same level.

The Shadow Knows



Above: the Allen photo as presented by Craig Lamson.

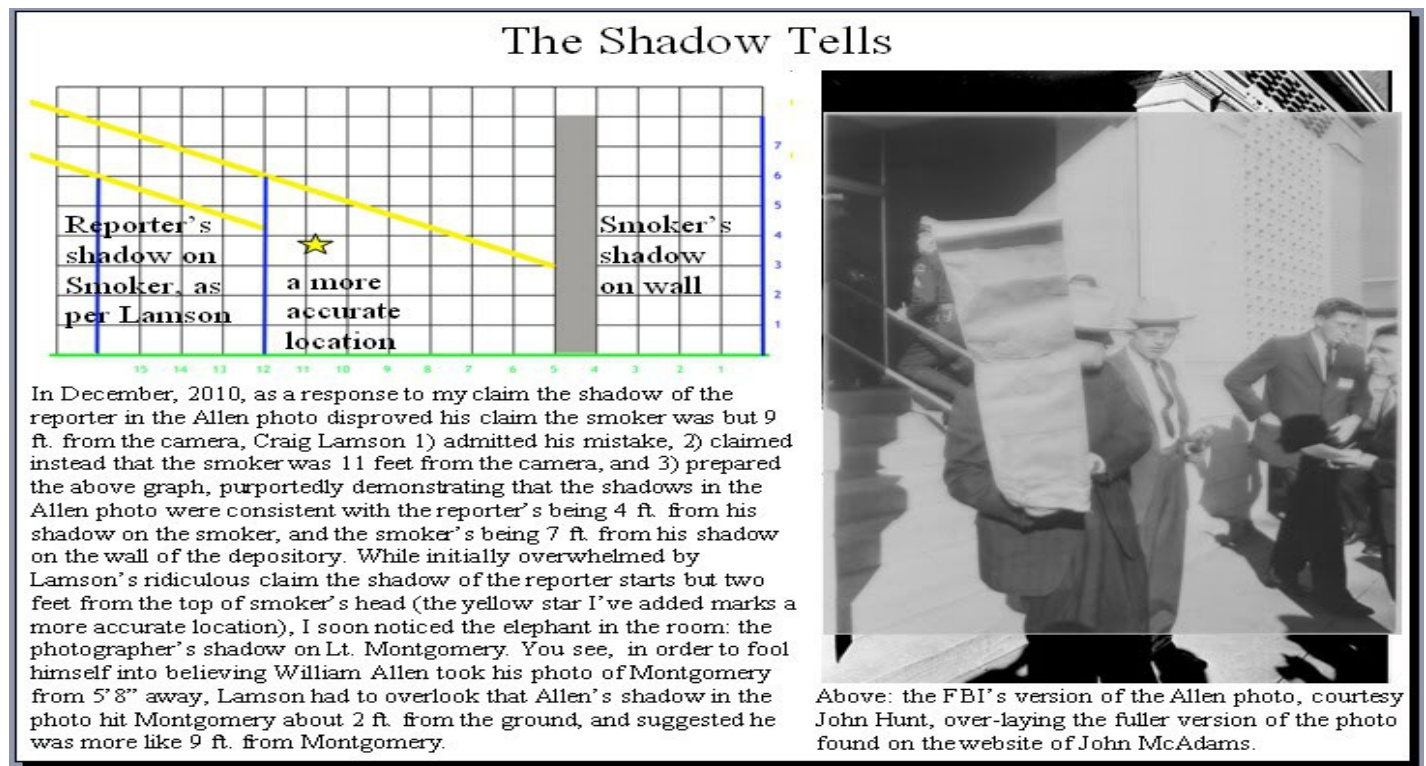
Above: the Allen photo on John McAdams' webpage.

The Shadow KnowsT

AND MORE HOGWASH! While the Allen photo presented by Lamson at this point of our debate was mysteriously and conveniently dark, the shadow of the newsman's profile can be seen on the stomach of the smoker in better and lighter versions of the photo (such as the one found on the website of single-assassin theorist guru and key Lamson supporter, John McAdams). The Allen photo was presumably taken around 3:00 PM in the northern hemisphere in late November. (Although Montgomery claimed he left the depository around 2:30, a press photo discovered by John Hunt in the FBI files shows Montgomery's watch, and it reads 3:00.) In any event, the sun was undoubtedly getting low in the sky. There is no way the newsman's shadow would be that low on the smoker's body should he be but a foot or two away. This is further and perhaps better demonstrated, should one still have doubts, by the appearance of the smoker's shadow on the front wall of the school book depository

building several yards away. If the shadow of the newsmen's head should appear on the stomach of the smoking man a foot or two away, as claimed by Lamson, it makes no sense whatsoever that the shadow of the smoking man's head should appear at about the same level on a wall, several yards behind him. The sun is, after all, in but one place at a time.

Lamson's assertion the smoker was nine feet from the camera is wrong, and the two things he most loves to write about--perspective and shadow--PROVE IT BEYOND ANY DOUBT.



The Shadow Tells

Get ready for a surprise. In what was an unprecedented about-face, Lamson actually saw the error of his claim the smoker was 9 feet from Allen's camera, and admitted his mistake. He then posted an overhead view of the scene in which he now claimed the smoker was 11 feet from the camera.

When I pointed out that I thought this still placed the smoker too close to the reporter to explain the shadow of the reporter on the smoker's belly, and asked Lamson to post a side-view of the two, showing their respective shadows, Lamson posted the image on the slide above. Well, this was a bit baffling. While, on the overhead view, he'd placed the smoker 3 feet from the reporter, here, he not only placed him 4 feet from the reporter, he had the reporter's shadow landing on the smoker's chest instead of his belly. (Lamson explained this by claiming the dot on his overhead view represented the part of the smoker closest to the reporter and the camera--his right toe--and that the extra 12 inches reflected the distance to his torso. He failed to acknowledge that this meant the smoker was really, for comparison purposes, 12 feet from the camera, and not 11, and that this would make the smoker over 7 ft. tall.)

This led me to perform my own analysis of the shadow on the smoker. Using what Lamson and I both now accepted as the correct angle of the sun at 3:00 PM on 11-22-63--24 degrees below the

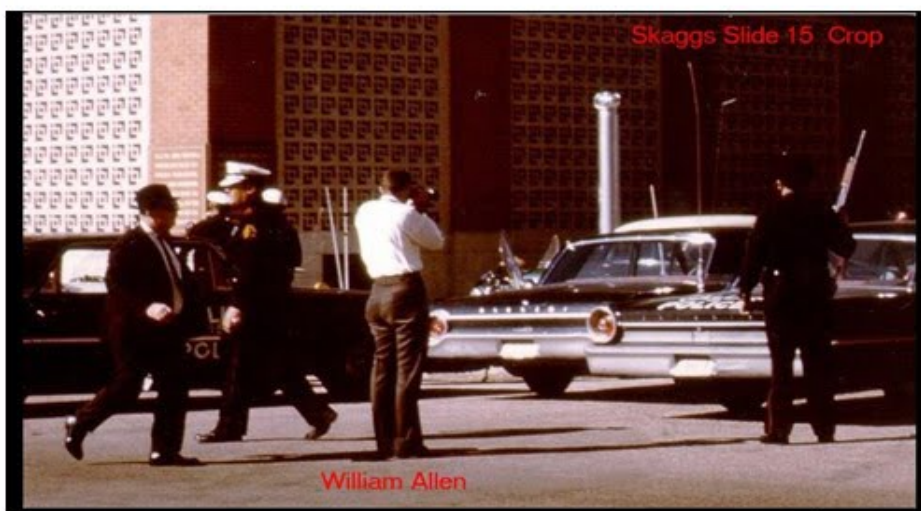
horizontal--and actually studying the smoker to see where the shadow lay on his body, I was able to approximate the smoker as being over 5 ft. from the reporter, not the 4 ft. purported by Lamson in his clearly inaccurate analysis. This, of course, suggested as well that the smoker was yet another foot further from Allen's camera than acknowledged by Lamson. (One quick analysis at this point indicated that, should Allen have really been but 6 feet from Montgomery while taking the photo, as Lamson insisted must be true for the bag in the photo to be the size of the bag in the archives, that the smoker in the background of the photo would have to be nearly 8 ft. tall.)

It was then that I thought of the obvious. By the angle of the sun, Allen's shadow should be readily apparent on Montgomery. If Lamson was correct, it would be apparent on Montgomery's belly, around the same level as the reporter's shadow on the smoker. If it was any lower, well, then, Lamson was wrong. If it was far lower, well, then, Lamson was not only wrong, but we had absolute proof the photo was NOT taken from particularly close to Montgomery, and that the bag in the Allen photo's lack of similarity to the bag in the archives had nothing to do with the camera to subject distance of the photo, and can be taken as an indication that the bag had been altered, or switched altogether.

Well, no surprise, when I looked at the lightest version of the photo I could find (the FBI copy scanned and provided by John Hunt), it was clear Allen's shadow hit Montgomery around the level of his kneecap, approximately two feet lower than where it needed to be to support Lamson's analysis. While there was a certain amount of fudge in this analysis, seeing as neither Lamson nor myself knew Allen's exact height, his exact posture when he took his photo, and the exact distance to Montgomery's knee, the distance between where Lamson needed the shadow to be and where it actually was was more than sufficient to kill his argument dead, and demonstrate to all those with an interest that the extra-wide appearance of the bag in the press photos has no simple explanation. Allen's shadow, to be clear, showed the distance between himself and Montgomery to be about 9 feet, should they both be about 6 feet tall. This is more than 50% more than the 5 feet 8 inches pushed by Lamson as the only explanation for the bag's inconsistent appearance.

While Lamson subsequently argued that he had long noted the shadow on Montgomery's "pant leg" and had found it not the least bit of trouble, seeing as for all we knew Allen was a midget, etc, he'd have been much better off pulling back, IMO. For Allen to have been but 5 feet 8 inches from Montgomery and have his shadow barely reach the level of Montgomery's knee, as should seem obvious, he would have to have been about 5 feet tall at the moment of the shot. The average White American male was around 5 feet 9 inches tall in 1963. Less than 1 percent were less than five feet tall. Even if one should grant that Allen's shadow was higher than 24 inches up Montgomery's leg, or that Allen was bending over a bit, and that he could have been as tall as 5' 4", moreover, one still ends up in desperation land. You see, only 2 percent or so of white American males measured 5'4" or less in 1963.

Thank You, Robin



In 2011, not long after Craig Lamson claimed that the shadow of William Allen could not be used to approximate his distance from L.D. Montgomery in the "paper bag" photo, as we didn't know Allen's height, researcher Robin Unger posted a few Dealey Plaza images on an online Forum, in which Allen had been identified .

Allen, as one might have guessed, appeared to be of average height.

When one studies the Skaggs slide of Allen (above), Lamson's argument runs further aground. This slide was the 15th of Jay Skaggs's 20 slides, with the 13th slide being taken just before 1:00 PM, and the 20th slide being taken around 2:00 PM. One can approximate, then, that this slide was taken between 1:00 and 1:30 PM on 11-22-63. The sun in Dallas during this time period was about 35 degrees above the horizon. Assuming the men on the slide are average height, the man at Allen's right appears to be about 8 feet away from him. And yet Allen's shadow stretches past his foot. This supports that William Allen was roughly 6 feet tall, and not the much-smaller man proposed by Lamson.



Thank You, Robin

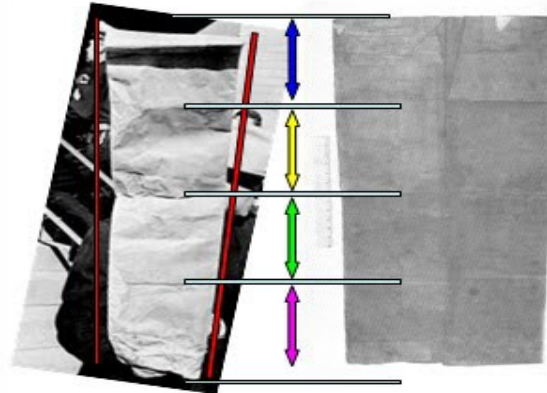
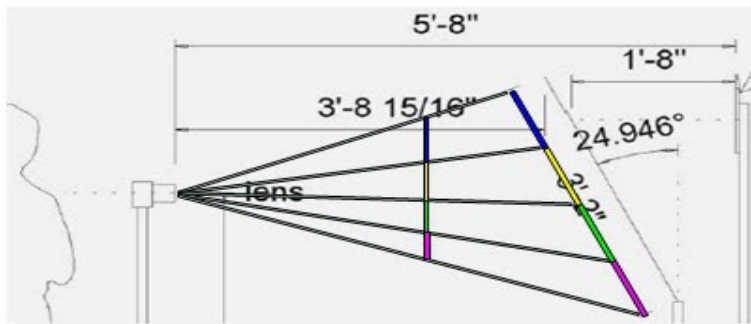
Of course, it wasn't long after Lamson made his claims about William Allen being, for all we knew, a midget, that someone--in this instance JFK assassination photo archivist Robin Unger--posted a few photos of Allen online. These revealed him to be...to no one's real surprise...average height.

At this point, I stopped writing about the bag. While battling with Lamson had forced me to refine and improve my arguments regarding the paper bag, and make it more than the usual "Well, this is what it looks like" kind of argument, his abusive and insulting behavior had become a total distraction, as I spent as much time wondering if he was just screwing with me as I did actually researching the case...

It was with some hesitation then that I finally decided, in 2012, to return to this topic and add another slide to this chapter.

Here it is...

Proof-of-Concept



Although Lamson has proposed that the paper bag in the Allen photo was tilted sharply to the camera, creating the illusion it was wider at the top than at the bottom, the folds on the bag prove he was mistaken. As demonstrated on Martin Hinrich's schematic, at above left, the closest sections of the bag, if tilted to the camera, would appear to be taller, as well as wider, than the sections further away. This is demonstrated again on the photo of the train track (above), in which the railroad ties appear to get closer together as the railroad lines narrow. And yet the segment of the bag closest to the bottom in the Allen photo at far left is both taller than the other segments and far taller than the corresponding segment in the FBI evidence photo at near left, in which four equally sized segments are depicted. The bags are clearly of different proportions. And no amount of Lamson smoke can disguise it.

Proof-of-Concept

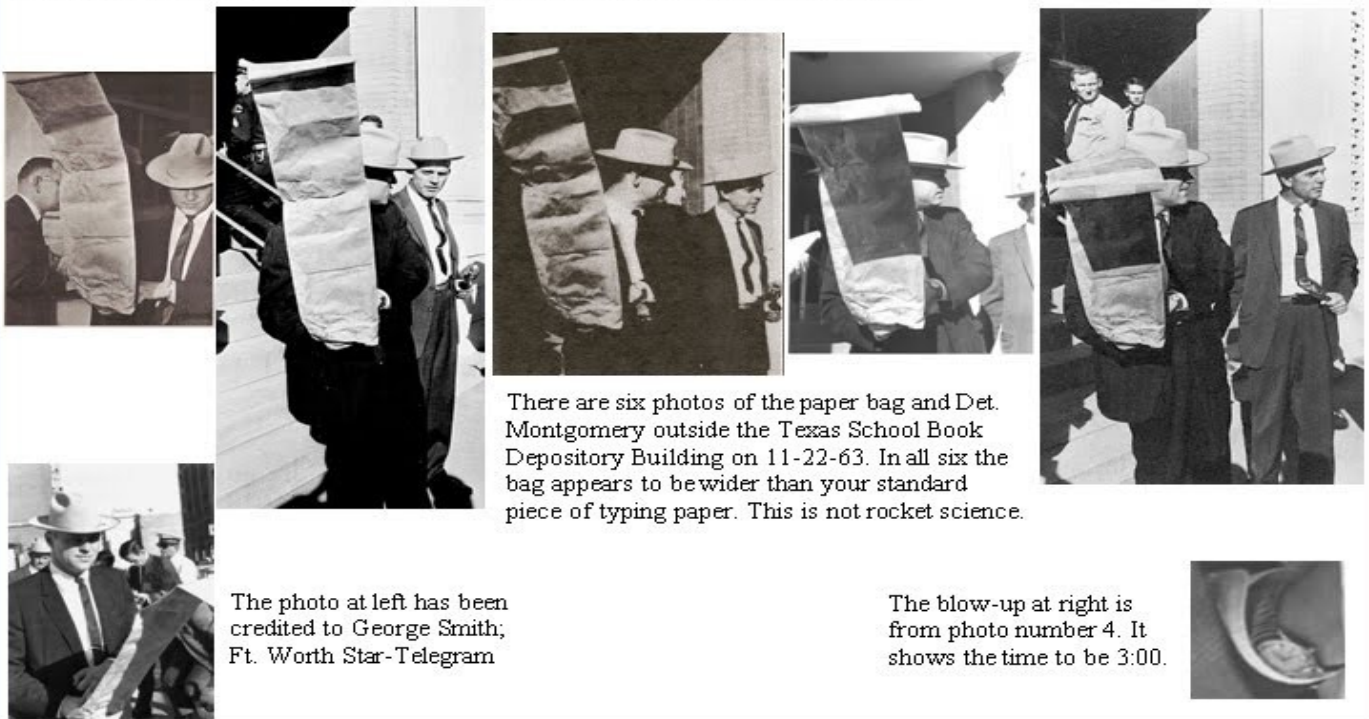
Now I honestly think this slide proves my point beyond all discussion, etc. The folds on the bag in the archives are evenly spaced. It has been folded into four sections of almost identical size. The three unfolded sections of the bag in the Allen photo, however, represent two sections of almost identical size, and a much longer section at the bottom. If the bag was tilted to the camera as per Lamson, however, this bottom section should appear to be MUCH shorter than these sections.

The bag photographed outside the depository on 11-22-63 is of different proportions than the bag later photographed in the archives, and is quite possibly a different bag entirely.

I mean, really, it's not as if there's just one photo of the bag, which *may* show a bag wider than the bag in the archives.

Paper Thin?

The 5 photos from left to right below were taken just seconds apart. Numbers 1 and 3 have been credited to Jack Beers of the Dallas Morning News. Numbers 2 and 5 have been credited to William Allen of the Dallas Times-Herald. Number 4 was found in the FBI's files by researcher John Hunt. But the photographer is unknown.



The photo at left has been credited to George Smith; Ft. Worth Star-Telegram

The blow-up at right is from photo number 4. It shows the time to be 3:00.

Paper Thin?

Nope, there are actually six such photos...that I know of. In none of these photos does the bag appear to be 8 1/2 inches wide--the width of a standard piece of typing paper...the width of the bag in the archives.

When one looks at these photos as a group, moreover, one finds yet another reason to reject Lamson's claim the bag's appearance was distorted by a 25 degree forward lean in the Allen photo.

The first photo taken would appear to be one taken by Jack Beers, with the bag tilted slightly forward at the top but with no shadow on the front of the bag. The next photo would then be the Allen photo, with the bag stretched upward over Montgomery's head, but a slight shadow under the top fold of the bag. The next photo would then be a photo brought to my attention by Richard Gilbride. This photo appeared in an early book on the assassination, *Destiny in Dallas*, and is credited to Jack Beers. It is similar to the Allen photo, but it shows more shadow along this top fold, and on the bag in general. The next photo was brought to my attention by John Hunt, who found it in the FBI files. It shows the top of the bag still above Montgomery's head but in full crumple, with the shadow of the top of the bag stretching down the face of the bag to a point below the bottom fold. The next photo then would be a second photo taken by Allen (which I mistakenly long claimed was by Beers). This shows the bag fully folded over, but the shadow of the folded over part of the bag higher than the first fold on the face.

This then leaves us a final photo, one taken by George Smith of the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram. In this photo, Det. Montgomery is holding a folded-over bag with a strong forward tilt. Lamson presented this photo several times in our online debates as evidence supporting his claim the bag in the Allen photo was also tilted forward. What he missed, however, is what he should have noticed. The shadow on the face of the bag in this photo stretches much further down the bag than it does in the previous two

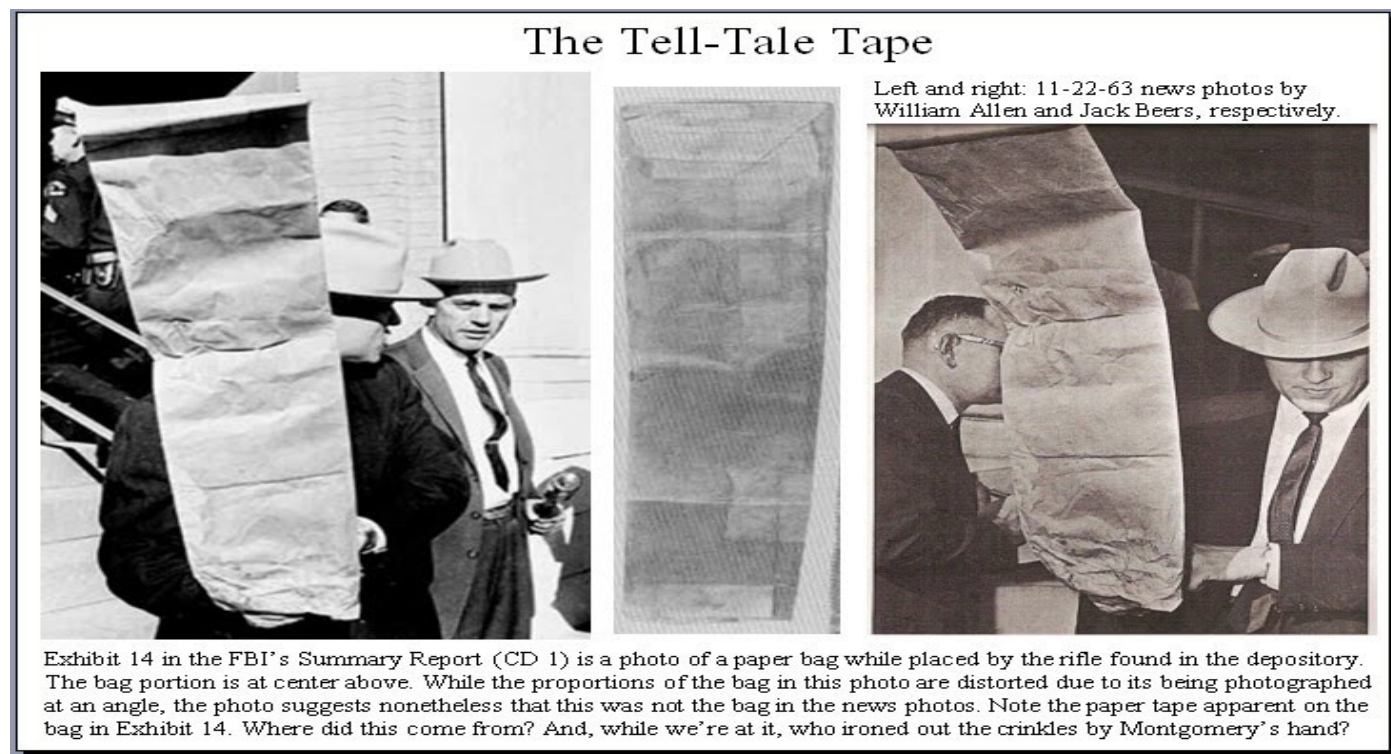
photos. Well, this suggests in turn that the sharply forward lean of the bag demonstrated in this photo only came to be *after* the bag crumpled forward.

If you follow this line of thinking, well, then, this supports what we suspected all along--that the bag in the Allen photo is not leaning forward to any large degree...

If someone out there, however, still believes Lamson is correct and that the bags in the press and FBI photos were the same width then by all means go where he refuses to dwell and re-create the Allen photo with stand-ins for Montgomery, Johnson, the newsman, and the smoker, and an 8 1/2 inch wide, 38 inch long piece of paper or cardboard as a stand-in for the bag. Please prove myself, Martin Hinrichs, Jim DiEugenio, Richard Gilbride, and all the other researchers and writers supporting my analysis wrong.

As I'm incredibly tired of men such as Lamson and his fellow defender of all things "official" John McAdams ignoring the bulk of my research and referring to me as a "crackpot" photo analyst, I'd be glad to remove these paper bag comparisons from my website.

I mean, really, it's not as if the problem with the width is the only evidence the bags are not the same...



The Tell-Tale Tape

You see, there's also the FBI photo of the bag before they coated it with silver nitrate (a chemical used to bring out fingerprints, which forever stains paper). This photograph is Exhibit 14 in Warren Commission Document CD 1, the FBI's 12-9-63 Summary Report on the assassination. Although the proportions of the bag in this photograph have been distorted by the photographer's taking this picture while the bag was laying flat on the floor before him, it is still suggestive that the bag in evidence is not the bag pulled from the building. The bag in the photograph has numerous pieces of paper tape along its right side. NO paper tape is visible anywhere on the front side of the bag in the news photos. There is also a piece of tape in the middle of the open end of the bag. No such piece of tape is visible in the

news photos. The press photos do, on the other hand, show the paper by the open end of the bag to be badly crinkled. No such crinkling is apparent on the bag in the FBI exhibit. The bags in the photos, in fact, bear little resemblance to one another.

Unless the side of the bag seen in Exhibit 14 is the opposite side of the bag seen in the news photos, then, we have conclusive evidence the bags are not the same.



The Dark Side of The Bag

Well, scratch that. Exhibit 4 in the FBI's report of 12-9-63 is a photo of the bag when split. It shows both sides of the bag. One side which matches the side of the bag shown in Exhibit 14 (which most definitely does not match the side of the bag shown in the press photos) and one side which, although absent tape a la the bag in the press photos, also fails to match this bag. The proportions and characteristics are clearly not the same.

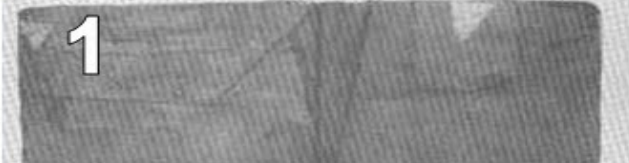
Well, this leaves us with the possible argument that the bags really share proportions and characteristics but that I have either pulled some sort of computer trick to alter the appearance of the bag in the news photos.

If you believe this, then, by all means, step up to the plate and show us where I'm wrong.


Chapter 4c: Shining a Light on Day

Holding a mirror up to a house of mirrors


What's Goin' On?




1. The closed end of the bag in Evidence Photo 4 of the FBI's 12-9-63 report to President Johnson. It has been split open. No writing is visible.




2. Warren Commission Exhibit 632. This purports to show Oswald's right palm print on the bag. While unacknowledged, it also shows what appears to be the initials of the Dallas Police Dept's Robert Lee Studebaker, L.D. Montgomery, and Marvin Johnson, who were reported to have found the bag.



3. Warren Commission Exhibit 626. The white square at the closed end is purportedly adjacent to the palm print.



4. And yet the area to the side of the tape on the closed end of the bag outside the building shows no sign of the initials visible in Exhibit 632.



5. And yet the area below the tape on the bag outside the building shows no sign of the initials visible in Exhibit 632.

SO... WHERE ARE THESE INITIALS???
WHAT'S GOIN' ON?

What's Goin' On?

No, scratch that, too. Before anyone convinced I am mistaken about the bag in the press photos' not looking like the one in the archives spends one precious second trying to prove me wrong, they should help straighten out some of the basic facts about the bag. Basic facts like...the actual location of the initials on the bag visible in Warren Commission Exhibit 632.

You see, I've studied both the bag in the press photos and the bag in the archives photos, and I can't figure out where these initials could be on the bag. Although the palm print depicted in the exhibit was purportedly near the closed end of the bag, none of the press photos showing the closed end of the bag, and none of the archives photos showing the closed end of the bag, show these initials.

My inability to figure out where these initials are on the bag, or even where the section of bag depicted in Exhibit 632 is on the bag, makes me suspect that the palm print depicted in Exhibit 632 was not on either of these bags.

Let's see how this can be...

Perhaps the bag seen in the press photos was a bag found in the school book depository...that couldn't be linked to Oswald.

Perhaps a second piece of paper was found, which could be linked to Oswald...perhaps this was a piece

of paper pulled from one of the orders he'd pulled on 11-22. Or perhaps it was a piece of paper Oswald touched at the police station.

Perhaps then Exhibit 632 is a close-up shot of this second piece of paper, and not of a bag.

If so, well, then the bag currently in the archives was a bag created after the shooting, most probably from paper removed from the building on 11-22. Such a bag would not only be smaller than the bag shown Buell Frazier on 11-22, and therefore easier to pass off as the bag Oswald brought to work, but it would match the characteristics of the paper used in the depository, and thereby make its use by anyone other than Oswald seem unlikely.

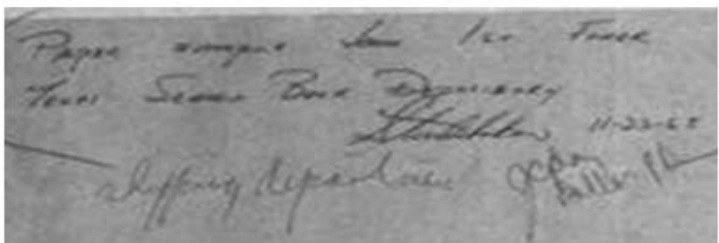
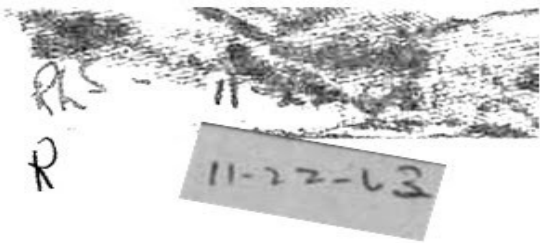
Or not. While I could be making a mountain out of a molehill, there's definitely some dirt here...

I mean, just look at this mess...


According to the report of the Dallas Detective who found the bag, L.D. Montgomery, the bag was initialed by Detectives Robert Studebaker, Marvin Johnson, and himself upon its discovery in the sniper's nest (24H314). All three of these men testified before the Warren Commission in Dallas on 4-6-64. So why weren't they shown the bag, and asked to verify their initials? Was it because the bag they'd signed had been switched with another bag?

And that their initials had been forged onto a different piece of paper entirely?

The Tell-Tale R?

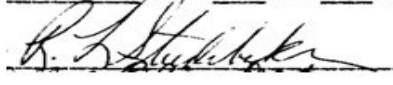
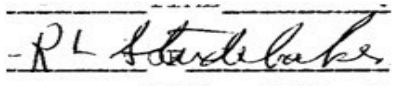


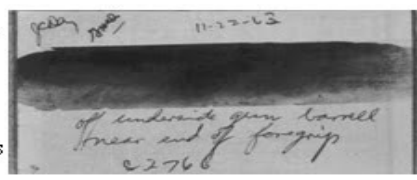
When one looks through the reports and exhibits signed by Robert Studebaker, in an effort to determine if the initials RLS on Exhibit 632 (as seen at top left) are his, one is in for a big surprise. The initials bear no resemblance to Studebaker's writing on any other exhibit (as shown in Exhibit 677, at above right).



09-04-31

When one looks through the Dallas JFK archives, however, one can find the memo signed by Studebaker at left. This has a letter "R" very similar to the "R" in Exhibit 632. The problem is that this memo was not written by Studebaker, but by his boss, Lt. Day (as shown by a comparison between Studebaker's name in the memo, and his signature at the bottom of the memo, at right.) When one looks through other examples of Day's writing, moreover, one can see that the date in Exhibit 637, at right, is nearly identical to the date in Exhibit 632. Look at the "R" and "11-22-63" comparisons at above left. Is the writing on 632 Day's?





The Tell-Tale R?

It's certainly possible. When I looked at samples of Robert Studebaker's writing among the Warren Commission's exhibits, I was unable to find any samples in which his "R's" looked anything like the "R" in the initials apparent on Exhibit 632. I then started looking through the reports and memos signed by Studebaker in the Dallas JFK archives. This took awhile. In Box 9 Folder 4 File 31, however, I discovered one of the earliest memos on the evidence pulled from the school book depository. This was

signed by Studebaker. It had an "R" quite similar to the "R" in Exhibit 632.

This "R" was not in Studebaker's signature, however, but in the body of the memo which was written by Studebaker's boss, Lt. J.C. Day.

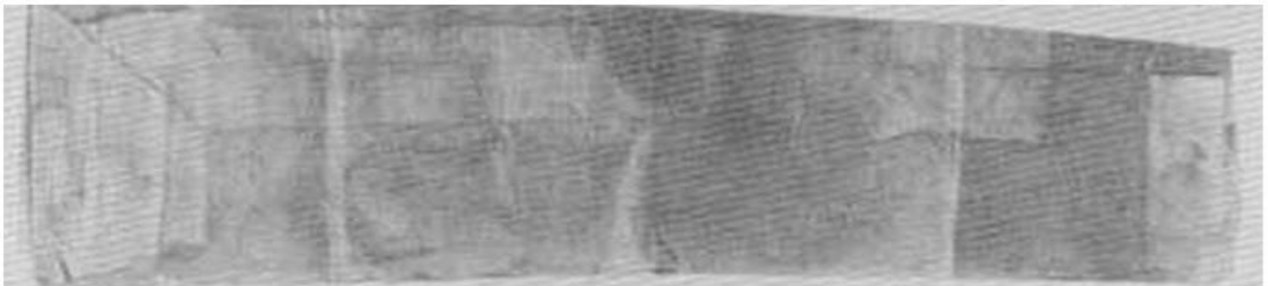
I then looked through all the memos, reports, and evidence photos signed by Day. And hit what might just be a bullseye. The "11-22-63" on Exhibit 637 bears a striking resemblance to the "11-22-63" on Exhibit 632. Now, admittedly, this is not proof Day forged the initials of those actually finding the bag on a second bag made from paper removed from the school book depository, in order to better implicate Oswald. If the date on the bag was written by Day, it could mean only that Studebaker had failed to write the date on the bag upon its discovery in the sniper's nest, and that Day had placed the date by Studebaker's initials later that night.

Perhaps then the bag's not being shown to Montgomery, Johnson, and Studebaker was just an oversight.

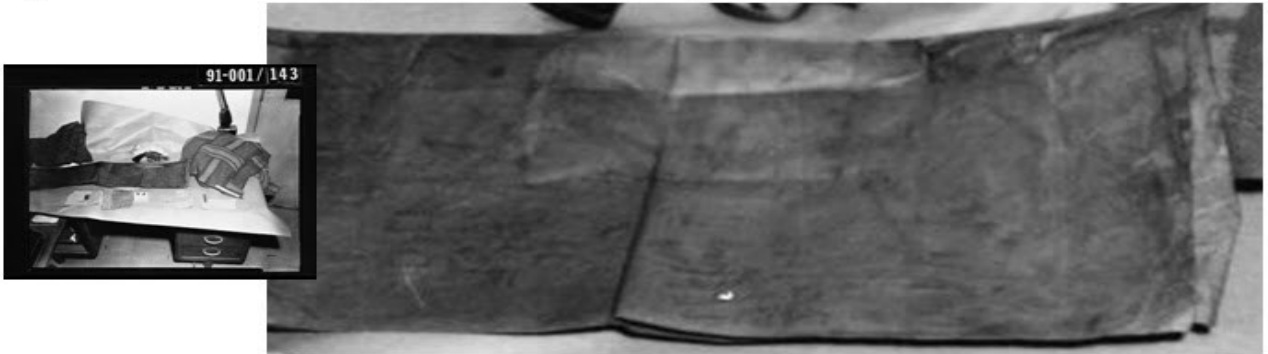
Perhaps there's an innocent explanation.

Perhaps the Warren Commission counsel tasked with taking their testimony had simply left the bag behind in Washington...

Shining a Light on Day



Although no writing is visible on the paper bag in the photo above (evidence photo 14 of the FBI's 12-9-63 report, taken on 11-23-63, BEFORE the bag was doused with silver nitrate), writing is apparent in a photo of the bag taken by the Dallas Police on 11-26-63, after the bag was doused (as shown in the blow-up from the photo below). Is photo 14 just not clear enough to show the 39 words Lt. Day claimed he'd written on the bag on 11-22-63? Or were his words added later? .



Shining a Light on Day

Perhaps. The bag was indeed shown to the FBI's fingerprint analyst, Sebastian Latona, during his 4-2-64 testimony in Washington.

And it reappeared on 4-22-64, in Washington, during the testimony of Dallas Crime Lab Chief Lt. J.C. Day.

Mr. BELIN. Where was the sack found with relation to the pipes and that box?

Mr. DAY. Between the sack and the south wall, which would be the wall at the top of the picture as shown here.

Mr. BELIN. You mean between--you said the sack.

Mr. DAY. I mean the pipe. The sack was between the pipe and the wall at the top of the picture.

Mr. BELIN. That wall at the top of the picture would be the east wall, would it not?

Mr. DAY. Yes, sir; laying parallel to the south wall.

Mr. BELIN. Did the sack--was it folded over in any way or just lying flat, if you remember?

Mr. DAY. It was folded over with the fold next to the pipe, to the best of my knowledge.

(Note: this suggests that Day was not present when the bag or sack was discovered.)

Mr. BELIN. I will now hand you what has been marked as Commission Exhibit 626 and ask you to state if you know what this is, and also appears to be marked as Commission Exhibit 142.

Mr. DAY. This is the sack found on the sixth floor in the southeast corner of the building on November 22, 1963.

Mr. BELIN. Do you have any identification on that to so indicate?

Mr. DAY. It has my name on it, and it also has other writing that I put on there for the information of the FBI.

Mr. BELIN. Could you read what you wrote on there?

Mr. DAY. "Found next to the sixth floor window gun fired from. May have been used to carry gun. Lieutenant J. C. Day."

Mr. BELIN. When did you write that?

Mr. DAY. I wrote that at the time the sack was found before it left our possession.

(Note: by writing "May have been used to carry gun", Day confirms that he did not write this when he first arrived at the crime scene, as believed by many single-assassin theorists. It would have made no sense for him to write this, after all, unless he had reason to believe the gun was not carried in and out of the building in a gun case. It follows, then, that he wrote this sometime after the discovery of the rifle, which came about ten minutes or so after he'd arrived at the sniper's nest. This leads to more confusion. Both Day and his assistant Studebaker testified that they photographed the shells in the sniper's nest before photographing the gun. The bag was within a foot or so of Day and/or Studebaker's position when they photographed these shells. So how could they not have noticed the bag, and photographed it in place? Perhaps, then, Montgomery and Johnson showed Studebaker the bag while Day was photographing the shells from the other side. If so, then perhaps they all signed the bag in the building and Day signed it later. It also seems possible, since the bag was reportedly folded in half, and possibly in half again, that no one paid it much attention until after Day and Studebaker were pulled away to photograph the rifle. After taking these pictures, Day walked the rifle over to the crime lab. This would leave the inexperienced Studebaker alone to deal with the sniper's nest and the bag. This might explain why the bag wasn't photographed in place. And this might explain why Day would later claim he signed the bag before it left "our possession" --as opposed to "my possession". In either case, the question remains as to when Day actually signed the bag, and why the Commission never showed the bag to Montgomery, Johnson, or Studebaker.)

Mr. BELIN. All right, anything else that you wrote on there?

Mr. DAY. When the sack was released on November 22 to the FBI about 11:45 p.m., I put further information to the FBI reading as follows: "FBI: Has been dusted with metallic magnetic powder on outside only. Inside has not been processed. Lieut J. C. Day."

Well, why is there no mention of the other men's initials on this sack?

Now consider the next bit of Day's testimony...

Mr. BELIN. Did you find anything, any print of any kind, in connection with the processing of this?

Mr. DAY. No legible prints were found with the powder, no.

Mr. BELIN. Do you know whether any legible prints were found by any other means or any other place?

Mr. DAY. There is a legible print on it now. They were on there when it was returned to me from the FBI on November 24.

Mr. BELIN. Do you know by what means they found these?

Mr. DAY. It is apparently silver nitrate. It could be another compound they have used. The sack had an orange color indicating it was silver nitrate.

Mr. BELIN. You mean the sack when it came back from the FBI had a----

Mr. DAY. Orange color. It is another method of processing paper for fingerprints.

Mr. BELIN. Was there anything inside the bag, if you know, when you found it?

Mr. DAY. I did not open the bag. I did not look inside of the bag at all.

Mr. BELIN. What did you do with the bag after you found it and you put this writing on after you dusted it?

Mr. DAY. I released it to the FBI agent.

Mr. BELIN. Did you take it down to the station with you?

Mr. DAY. I didn't take it with me. I left it with the men when I left. I left Detectives Hicks and Studebaker to bring this in with them when they brought other equipment in.

Mr. BELIN. By this you are referring to the bag itself?

Mr. DAY. Yes, sir.

Well, hold on there. Let's refresh. According to the reports of the Dallas Police (24H260) and the officers involved (24H314, 24H307) the paper bag by the sniper's nest was both discovered and brought in to the Dallas Police Crime Lab by Detectives L.D. Montgomery and Marvin Johnson. So why does Day, who has already IDed his initials on the bag, and failed to mention that they initialed it before him, fail to mention that they brought the bag into the Crime Lab, and instead mention Hicks and Studebaker? Is he really that forgetful? Or is he trying to hide something?

In his 3:45 PM April 6 testimony, in which he discussed picking up and dusting the bag, Detective Studebaker never mentioned Detectives Johnson and Montgomery. He also failed to mention Lt. Day in connection with the bag. (7H137-149) This echoes a 3-11-64 FBI report on an interview with Studebaker, in which he similarly took full credit for the "discovery" of the bag. (FBI file 105-82555, sec 142, p9) In his 4:00 PM April 6 testimony, just after Studebaker, moreover, Detective Johnson mentioned Montgomery's finding the bag and the bag's being dusted for fingerprints at the scene, but failed to mention who dusted the bag. (7H100-105) In his 4:50 PM April 6 testimony, Detective Montgomery mentioned his finding the bag and the bag's being dusted by Studebaker. Strangely, however, he was less sure than the others that the bag was laying on the floor in the corner. He testified: "Let's see--the paper sack--I don't recall for sure if it was on the floor or on the box, but I know it was just there----one of those pictures might show exactly where it was...I can't recall for sure if it was on one of the boxes or on the floor there." (Even stranger, years later, he told Larry Sneed "I don't

remember exactly where I found the brown paper that Oswald had wrapped the rifle in...I recall that it was stuffed between the boxes, not lying out open on the floor as were the shell casings.")

Montgomery's testimony was vague on other points as well. When asked if he picked the bag up off the ground upon discovery, as claimed by Johnson, he at first said "Yes" but then changed his answer to "Wait just a minute no; I didn't pick it up. I believe Mr. Studebaker did." (7H96-100) For his part, in his April 7 testimony, Detective Hicks not only expressed that he had no recollection of seeing the bag in the building, but seemed to know nothing of it at all, as if its existence had been kept a secret. (7H286-289). So why did Day think he left him holding the bag?

The testimony of another Dallas detective, Richard N. Sims, on the morning of April 6, 1964, only adds to the confusion. When asked if he'd seen the paper bag found in the depository, Sims testified:

Mr. SIMS. Well, we saw some wrappings--a brown wrapping there.

Mr. BALL. Where did you see it?

Mr. SIMS. It was there by the hulls.

Mr. BALL. Was it right there near the hulls?

Mr. SIMS. As well as I remember--of course, I didn't pay too much attention at that time, but it was, I believe, by the east side of where the boxes were piled up---that would be a guess--I believe that's where it was.

Mr. BALL. On the east side of where the boxes were would that be the east?

Mr. SIMS. Yes, sir; it was right near the stack of boxes there. I know there was some loose paper there.

Mr. BALL. Was Johnson there?

Mr. SIMS. Yes, sir; when the wrapper was found Captain Fritz stationed Montgomery to observe the scene there where the hulls were found.

Mr. BALL. To stay there?

Mr. SIMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BALL. That was Marvin Johnson and L. D. Montgomery who stayed by the hulls?

Mr. SIMS. Yes, sir; they did. I was going back and forth, from the wrapper to the hulls. (Note: Sims either mis-spoke or was misquoted by the stenographer. He almost certainly meant to say "when the rifle was found", and not "when the wrapper was found," and that he "was going back and forth, from the rifle to the hulls" and not "from the wrapper to the hulls.") (7H158-186).

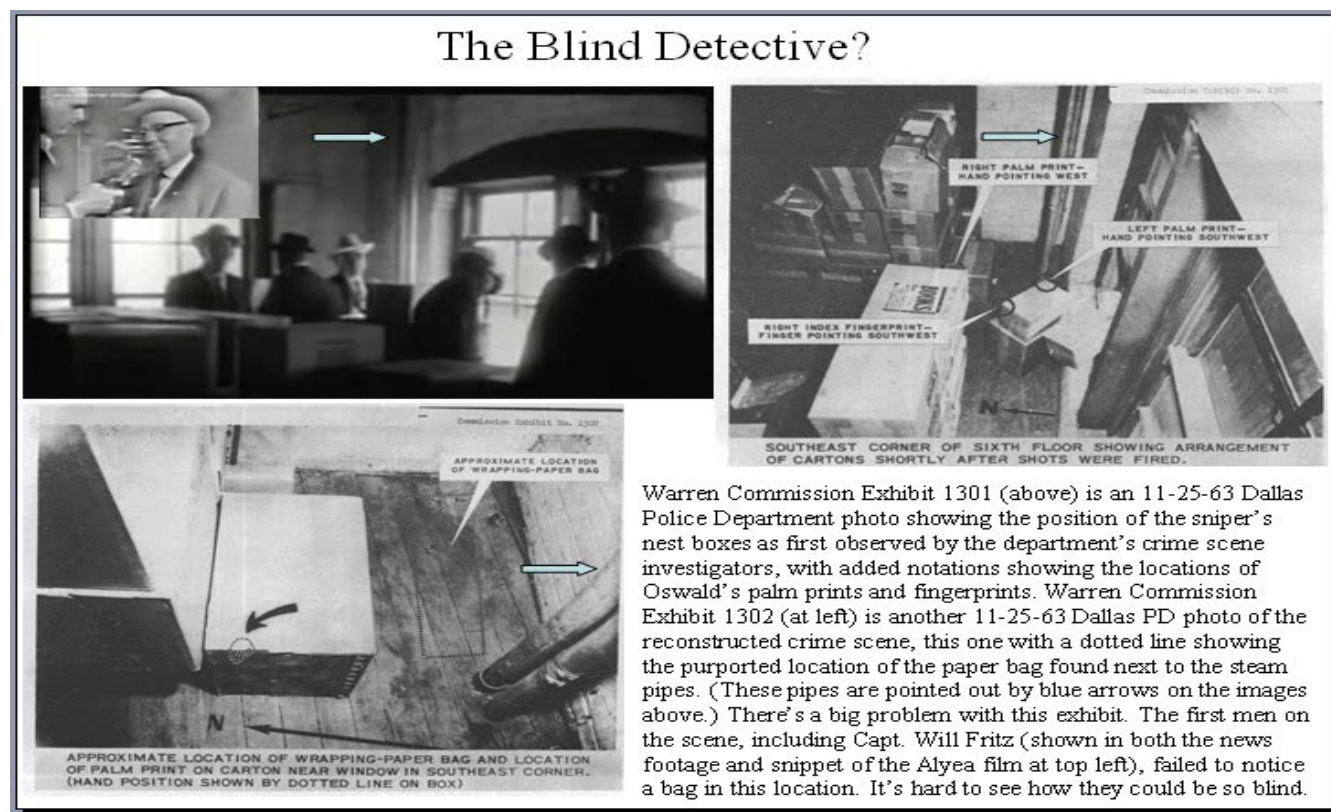
My, what a mess! Sims acknowledged that Johnson and Montgomery were stationed by the hulls (which were found by the sniper's nest) and seemed to be aware that they "found" the bag, but never mentioned witnessing the "discovery" of the bag, nor of Day or Studebaker's dusting the bag upon its discovery. Sims also described the "bag" as "loose paper," and not as a carefully folded and taped piece of wrapping paper in the shape of a gun case. He also "guessed" the location where the bag was found.

This suggests then that Sims had but a vague recollection that some paper was found, but had no real recollection of its appearance or of its discovery, even though he had stood but a few feet from the bag's purported location when picking up the hulls from the sniper's nest, and had accompanied Lt. Day from this location after the discovery of the rifle on the other side of the building. This, in turn, reinforces that either no one placed much importance on the "bag" when it was first observed in the depository, and that its possible importance only became apparent later on, or that Sims was trying to support that a bag was found in the sniper's nest without actually having seen it. In support of this second, more disturbing, possibility, Detective Sims' report on his activities on the day of the assassination makes no mention whatsoever of the bag or its discovery. (24H319-322).

Now, if one should wish to believe Sims' testimony is authoritative, and clear evidence the bag was found in the sniper's nest as claimed, then one should be informed that Sims initially testified that he

didn't know who took custody of the shells found in the sniper's nest, even though it was, according to others...HIM, and that, as a result, he was forced to return to the stand and claim he'd since been reminded that he'd carried the shells around in his pocket all day on 11-22, and that he now remembered his doing so.

What a witness!



The Blind Detective?

There are a number of other reasons to doubt Sims saw the bag in the building.

Capt. Will Fritz, Sims' boss, not only testified that Sims was with him when he left the Depository, but that he (Fritz, who was only in charge of the investigation) had no knowledge of the paper bag before they departed. (4H202-248) Yep, not only did Fritz claim that he "wasn't there" when the bag was "recovered," he said it was "recovered a little later," and that he "wasn't down there when that was found." Found. He said "found." Well, seeing as Fritz spent some time inspecting the sniper's nest before Lt. Day arrived, and was captured on film by newsman Tom Alyea standing mere feet from the open floor where Day and his assistant Studebaker would later claim the bag was found, Fritz's failure to recall seeing the bag pretty much rules out that it was just sitting there and that everyone had seen it but that no one had thought to pick it up before Montgomery did so.

Fritz's words then should make us suspect that the bag wasn't "found" where it was later claimed to have been found at all, but was in fact "found" somewhere else, sometime after the rifle was found.

This possibility is supported, moreover, by the cameraman, Tom Alyea, who arrived on the sixth floor well before the rifle was found. He filmed Fritz and others standing around the sniper's nest, the search for the rifle, the discovery of the rifle, the dusting of the rifle, the lunch sack found two windows over from the sniper's nest, and the dusting of the Dr. Pepper bottle found beside the lunch sack, and yet neither saw the paper bag supposedly found in the sniper's nest, nor heard mention of its existence, prior to his departure after 2 o'clock.

The possibility the bag was not found as claimed is further supported by the statements and testimony of Deputy Sheriff Luke Mooney, who discovered the sniper's nest, Deputy Sheriff Ralph Walters, who was "approximately 8 feet" from Mooney when he made his discovery, Sgt. Gerald Hill, who joined Mooney and Walters moments later, Deputy Sheriff A. D. McCurley who rushed over after he heard Mooney yell, Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig, who arrived around the same time, and Detective Elmer Boyd, Sims' partner, who arrived on the scene with Detectives Fritz and Sims. It is also supported by the subsequent words of Deputy Sheriff Jack Faulkner, another of those first upon the sniper's nest, to researcher Larry Sneed. Neither Mooney, Walters, Hill, McCurley, Craig, Boyd, nor Faulkner had any recollection of seeing a large paper bag on the floor, even though they'd have to have been standing within a few feet of its location to see the shells they claimed to have seen, and would have been on the lookout for anything suspicious.

Now, it's not as if none of those viewing the sniper's nest shortly after its discovery recalled seeing a bag or sack, it's just that there's reason to believe it was a different bag or sack. The report of Harry Weatherford notes "I came down to the 6th floor, and while searching this floor, Deputy Luke Mooney said 'here are some shells.' I went over to where he was and saw 3 expended rifle shells, a sack on the floor and a partially eaten piece of chicken on top of one of the cartons which was used as a sort of barricade." This piece of chicken is believed to be the remnants of Bonnie Ray Williams' lunch, which was purportedly found several windows over from the sniper's nest window. It was found beside a Dr. Pepper bottle and a lunch sack filled with chicken bones. This lunch sack was captured on film by both news cameraman Tom Alyea and crime scene photographer Robert Studebaker. It is almost certainly the "sack" noted by Weatherford.

Now, this possibility the bag was not found as claimed runs into another minor roadblock with Kent Biffle, the only newsmen besides Alyea to get inside the building before the bulk of the police and to witness the subsequent search of the building. In an account written in May 1964, and subsequently published by his paper, the Dallas Morning News, on a CD-Rom commemorating the 40th anniversary of the assassination, Biffle claimed that after the rifle shells were found by the "ambush window", "We all stood around staring at the brown wrapping paper found nearby. It was a reasonable conclusion that it held the rifle." Note that he says it was found "nearby," and not right by the window, as later purported by Studebaker. Note also that he says "we all stood around staring" at the wrapping paper, an impossibility if the wrapping paper was sitting folded on the far side of the box purportedly used as a seat by the assassin, in the southeast corner of the building. As shown on the slide above, this was an incredibly confined space behind stacks of boxes. The "wrapping paper," should it actually have been found in this location, would not have been visible to more than a few people at a time. Perhaps, then, Biffle saw the bag sometime after it had originally been "found." Perhaps, after its initial "discovery" by Montgomery, wherever it was "discovered," Studebaker placed the bag on the floor in a more accessible location, where it was subsequently viewed by Biffle.

But there's a problem with this scenario as well. In his account, Biffle presents his observation of the bag before he presents the discovery of the rifle. Well, if this was so, why didn't Mooney, Walters, Hill, Craig, Faulkner, Boyd, Fritz or Alyea remember seeing the bag? Was it found after they left the area but

before the rifle was found?

Well, if so, then, why didn't Day and Sims--who remained in the sniper's nest until the rifle was found--mention Montgomery's "discovery" of the bag? Studebaker was supposedly near Montgomery when the bag was found. Studebaker arrived with Day. Was the bag found somewhere other than the sniper's nest, while Day was busy in the sniper's nest?

Or was Biffle simply mistaken about the bag being found before the rifle?

It sure seems so. Biffle's published account does not begin with his entering the school book depository. Before that, he discusses his racing over to the grassy knoll after the shots. He then relates *"The other side of the fence held no gunman. There was just a maze of railroad tracks and three dazed winos. 'What happened?' one asked me."* Well, this is just not credible. None of the police officers claiming to have raced back behind the fence after the shots saw these "winos." If Biffle had talked to one of them, and had not bothered to point this man out to a police officer as a possible witness, then he was not much of a citizen, let alone a reporter. The so-called "Three tramps" found in a railroad car passing through town, it should be noted, were not discovered till almost 2:00, an hour and a half after the shooting, and were not arrested until a few minutes later. It only follows then that Biffle had used "artistic license" to incorporate them into his story, and that he may have used this same "license" to add the bag into his story. One certainly can't accept his account as credible when he says "we all" stood around staring at the bag, when none of those to first observe the sniper's nest, including his fellow newsman Tom Alyea, had ANY recollection of the bag. Perhaps the bag Biffle was thinking of, then, was not the bag supposedly used to carry Oswald's rifle, but the other bag reportedly found in the building, the lunch bag, which most all the sniper's nest witnesses remembered, which was also filmed by Alyea, and photographed by Studebaker.

Undoubtedly aware of the problems with the paper bag and its discovery, on April 9, 1964, Warren Commission counsel David Belin took the testimony of Dallas Motorcycle officers Clyde Haygood and E.D. Brewer, who claimed to have been on the sixth floor during the search of the depository, and to have seen an "approximately rifle length" and "relatively long" paper sack, respectively, in the southeast corner of the building. Unfortunately, however, their stories just further muddled the waters...

Mr. BELIN. See any long bags which would be a foot or foot and a half or more long?

Mr. HAYGOOD. Yes; just a plain brown paper bag with tape in the corner.

Mr. BELIN. What tape?

Mr. HAYGOOD. Yes; there was just brown paper tape on it. Just a brown paper bag with paper tape. It had been taped up.

Mr. BELIN. How long was that, if you can remember?

Mr. HAYGOOD. The exact length, I couldn't say. It was approximately rifle length. (6H296-302).

Yes, you got it. Belin pressed Haygood to see if he remembered seeing a bag a foot and a half or so long--the approximate length of the bag when folded over--and Haygood remembered the bag as being "approximately rifle length." This suggests, then, that Haygood, as Biffle, only saw the bag after it had been "discovered" and picked up by Montgomery, if at all...which does little to suggest it was actually on the floor of the sniper's nest as claimed.

Brewer was even less help.

Mr. BELIN. Did you see anything else in the southeast corner?

Mr. BREWER. There was a paper, relatively long paper sack there.

Mr. BELIN. Where was that?

Mr. BREWER. It was there In the southeast corner.

Mr. BELIN. Under the window?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir. To the left of it. To the east of it.

Mr. BELIN. To the left as you faced the window?

Mr. BREWER. Yes, sir.

Mr. BELIN. Did the window come right up next to the corner there, do you remember?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; it didn't come up next to the corner. It was offset.

Mr. BELIN. Can you remember how far at all, or not?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; I don't remember the exact distance of it.

Mr. BELIN. Was any part of the paper sack under the window, If you remember or not? That long paper sack?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir.

Mr. BELIN. Do you remember anything about what the sack looked like?

Mr. BREWER. Well, it was assumed at the time that it was the sack that the rifle was wrapped up in when it was brought into the building, and it appeared that it could have been used for that.

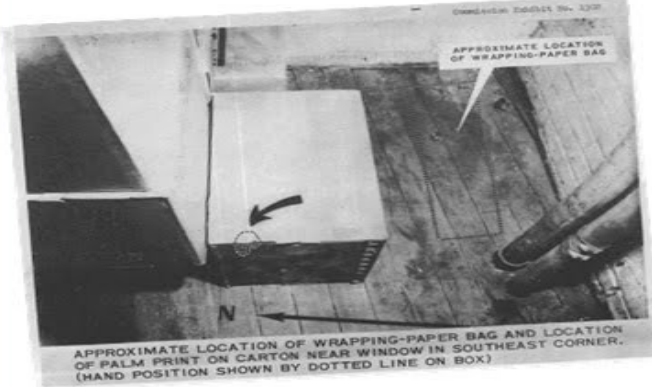
Mr. BELIN. Well, you mean you assumed that before you found the rifle?

Mr. BREWER. Yes, sir; I suppose. That was discussed.(6H302-308).

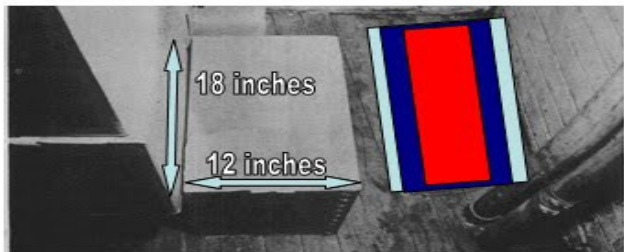
Notice that Brewer does not describe the bag, but "supposes" that people immediately assumed it had been used to carry the rifle. Well, where does he get that? If the bag was folded over, as claimed by Studebaker, or folded twice, as claimed by Johnson, people would not immediately associate it with having been used to carry a rifle, particularly in that the rifle had supposedly not yet been discovered, and could very well have been stashed in a gun case. It only makes sense, then, for us to believe the bag was found *after* the rifle was found on the north side of the building, when people would know the rifle was out of its case. As we've seen, Captain Fritz testified that the bag was not "found" or discussed while he was in the southeast corner of the building. He also indicated he was not aware of it at any time before leaving the building. His testimony, moreover, was supported by Detective Boyd, who arrived and left with Fritz, and who also had no recollection of the bag. If the bag had been discovered, dusted, and discussed before the discovery of the rifle, or even before Fritz left the building shortly thereafter, certainly someone more involved in the investigation than common motorcycle officers like Haygood and Brewer would have remembered this fact, and have remembered it long before 4 1/2 months after the assassination.

The sum of all this testimony then is that none of these men mention Day's initialing or dusting the bag in the depository, and that Montgomery and Studebaker specifically recall that Studebaker was the one who did the dusting. This, then, suggests either that Day was not present when the bag was discovered, which in turn suggests that the bag was "found" only after Day was called away to look at the rifle, OR that the bag was found elsewhere in the building.

Width, Not Length



At right: a photo taken by William Allen, showing the paper bag on 11-22-63. Could a bag this size fit into the outline at left? Even if folded over? So why did the Warren Commission pretend as much?



Warren Commission Exhibit 1302 (above left) is a Dallas Police Department photo marked by Robert Lee Studebaker to show the location of the paper bag when "found." While the length of his outline is fairly close to the length of the outline of the bag in the archives—should it have been folded-over when found, as claimed--the width is far too small. As shown in the version of the photo at left, in which the size of the box in the photo has been added, the outline on 1302 (the red rectangle) is not only much smaller than the outline of the bag in the press photos when folded (the light blue rectangle), it is far smaller than the 8.5" x 38" bag in the archives (the dark blue rectangle). Something smells.

Width, Not Length

No, scratch that. There's a third extremely teeny weenie possibility--the one the Warren Commission ultimately asked us to believe--the one blindly accepting that Fritz et al somehow overlooked the large brown bag on the floor by their feet, and that few outside a few motorcycle officers noticed the bag before it was discovered by Montgomery, and that, as recounted in the Warren Report, "At the time the bag was found, Lieutenant Day of the Dallas police wrote on it, "Found next to the sixth floor window gun fired from. May have been used to carry gun. Lt. J. C. Day."

That the Warren Commission had reason to disbelieve this scenario, but sadly failed to do so, moreover, is further demonstrated by Commission Exhibit 1302. This exhibit is a photo of the southeast corner of the sniper's nest, with a dotted line added in by Studebaker purportedly representing the location of the bag when "found." Well, no surprise, Studebaker's outline presents the bag as far too small. While his outline for the bag is around 18 inches long, very close to the length of the bag in the archives when doubled over (which is consistent with Studebaker's testimony), it is only about 5 inches wide. Hmmm... $5 \times 18 = 90$ square inches. The bag in the archives would be approx. $8.5 \times 19 = 161.5$ square inches. The bag in the press photos would be approx. $10.75 \times 19 = 204.25$ square inches. The box on which Oswald supposedly took a seat was $12 \times 18 = 216$ square inches. In other words, the outline drawn by Studebaker was barely half the size of the bag in the archives, and less than half the size of the bag in the press photos, and completely concealed that the bag, should it have been in the corner as claimed, would be nearly the size of the box so dominating the corner, and would be readily apparent...FREAKIN' OBVIOUS--to anyone even glimpsing at the corner.

That Studebaker failed to demonstrate this is presumably no coincidence. That the Warren Commission failed to double-check his outline for accuracy, and question those not seeing a bag in the corner how they could have missed something so obvious, is presumably no coincidence.

That they published Studebaker's exhibit in their report, and failed to note its inaccuracy, is presumably

no coincidence.

There are just too many problems with the testimony regarding the bag for the Commission not to have known something was wrong, er, wrong.

For example...Studebaker also claimed to have found a "partial print" on the bag, and to have put a piece of 1 inch clear tape over it to "preserve" the print. (7H137-149) The FBI's Sebastian Latona, who examined the bag the next morning, however, testified that he could tell the bag had been previously examined by the "black fingerprint powder" on its surface, and made no mention of the tape described by Studebaker. Latona noted further that "There was nothing visible in the way of any latent prints on there at that particular time". (4H1-48) Well, what happened to the partial print described by Studebaker? Why didn't the Warren Commission follow up on this?

Could the bag or sack removed from the sniper's nest (or wherever it was found) have been smudged with someone other than Oswald's fingerprints? The Dallas PD's Case Report claims Day lifted a print from the "paper rifle was wrapped in" (24H249). As we've seen Day testified "no legible print was found". Well, it follows then that an "illegible" print was found. If this is so, then what happened to it? Why are there no photos of it in the Dallas archives?

More to the point, could the sack found in the building by Montgomery, and dusted by Studebaker, be a different sack entirely than the one initialed by Day and placed into evidence by the FBI?

Amazingly, yes. Consider the next section of Lt. Day's testimony:

Mr. BELIN. Did you ever get the kind of sample used at the School Book Depository?

Mr. DAY. Yes, sir; on the afternoon of November 22, 1963, I had the bag listed as----

Mr. BELIN. Commission Exhibit 626 or 142.

Mr. DAY. On the first floor of the Texas School Book Depository, and I noticed from their wrapping bench there was paper and tape of a similar--the tape was of the same width as this. I took the bag over and tried it, and I noticed that the tape was the same width as on the bag.

Mr. BELIN. Did it appear to have the same color?

Mr. DAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BELIN. All right. Then what did you do?

Mr. DAY. Sir?

Mr. BELIN. Then what did you do?

Mr. DAY. I directed one of the officers standing by me, I don't know which, to get a piece of the tape and a piece of the paper from the wrapping bench.

Mr. BELIN. Handing you what has been marked as Commission Exhibit 677, I will ask you to state if you know what this is.

Mr. DAY. This is the tape and paper collected from the first floor in the shipping department of the Texas School Book Depository on November 22, 1963.

Mr. BELIN. Does this have any identification marks on it?

Mr. DAY. It has my name, "J. C. Day, Dallas Police Department," and also in my writing, "Shipping Department."

Mr. BELIN. Any other writing on there that you recognize?

Mr. DAY. Yes, sir; Detective Studebaker, who was with me, and in his writing it says, "Paper sample from first floor, Texas School Book Depository, Studebaker, 11-22-63." The tape also has Studebaker's writing on it, "Tape sample from first floor." (4H 249-278)

There is no mention of the size of this sample. As it was not considered evidence, furthermore, it was

not even photographed by the Dallas Police in its original state. An 11-26-63 report by the FBI's Vincent Drain on his flights from and to Dallas with the primary evidence, moreover, notes that "sample of brown paper used by Texas School Book Depository and brown tape used by Texas School Book Depository were not returned since Chief Curry stated these were not evidence and had only been sent to the FBI Laboratory for comparison purposes." (CD5 p161). As this decision was made before the FBI gained jurisdiction over the case it suggests that the Dallas Police were not particularly concerned about the samples at this time. Perhaps they'd felt they could have the FBI testify that the sample paper and sample tape matched the bag and tape placed into evidence without having the samples placed into evidence as well. Or perhaps this indicates that the FBI, having helped the Dallas Police with the creation of a new and improved bag complete with Oswald's fingerprints, thought it a waste of time and an unnecessary risk to send back to Dallas a sample far smaller than the sample originally obtained by Day, and as seen by other Dallas detectives not in on their scam.

Shining a Light On Drain

Adding to this admittedly disturbing possibility is that, on June 9, 1964, as a response to a May 20th Warren Commission request, the FBI took the paper bag back to Dallas, and inadequately traced back its chain of custody. While the chain of custody on the other items brought back to Dallas--the various bullets, cartridges, and bullet fragments related to the assassination, and even the blanket used by Oswald to store his rifle in the Paine family's garage--were traced back to the first ones to discover them, the brown paper bag was never shown to Montgomery, Johnson, or Studebaker, the three men who first saw the bag in the depository, and who reportedly initialed it on the premises. It was shown to just one man: Lt. J.C. Day. The words to this report are as follows:

"On June 9, 1964, Lieutenant J.C. Day of the Crime Laboratory of the Dallas Police Department, Dallas, Texas, was exhibited the wrapping-paper bag, C10, by Special Agent Vincent E. Drain, Federal Bureau of Investigation. After examining this bag, Lieutenant Day advised he could positively identify this bag as the one he and Detective R.L. Studebaker found on the Sixth Floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building immediately after the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963. Lieutenant Day stated this paper bag was marked on November 22, 1963 by him. This bag was subsequently delivered on November 22, 1963 to Special Agent Vincent E. Drain for transmittal to the Laboratory of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington D.C., for examination." (24H418).

Notice that there's no mention of Montgomery and Johnson, the detectives who, according to the Dallas Police Department's own records, found the bag and took it over to the crime lab. (24H260). Notice also that Day says only that he marked the bag on the 22nd, not that he marked it on the scene. Consider also that the agent tracing the chain of evidence, Vincent Drain, was the one who first took the bag to Washington, and the one who later claimed returning the paper sample to Dallas was unnecessary. Day's claim that he found the bag, and Drain's failure to track down Montgomery and Johnson, and even Studebaker--who'd previously testified that they'd found the bag--is undoubtedly suspicious to those even slightly prone to suspicion.

But, wait, it gets even more suspicious. Drain had discussed the bag with Day at an earlier time as well. An 11-30-63 report by Drain on an 11-29-63 interview of Day reveals:

"Lt. Carl Day, Dallas Police Department, stated he found the brown paper bag shaped like a gun case near the scene of the shooting on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. He stated the manager, Mr. Truly, saw this bag at the time it was taken into possession by Lt. Day. Truly, according to Day, had not seen this bag before. No one else viewed it. Truly furnished similar brown paper from the roll that was used in packing books by the Texas School Book Depository. This paper

was examined by the FBI Laboratory and found to have the same observable characteristics as the brown paper bag shaped like a gun case which was found near the scene of the shooting of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. The Dallas Police have not exhibited this to anyone else. It was immediately locked up by Day, kept in his possession until it was turned over to FBI agent Drain for transmittal to the Laboratory. It was examined by the Laboratory, returned to the Dallas Police Department November 24, 1963, locked up in the Crime Laboratory. This bag was returned to Agent Drain on November 26, 1963, and taken back to the FBI Laboratory.

Lt. Day stated no one has identified this bag to the Dallas Police Department." (CD5, p129).

Beyond offering us yet another witness purported to have seen the bag in the depository not shown the bag at a later date by either the Warren Commission or FBI (Roy Truly) this report has numerous, undoubtedly suspicious, errors. The report makes out that Day himself found the bag. There's no mention at all of Montgomery, Johnson, and Studebaker, nor of Studebaker's claim in an 11-22 FBI report that he was the one to find the bag. (CD5, p128) The report also errs in that it says the bag was "immediately locked up by Day", and that it was not exhibited to anyone else. This conceals that on this same day, 11-29-63, Drain interviewed Dallas detective R.D. Lewis who acknowledged giving Buell Wesley Frazier a polygraph on 11-22 during which Frazier was shown the bag and refused to identify it as the bag he saw that morning. (CD7, p291). An 11-29 FBI memo never shown the Warren Commission, and found only in the FBI's HQ files, moreover, reinforces this point, and confirms that Alex Rosen, the assistant director tasked with establishing the basic facts of the crime, knew all about Frazier's failure to identify the bag, and that Drain's report was either grossly in error...or a lie. It states:

"Lieutenant Carl Day, Dallas, Texas, Police Department Crime Laboratory, advised that on November 22, 1963, he recovered a heavy brown sack appearing to be homemade and appearing to have been folded together at one time. This sack when laid out was about four feet long but when doubled was about two feet long. Lt. Day recalls that on the evening of 11-22-63, about 11:30 p.m., one of Capt. Fritz's officers requested that he show this thick, brown sack to a man named Frazier. Lt. Day stated that Frazier was unable to identify this sack and told him that a sack he observed in possession of Oswald early that morning was definitely a thin flimsy sack like one purchased in a dime store." (FBI file 62-109060, sec 14, p123.)

Is it just a coincidence then that Drain's report on Day, containing false information, was written up on 11-30, and included in the FBI report of 11-30, and that Drain's report on Lewis, conducted on the same day, wasn't written up till 12-1 and forwarded to Washington till 12-10, after the completion of the FBI's 12-9 summary report given to the President and Warren Commission, and leaked to the press? Maybe. Maybe not.

If not, however, then we have sufficient reason to believe Drain's deception was orchestrated from above. On 12-06, FBI HQ sent an airtel to Drain's direct superior, Gordon Shanklin, asking him to correct an "inaccurate statement" in a report. (FBI file 62-109060, sec 17, p213) On 12-18, Shanklin, in turn, sent a message back to the Bureau's headquarters telling them that, as a response to the Bureau's 12-06 airtel, he was sending headquarters and New Orleans "10 copies and 1 copy respectively of FD-302 reflecting interview by Vincent Drain with Lt. Carl Day, Dallas Police Department, on 11/29/63. It is requested that the Bureau and New Orleans insert the enclosed pages to replace page 129 of reference report. Appropriate changes are being made in the Dallas files." (FBI file 105-82555, sec 39, p7). The reference report is the Gemberling Report of 11/30. Page 129 is Drain's report on Day. Well, what was all this about, you might ask? Had someone caught the obvious error in Drain's report...that the bag was not shown to anyone?

Nope. An uncorrected version of this report was later discovered in the archives by researcher Gary

Shaw. It revealed that the original version of Drain's report said the paper bag found in the depository was "found not to be identical" to the paper sample taken from the depository. Now this is mighty strange. Drain, who escorted the paper bag and sample from Dallas to the FBI's crime lab in Washington on 11-23, and then returned with the bag on 11-24, wrote a report saying the paper bag did not match the sample? And his report was then re-written to hide this "mistake"? While, at the same time, the equally obvious "mistake" (that being that the DPD failed to show the bag to anyone) was allowed to stand uncorrected? (The changing of this document is discussed in much greater detail, [here](#).)

But if the FBI was lying about Day and the bag, they were certainly not alone.

Bad Hair Day

When one studies the face, glasses, bow tie, and HAIR of Lt. J.C. Day in 2 shots from the Alyea film, at top L, taken around 1:30 PM on 11-22-63, the Skaggs photo at top M, taken around 2:00 PM, the Dillard photo, at bottom L, taken around 4:00 PM, and the 2 shots of Day with the rifle, at bottom M and R, taken around 6:15 PM, it seems clear Day is also the man on the far left of the Allen photo, at top R, taken around 3:00 PM. So why did he never acknowledge seeing the bag at this time?

Bad Hair Day

Perhaps they'd been lied to themselves...

In Lieutenant Day's official report on his activities on the day of the assassination, written up on 1-08-64, he completely fails to mention his "discovery" of the bag. Instead, he says he was pulled from the sniper's nest, where he'd been photographing the hulls, at 1:25 PM, to photograph and inspect the rifle found on the other side of the building. He then left the building at 2:00 PM in order to transport the rifle to the crime lab. According to this report he did not return to the building until 2:45 PM. (26H829-831) Big problem. The reports of detectives L.D. Montgomery and Marvin Johnson reflect that they transported the bag over to the crime lab about 2:30. (24H314, 24H307). This suggests that Day never even saw the bag in the depository. As there is a photograph of these men leaving the building, with Montgomery's watch reading 3:00, however, the possibility exists that Day saw the bag briefly upon his

return to the building, but had not seen it or paid much attention to it before this time. Adding to this probability is that the 4-1-64 FBI report on Roy Truly's recollections of the bag reflects only that Truly remembered giving paper samples to Lt. Day "on the afternoon of November 22, 1963," but makes no mention of his being shown the paper bag found in the sniper's nest, as purported in Drain's 11-29 report. (FBI file 105-82555, sec 142, p15). From this one might gather Day was told of the bag or briefly shown the bag upon his return, and that he'd spoken to Truly and collected the paper samples only after the bag had left the building.

So why does Day not only fail to say as much in his testimony, but suggest another scenario entirely, one in which he not only finds the bag, but carries it around inside the depository?

Let's recall here that Day, while discussing the paper sample, told the Commission: *"I had the bag...On the first floor of the Texas School Book Depository, and I noticed from their wrapping bench there was paper and tape of a similar--the tape was of the same width as this. I took the bag over and tried it, and I noticed that the tape was the same width as on the bag. I noticed from their wrapping bench there was paper and tape of a similar--the tape was of the same width as this. **I took the bag over and tried it, and I noticed that the tape was the same width as on the bag.**"* He was thereby claiming the bag was in his possession in the building.

That Day saw the bag upon his return to the building, just as it was leaving the building, however, is more than just conjecture. In one of the photos of Montgomery and Johnson outside the building holding, among other things, the bag, Lt. Day (or his doppelganger) can be seen standing next to the bag, staring in its general direction. (He appears to be looking past the bag, but it would have been impossible for him not to have noticed it under the circumstances.) In his subsequent reports, testimony, and statements, however, he never acknowledged this encounter. He never acknowledged seeing Montgomery and Johnson leave with the bag as he returned. In fact, as we've seen, in his testimony he acted as though Montgomery and Johnson had never even touched the bag, and insinuated instead that he'd found and signed the bag in the sniper's nest and that he'd left the bag with Detectives Hicks and Studebaker to bring in after he'd left the depository for the night. This reeks of an orchestrated lie. If so, what was he trying to hide? Was he afraid to admit that he didn't "discover" the bag, and that he, in fact, had never even seen it in the building?

Day's post-1964 statements on the bag, moreover, confirm that he was not actually present when the bag was "discovered". In 1992, when asked by researcher Denis Morissette if he knew who found the bag, Day responded: "I don't know. It was on the floor next to and north of the box Oswald was sitting on when I arrived at the 6th floor. My men and I collected the bag at this place. As far as I know it had not been moved by any officers." Note that he never describes his spotting or inspecting the bag, only that there was a bag, that it was collected by his men, and that it was found by...someone...north of the sniper's seat. (His testimony had been that it was south of the sniper's seat, directly in the corner.) In 1996, in an oral history recorded for The Sixth Floor Museum, moreover, Day had the chance to finally set the record straight and instead offered smoke. When asked why the bag hadn't been photographed, he responded "There should be a picture of it somewhere." When then asked by interviewer Bob Porter where the bag had been found, he replied "To the best of my knowledge, it was to the right on the floor of where he was sitting, on the box that I showed you a minute ago. It may have been the right, it may have been the left, but there was a bag there." When Porter pointed out that "left" would mean the corner (where Day had testified the bag was discovered), moreover, Day surprised him, and once again asserted that the bag had been found north of the sniper's seat. He responded "Yes, in the corner out back towards the north side of the building, where you headed up to it." He then admitted "I didn't know anything about a bag at that time. There was a bag laying there...Later examination indicated that

it was a bag had been made out of wrapping paper. It appeared to be shipping paper...Of course at that time, we didn't know anything about Oswald, didn't know anything about what happened. There was a bag there and it was collected." This, of course, supports that Day hadn't actually seen the bag where he claims it was found, and that others were, in fact, responsible for its collection in the depository. This likelihood is further supported by Day's recollection to Larry Sneed, published in 1998, that "Also found on the sixth floor, as I recall, near the shell area, was a paper bag. It should have been photographed, but for some reason, apparently wasn't."

In fact, in what was to become his final word on the subject, in a 7-11-06 interview with The Sixth Floor Museum, Day came as close to admitting perjury as one can come. In opposition to his Warren Commission testimony that he'd signed the paper bag or sack "at the time the sack was found," Day ultimately admitted that when he and Studebaker left the sniper's nest to go photograph the rifle found on the other side of the building *"They had posted guards or something around it and they didn't have the sense to leave things alone. And they'd got in there and picked up a sack that was in this corner. And we didn't get a picture of it. But there was a sack right in that corner...the brown paper bag. It was the one he was supposed to have brought curtain rods in. Well, they picked it up while I was gone, and I didn't get a picture of it while it was sitting there."* Hmmm...as Studebaker returned to the sniper's nest after photographing the gun, but Day did not, and as Montgomery, Johnson, and Studebaker were all present or nearby when the bag was "discovered," and made no mention of Day, it seems clear that the bag was "discovered" while Day was busy dusting the rifle or transporting the rifle over to the crime lab, and that he'd therefore never signed the paper bag or sack *"at the time the sack was found,"* and hadn't in fact *"left"* the bag with others when he transported the rifle to the crime lab.

There are still other reasons to doubt the story recounted by Drain in his 11-30-63 report, repeated by Day in his testimony, and pushed by Warren Commission Counsel David Belin in his book November 22, 1963: *You Are The Jury*. It seems highly unlikely that Day could photograph, dust and study the rifle as purported, return to the sniper's nest, discover the bag, show the bag to Roy Truly, transport the bag downstairs, and get paper and tape samples from the shipping table--all in less than 35 minutes, mind you--and then decide to take the rifle over to the crime lab and leave the bag behind. It seems much more likely that he worked on the rifle exclusively before taking it to the crime lab, and that the story of his finding the bag and comparing the paper of the bag to the paper at the shipping table is an orchestrated lie.

I don't think this is a reckless charge. Let's recall that Day, in his testimony regarding the paper sample, claimed *"I directed one of the officers standing by me, I don't know which, to get a piece of the tape and a piece of the paper from the wrapping bench"* and that he was then asked if there was any other writing on the sample, and that he then, and only then, acknowledged that Detective Studebaker was with him at the time, and that he'd also signed the sample. Well, what's the problem with that, you might ask? Well, let's think about it. Day is in a photo of the bag as it was taken out the front of the building around 3 PM. This is just as Day is returning from his quick trip to the crime lab. So, for Day to have handled the bag in the building as claimed, he would have to have done so before he left for the crime lab around 2:00. Well, there's a problem with this. When asked during his testimony what he did "next" after photographing and inspecting the rifle on the sixth floor, Day said *"I took the gun...to the office and locked it up in a box..."* Now, this means that his journey to the first floor with the bag--if it actually took place--must have preceded the discovery of the rifle, right? Well, Day pretty much rules this out as well, as he testified that he arrived at the depository at "1:12," was directed to the sniper's nest upon reaching the sixth floor, photographed the sniper's nest, collected the three shells at "1:23," and was then "summonsed" to the northwest corner of the building to work on the newly discovered rifle. There simply was no time for him to be carrying the bag around. And the idea that both he and

Studebaker--the only crime scene investigators on the premises--would wander away from the largely unexamined sixth floor crime scene down to the first floor in search of paper samples to match up to a bag that, according to Day, had no readily apparent prints upon its surface, and which might have nothing to do with the shooting--when the president's assassin was for all they knew still on the loose--is beyond belief. Pure moonshine.

That Day was pulling a fast one, moreover, is supported by his testimony that he "directed one of the officers standing by me, I don't know which" to get the tape and paper samples. This conveniently conceals that the person actually retrieving these samples was his assistant Studebaker--among the persons in the building least likely to be on the first floor when the bag was still in the building. It's hard to believe this was merely a coincidence, particularly in that Day acknowledged this person to be Studebaker when interviewed by the FBI on 4-2-64, less than three weeks before. (The report on this interview can be found in FBI file 102-82555 sec 142, p18. Studebaker's acknowledgment on 4-2 that he retrieved the samples at Day's direction can be found in a related FBI report. FBI file 102-82555 sec 142 p19.)

Perhaps, then, Day's story about having the bag with him when he obtained the sample was created to hide that Day took the paper sample later that afternoon, or that evening, after the paper bag found in the school book depository had already left the building. Perhaps he found this embarrassing. Perhaps he'd suspected that the bag taken from the building had been made there, for whatever purpose, and had decided that having some "samples" for reference might help him prove this point. Perhaps Day was simply of the mind that simplifying the chain of evidence--and pretending that he'd found the bag, and had kept it in the possession of his crime scene team at all times--was the right thing to do. Or perhaps he was part of a conspiracy to fabricate evidence implicating the commie, Oswald, in the president's murder. We may never know.

There is an additional reason to believe the bag holds secrets, however. The only photo of the paper bag in the Dallas Police Archives is a photo in box 12 folder 7 file 1. It is shown on the Shining a Light on Day slide above.

The description for this photo in the DPD Archives reads "Photograph of the evidence sent to the FBI. Date unknown." The bag in this photo appears to be about 8 inches wide and could quite possibly be the bag in the FBI and Warren Commission photos. The bag appears to be discolored, however, which suggests that this is a photo of the bag after its return from the FBI Crime Laboratory, where it had been discolored by silver nitrate. Sure enough, this photo can also be found in the FBI files (62-109060 Sec EBF, Serial 1866, p73). Here, however, on the page just before, the back of the photo is presented, and bears the date 11-26-63.

Should one find that unconvincing, one should know that this photo also makes an appearance in Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry's 1969 book JFK Assassination File. Here it is listed as "Evidence released to the FBI Laboratory for tests." No date is provided. Fortunately, however, Curry lists all the items in the photograph, and this tells us what we need to know. Item #5 is listed as "Textile fibers found on the left side of the butt plate of the recovered rifle." These fibers were officially undetected in Dallas, and only discovered during an examination in the FBI Crime Lab on 11-23. This proves that this photograph was taken after the return of the evidence to Dallas. More telling, Item #2 is "Oswald's right palm print found on a book carton which was part of the sniper's perch in the book depository." This palm print wasn't provided the FBI till the 26th. A close look at the piece of cardboard holding this palm print, moreover, reveals that it has the signature of Lt. J.C. Day along the bottom. Photos taken on the 25th of the sniper's nest, with this piece of cardboard re-attached to its box, reveal that Day had not

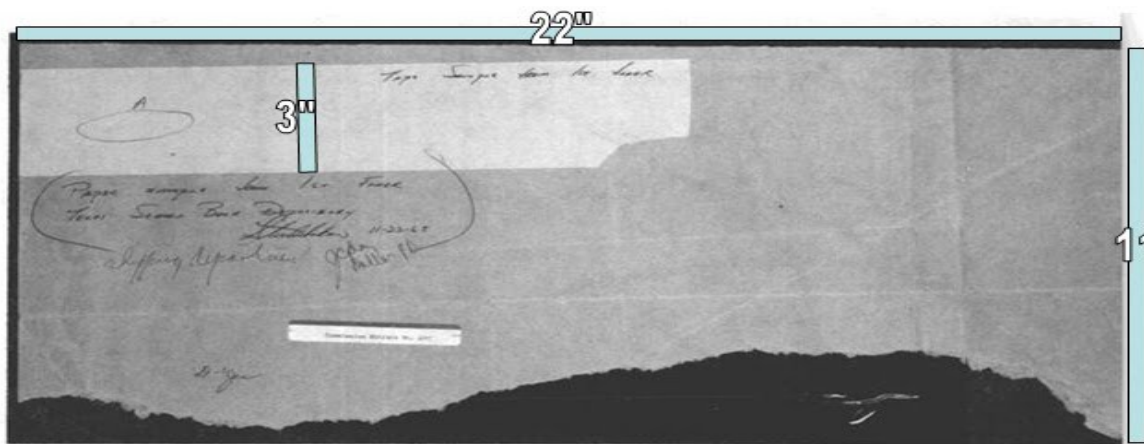
yet signed the cardboard. This proves it then, several times over--the only photo of the paper bag in the Dallas Archives is a photo of evidence shipped out on the 26th.

Should one still have doubts, however, one should consider the Warren Commission testimony of Lt. Day. When presenting this photo as exhibit CE 738, Day readily admitted he'd taken the photo on the 26th. The Warren Commission, in turn, entitled this exhibit "Photograph of property released by the Dallas Police Department to the FBI on November 26, 1963." So why did the Dallas crime scene investigators not only fail to photograph the paper bag when found on the scene in the school book depository, but at any time prior to Oswald's death?

Something's undoubtedly wrong here.

The mind-numbing level of this "wrongness" only gets stronger, however, when one reads the captions to the photos in Curry's book. Here, after confidently presenting evidence such as "the 6.5 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, C2766, with a four power scope which was recovered from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository", and captioning the fibers in the evidence photo mentioned above as "Textile fibers found on the left side of the butt plate of the recovered rifle," Curry equivocates on the status of the bag in the photo. He writes "A paper bag probably constructed from wrapping paper and tape at the Texas School Book Depository...This is probably the same bag which was found on the sixth floor by investigators." Yes, you read that right. He says "probably." If Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry doubted that the bag returned from Washington was the bag found in the building, then why the heck shouldn't we?

Sizing Up the Sample



COMMISSION EXHIBIT 677

Since the tape sample on Exhibit 677 was reportedly 3 inches wide, we can estimate that the paper sample was about 22 inches by 11 inches. The paper roll from which it was pulled was reportedly 24 inches wide. This suggests that this is not the entire sample taken from the roll. What happened to the rest of it? Could it have been used to create the paper bag placed into evidence as CE 142?

Sizing Up the Sample

There are still other suggestions the bag in the archives is not the bag found in the building.

When one looks at the early morning 11-23-63 FBI memo describing the evidence sent to Washington,

and compares it to the FBI crime lab report on this evidence written later that day, one notices some subtle changes that may very well have meaning.

On the memo (found in FBI file 62-109060, Sec 1, p54) the bag is described as follows: "Brown paper which was found at what was believed to be the point of the firing of the fatal bullets used in the assassination. This paper possibly may have been used to carry above rifle to the scene of the building from which it was fired." Note that it is not described as a bag. Now look at how it's described later that day in the crime lab report (found in file 62-109060, Sec 21, p188): "Wrapping paper in shape of a large bag." Hmmm... Was it originally described as "brown paper" because it was not yet a "bag?"

There's also this to consider... On the memo, item 6 is listed as "Sample of brown paper used by Texas School Book Depository **and** sample of paper tape used by Texas School Book Depository." Although listed as one item, it seems clear this is really two items: a sample of paper and a sample of tape. Now look at how they're listed in the crime lab report: "K2--Paper and tape sample from shipping department, Texas Public School Book Depository." Sample. Singular.

The Warren Commission, perhaps unaware of its significance, published a photo of this paper and tape sample. As seen on the slide above, this photo shows a fairly small piece of paper, not even 11 inches x 22 inches, with a piece of paper tape across the top. Since the FBI's earlier reports revealed that the paper rolls at the depository were 24 inches wide, this indicates that someone had done some cutting. Did Lt. Day and/or the FBI make the paper bag placed into evidence--which appears to be far too narrow to be the bag removed from the depository--from the paper and tape samples he took on 11-22-63?

Was the paper and tape sample shown in Commission Exhibit 677 but a scrap left over from the newly-created "bag?"

Possibly. It certainly seems a bit of a coincidence that a paper bag in the shape of a gun case that was not photographed upon discovery, and whose exact measurements were not given in testimony: 1) was never shown to the three detectives who initialed it upon its discovery; 2) was not smeared with the fingerprints of one of these detectives, who'd left 18 finger and palm prints on the four boxes purportedly next to the bag; and 3) appears far different in the photographs taken by the press than in the subsequent photos taken by the FBI. Something is just funky about Day's brown bag. And I'm not talking 'bout Morris Day or James Brown.

Only adding to the craziness... Lt. Day talked about the paper sample one last time when he was interviewed by Larry Sneed for his 1998 book No More Silence. He said: "In the shipping room on the first floor, there were one or two rolls of that paper. We took the end pieces off those rolls for possible comparison with the bag that was found." He said "rolls"...as in more than one. Even worse, he also told Sneed that, beyond the palm print lift he'd failed to send the FBI on 11-22, "We had a few other items around such as some of his clothes and paper off the roll at the Book Depository that we didn't do anything else with." Well, I'll be. What happened to this "paper off the roll" never submitted to the FBI? And why was Day now admitting they'd taken multiple samples? Was his memory in error?

Or had he simply forgotten the "official story"? The 11-29 FBI report on the paper bag and paper sample declares that Oswald's boss Roy Truly furnished Day "similar brown paper from the roll that was used in packing books by the Texas School Book Depository." (CD5 p129). A 4-1-64 FBI Airtel from Dallas to Washington, however, reveals that Day was interviewed the day before, and claimed that he "obtained samples wrapping paper...from four opened rolls mounted in Shipping Room." (FBI file 102-82555 sec 125 p62). When testifying before the Warren Commission on 4-22-64, moreover, Day was shown Exhibit 730 and asked if the roll of paper in the photo looked like the one from which he removed Exhibit 677. He replied: "Yes, sir. To the best of my knowledge that is the roll we tore the paper off of." The number of samples removed by Day had thus morphed from one on 11-29-63 to four

on 3-31-64, back to one on 4-22-64, and then to two in his later years. If the "official" story is confusing and hard to believe it's due in part to men like Day, who just couldn't keep their stories straight.

In an effort to keep our story straight, however, it should be noted that the FBI caught Day's 4-1-64 reference to four samples and sprang into action. The next day, Washington wired Dallas and requested that since the paper sample in their possession was "only one piece of paper and one piece of tape advise if samples actually obtained from all four opened rolls...If additional paper and tape samples secured on November Twenty Two last...are available forward them to Bureau immediately." (FBI file 102-82555 sec 125 p64). This, in turn, led to an interview with Dallas Detective Robert Studebaker, whose statements appeared to answer the FBI's questions. The report in this interview notes that Studebaker "recalls obtaining a paper sample and a gummed tape sample at the instruction of Lt. Day from the wrapping table located on the main floor of the Depository Building... Studebaker noted that he recalled observing four rolls of the paper, one at each corner, and that he obtained the sample from the northeast corner as it was the most convenient. Studebaker advised he turned over these samples to the custody of Lt. Day. Studebaker advised he recalled he obtained only one sample of paper and one sample of tape at this time, and to the best of his recollection, these are the only samples obtained by his Department." (FBI file 102-82555 sec 142 p19).

Well, what's the matter with this, you might ask? Day has a vague recollection there were four samples, but Studebaker has a stronger recollection there was but one. Case closed, you might say. Well, there is a little problem. On the day Day told the FBI there'd been four samples, the FBI also had a talk with Roy Truly, who'd purportedly provided Day with the samples. The report of this interview reflects that Truly "recalls Day obtained *samples* of wrapping paper from the *rolls* of Kraft wrapping paper mounted on *racks* in the shipping room." (FBI file 105-82555 sec 142 p15) *Samples. Rolls. Racks.* Plural. It's intriguing that Day and Truly separately recall there being more than one sample, and that the FBI then contacts Studebaker, Day's underling, who tells them there was but one, and that Day then testifies there was but one. It's as if someone was comparing notes.

Which brings us back to the FBI's interview of Studebaker. The report reads: "He advised to the best of his recollection this paper sample was obtained from a roll of Kraft wrapping paper, 24" in width, located at the northeast corner of the wrapping table." So here we have confirmation from a Dallas Detective of the FBI's previous claim that the paper in the depository was 24" wide. The bag placed into evidence, as we've seen, is about 17" wide when split open. This means that, for the bag to have been made by Oswald from the paper found at the depository, he would have to have cut it along its length. Well, why would he have done this? Why wouldn't he have just folded it in third? And if he did this in the garage of the home where he'd spent the night before the shooting, as presumed, where oh where were the "scraps"? (Evidently, this same question occurred to Warren Commission counsel Wesley Liebeler, for he asked Michael Paine, in whose garage the rifle had been stored "Did anyone notice any scraps of paper or tape similar to the ones of which these sacks were constructed that we previously identified, particularly Commission 142?"...only to receive the unhelpful response "Not that I remember.") This cutting of the bag, then, suggests that whoever made the bag was concerned about its apparent size. This makes me suspect that whoever made the bag was trying to make it match Frazier's impression of the bag he saw in Oswald's possession.

This, of course, supports our earlier conclusion that the bag in the archives is either not the bag found in the building, or is a modified version of the bag.

There is more. At 10:01 on 11-23-63, but a few hours after the bag arrived at FBI headquarters, J. Edgar Hoover called President Johnson and gave him an update on the evidence against Oswald. Transcripts provided by the LBJ Library reflect that Hoover detailed:

"On the morning that this incident ---yesterday---the man who drove him to the building where they work, the building from where the shots came, said that he had a package wrapped up in paper ---not a blanket. The blanket we found in the garage at home. But the paper in which the gun was wrapped that has also has been sent up to us and accommodation will be made of that. He did carry some kind of package down there, which could have been the gun yesterday morning in the car. None of us can swear to that."

Now, what do you think he meant by "accommodation will be made of that"? Might he not have meant "We're gonna make a bag out of this paper, and present it as evidence if necessary"? I don't know. That might be stretching it. But it sure is curious. So curious, apparently, that Max Holland, an ardent defender of the Warren Commission and the Oswald-did-it scenario, substituted the word "accommodation" with the words "(an inspection)" in the transcript to this phone call published in his book, *The Kennedy Assassination Tapes*. Now, perhaps Hoover really said, or meant to say, "an inspection," or perhaps even "an examination," which sounds more like "accommodation" than "an inspection." But Holland had no reason to think so, as he had admittedly never heard the tape.

You see, when this tape was to be duplicated for the National Archives in 1999, just prior to its being made more widely available to researchers, including Holland, Cutting Corporation, which was to have done the duplication, found it to have been, in the words of a memo made available to researcher Rex Bradford, and posted on his history matters website, "most likely...intentionally erased." So...did the FBI make the bag currently in the archives out of materials supplied by the DPD? I don't know, but there is certainly reason to suspect as much.

There is one last point which I would be remiss not to mention... Now, at first this might seem irrelevant, but consider this... The bag was roughly 38 inches in length. The rifle was, according to the testimony of the FBI's Robert Frazier, 40.2 inches in length. If the rifle was disassembled, so that its longest piece was the 34.8 inch rifle stock, however, it could be made to fit the bag. And so the FBI pushed that Oswald brought the rifle into the building disassembled, and put it together with a dime just before the shooting...

But there's a problem with this. Any shooter worth his salt knows it takes a few shots for a rifle to settle in after being re-assembled. Dismantling the rifle might very well have ruined Oswald's one chance at "success."

This should make us suspect, then, that the bag was supposed to conceal the rifle when fully assembled, and that it's being too small was an accident. This then leads to the possibility the bag was made without the rifle's being present. Perhaps Oswald made the bag at work, and nobody noticed, and then smuggled it home in his clothing, and nobody noticed. If this, in fact, occurred, the bag's being too small to conceal the fully-assembled rifle can be explained in two-ways: 1) Oswald didn't have the rifle in front of him when he made the bag, and had to rely on his memory; and 2) the rifle ordered by Oswald was 36" in length, but he was shipped the 40" model.

Let's think about this last point. If *Oswald* had simply brought home an insufficient amount of paper and tape, or a completed bag too small to conceal the rifle, as many theorize, one would think he would improvise and tape another piece of paper over the end, or some such thing. Anything to avoid dis-assembling the rifle... But if someone *other than Oswald*, after being told Klein's had found an order for a 36" rifle on the night of the shooting, had used the available paper and tape samples to make a bag to fit *that* rifle, not realizing the rifle in evidence was 40", well, he might not have had the opportunity to improvise. By the time he realized *his* mistake, the bag might already have been in the hands of

someone not privy to his plan, or on its way to Washington.

And yes, I've looked into this. And yes, it appears that the FBI knew by 10 o'clock on the 22nd that the rifle found in the depository had been purchased by Klein's Sporting Goods of Chicago from a New York importer named Crescent Firearms, as part of a shipment of 36 inch rifles. Klein's confirmed the receipt of this rifle, moreover, around midnight, shortly before the evidence held by Lt. Day, apparently including the paper sample, was transferred to the FBI. While Klein's was reportedly unable to confirm Oswald's purchase of a 36 inch rifle--through his already discovered alias, Hidell--until approximately 4 o'clock in the morning, the 38 inch bag bearing Oswald's palm and fingerprint may already have been created, under the assumption such confirmation was forthcoming.

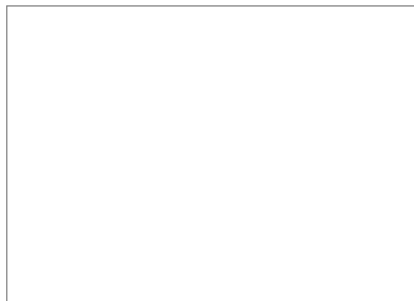
Or perhaps that's just too complicated. Perhaps Oswald's ordering a 36 inch rifle, which would have fit inside the bag, is just a coincidence. Perhaps the under-sized nature of the bag came as a result of something as simple as Day's grabbing too small a sample, and his or the FBI's reluctance to use materials not traceable to the book depository while creating the bag placed in evidence. We may never know.

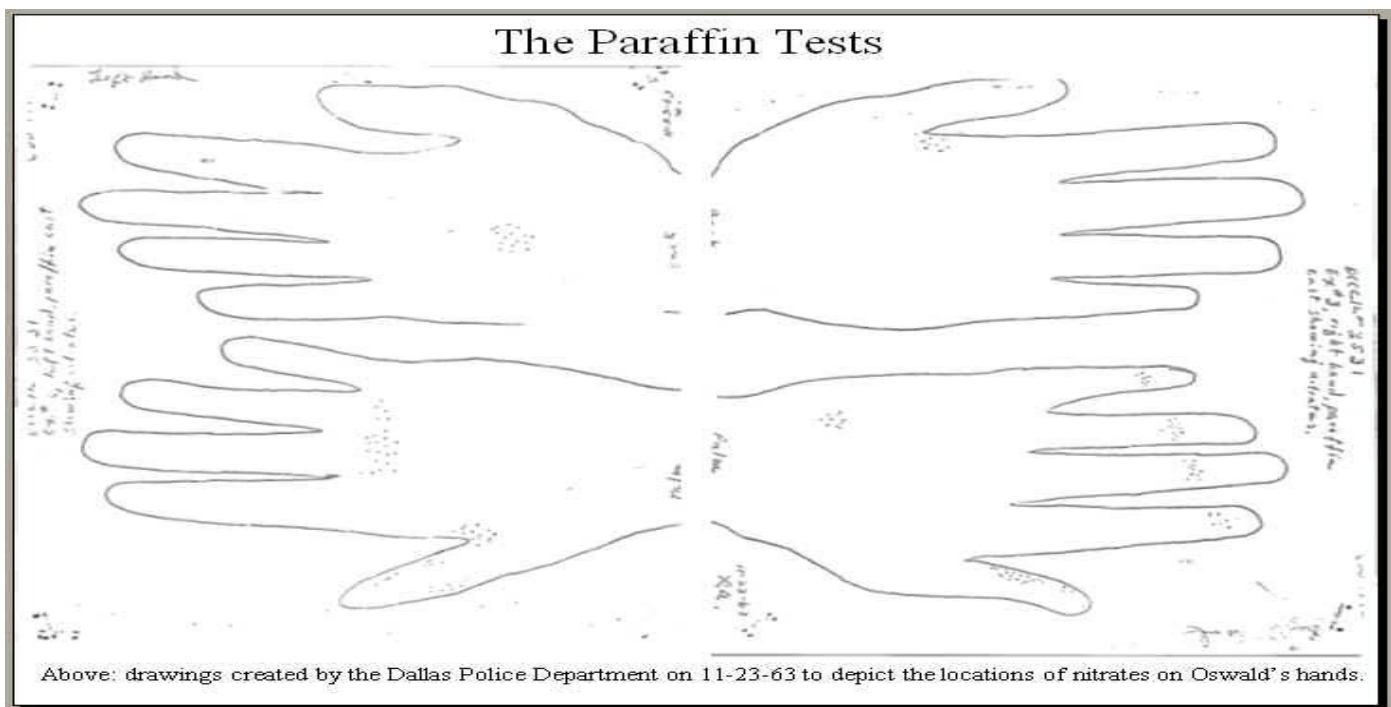
But if one should make it through the paper bag minefield and come out convinced that all was on the up and up with the evidence presented to the commission, one should also consider that neither the FBI on its own or at the Warren Commission's request inspected the inside of a similar paper bag after it had carried the rifle around, if just, y'know, to see if there should have been marks inside the bag. The suggestion by the FBI's expert Cadigan that the rifle may have been wrapped in cloth inside the bag shouldn't have cut off such an inquiry, seeing as no cloth was found with the bag or in the sniper's nest.

Something happened there and we don't know what it was, now do we?

Chapter 4d: Casts of Contention

What we're not supposed to know





For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

The Paraffin Tests

Let's now look at the central question of whether Oswald fired a rifle on 11-22-1963. This discussion centers largely around the paraffin tests performed on Oswald's hands and cheek. A paraffin test, to explain, is a test where a suspect's hands are coated in paraffin. This creates a cast. The cast is then tested for the presence of nitrates. The presence of nitrates can be taken as an indication the suspect handled or fired a weapon. A similar test performed on a cheek could indicate the suspect fired a rifle. According to the standard text *Scientific Evidence in Criminal Cases* these tests were first performed in the 1930's and were performed almost routinely in the 1950's. By 1963, however, they were beginning to fall in disfavor.

At approximately 8:55 PM CST on **11-22-63**--a bit more than 8 hours after President Kennedy had been slain on a Dallas street--Dallas crime lab detective W. E. Barnes coats Oswald's hands and cheek with paraffin. He then cuts the casts off for testing. Although studies have suggested that gunshot residue tests should be performed within six hours of a shooting, that Oswald has been in police custody all but 1 1/4 hours of the time since the shooting, and has been prevented from washing his hands or his face, and is suspected of firing his rifle 3 times and his pistol 5 times, gives us reason to believe these tests will prove helpful.

(Note: a subsequent study by Vincent Guinn will come to demonstrate that, under laboratory conditions, gunshot residue can be found on suspects as long as 24 hours after a shooting. A similar study by S.S. Krishnan published in 1974 will go further and claim "residue can remain for up to 17h during normal activity, but can be quickly removed by vigorous scrubbing with soap and water." A subsequent study by Krishnan published in 1977 would support this further by listing a homicide where gunshot residue was found on the hands of a suspect 24 hours after the shooting. While Oswald's odyssey after the shooting was far from what one would expect to find in a laboratory, it was also far less taxing than 17h of normal activity. As a consequence there is nothing in his saga to make one think the residue on his hands, face, and clothes that would be apparent should he have fired a rifle, would have vanished. From May 31 to June 3, 2005, the FBI crime lab held a symposium on gunshot residue

analysis. One of the issues discussed was time limits, a time after which the various crime labs present at the symposium would refuse to conduct a test for gunshot residue. According to a summary of this symposium, found on the FBI's website, *"Many participants stated that an acceptable cutoff time is 4 to 6 hours after the shooting event, whereas some felt that up to 8 hours was appropriate. Still others were comfortable accepting lifts taken more than 12 hours after the shooting."* It was also noted that the FBI's cut-off was 5 hours. A 2006 article on Scienceevidence.com similarly notes that in *Saunders v the State of Texas*, Aug. 12 2006, *"The State's expert...testified that the time guideline for gunshot residue tests is four hours because of the diminished likelihood of finding the elements necessary for a positive result. The expert testified that it was possible, however, for the test to produce a positive finding even after six or eight hours, but such findings are described as inconclusive. They are not referred to as 'unreliable,' however, because the problem is the likelihood of the evidence disappearing, not the presence of a false positive."* This suggests that, by today's standards, the test on Oswald was performed too late to be considered conclusive, but that a positive result would nevertheless suggest his guilt.)

The next morning, on **11-23-63**, Dr. M.S. Mason and Louie Anderson analyze the paraffin casts of Oswald's cheek (Exhibit #1), left hand (Exhibit #2), and right hand (Exhibit #3) created by Detective Barnes. The request form for this test, found in the Dallas Archives, records the time of the request as 11:05 A.M. The results read as follows: "No nitrates are found on Exhibit #1. Nitrate patterns consistent with the suspect having discharged a firearm were present on Exhibits #2 and 3. The pattern on Exhibit #3 is typical of the patterns produced in firing a revolver." As Oswald is reported to have handled his revolver in the movie theater these results do little to establish that he'd fired a rifle at the President. More clearly, the positive result on Oswald's hands suggests that the elapsed time since the shooting was not the cause of the negative result on Oswald's cheek, and that one might reasonably suspect he did not fire the shots that killed the President. But does the Dallas Police Department admit to itself or the media that there may be suspects still at large?

Shortly thereafter, Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry is asked about the tests. He responds, on camera, "I understand that it was positive." When asked what that means, he explains "It only means that he fired a gun." When asked by a reporter if there were powder marks on Oswald's cheek, he replies "I don't know that. I don't know that." A cigarette-chomping reporter then asks "That a gun was fired, Chief, not the rifle, or a pistol?" to which Curry responds "That's right." The reporter then says aloud, for his fellow reporters to hear, "We just say a gun."

Within an hour, Frank McGee of NBC News reports "Oswald still insists he did not kill the president. The paraffin tests proved positive—Oswald did fire a gun during the last twenty-four hours." The juxtaposition of these statements undoubtedly confuses many into thinking that the paraffin tests proved Oswald had fired a rifle.

A UPI article published shortly thereafter tells millions of readers "Pro-Communist Lee Harvey Oswald was charged today with the assassination of President Kennedy. Police said paraffin results on both of Oswald's hands were "positive." This article similarly suggests the paraffin tests proved Oswald had fired a rifle.

And from there what was merely misleading information turns into misinformation... In a **1:07 PM** recap of the evidence, McGee now tells his viewers "Paraffin tests of the side of *Oswald's face* proved that he had indeed fired a rifle." At **2:07 PM** his colleague Bill Ryan adds to the confusion: "Tests showed that Oswald had gunpowder traces on both his hands, indicating that he did use a rifle."

And amazingly, this end-run around Curry's words becomes the accepted story... Despite the fact that, after first interviewing Curry that morning, CBS' man in Dallas Nelson Benton had repeated Curry's words and explained that the paraffin tests did not prove Oswald fired a rifle, CBS anchorman Walter

Cronkite, in an afternoon broadcast, jumps on NBC's bandwagon, and actually outdoes them, telling his viewers: "Paraffin tests taken on his hands indicate he did fire a rifle, as well as a revolver."

Meanwhile, the FBI joins the circus. An 11-23-63 memo from Assistant Director Alex Rosen--heading the FBI's investigation of the shooting--to Assistant Director Alan Belmont, his superior, reads: *"At 1:25 PM this date, Assistant SAC Kyle Clark, Dallas, advised just received word of the paraffin test...The results show Punctate traces of nitrate found on the left and right hands consistent with that of a person who had handled or fired a firearm. The paraffin of right cheek showed no traces of nitrate...Clark advised that he now understood that the actual results of the paraffin were between 12 and 1 AM this morning, but were not taken to the Criminal Investigative Laboratory until 10:45 AM this morning."* Now, this is a bit strange. Why did the DPD wait so long to tell the FBI the test results? And why did Agent Clark think they'd applied the paraffin after midnight, as opposed to hours before?

Elsewhere, Dr. Vincent Guinn, Technical Director of the Activation Analysis Program of General Atomic Division of General Dynamics Corporation, calls the FBI Laboratory and offers his assistance in studying the paraffin casts. Guinn believes that neutron activation analysis, if performed on the casts, will better determine if there was gunshot residue on Oswald's hand and cheek than the tests performed in Dallas. He is thanked for his spirit of cooperation, but is never called.

And he's not the only one being rebuffed. Later this evening the Special Agent in Charge of the Houston FBI office sends an urgent message to FBI headquarters. He tells them that Dr. Richard Wainerdi of Texas A & M has spoken to Dr. Paul Aebersold, an employee of the Atomic Energy Commission, and that Aebersold claims neutron activation analysis of Oswald's tee-shirt might help them determine whether or not Oswald had fired a rifle. The memo then notes that the Texas Director of Public Safety, Homer Garrison, has told the Dallas Police of Aebersold's remarks but has been rebuffed by Chief Detective Captain Will Fritz, who's told him the case was wrapped up without this evidence.

The next day, **11-24**, The Washington Post, in an article on the evidence against Oswald, echoes NBC's and CBS' bad reporting and asserts that a positive paraffin test on both of Oswald's hands indicates he'd fired a rifle. The L.A. Times on this day, in its rundown of evidence against Oswald, similarly details: "Police reported, however, that paraffin tests had disclosed that both of Oswald's hands had fired a gun. They said it was not likely that both hands would have shown powder marks if Oswald had fired only the 38-caliber snub-nosed revolver which was used to kill Tippit." This, of course, is not true. Finding nitrates on both hands of a suspect has never been considered evidence the suspect had fired a rifle. Instead, the finding of nitrates on both hands suggests either that Oswald had handled his revolver with both hands, or that his hands had been contaminated by an outside source.

An article in the Fort Worth Star Telegram is even more off base, and misrepresents not just the conclusions to be reached from the paraffin tests, but their results. It asserts "A paraffin test showed positive results on both the hands and *cheek* of the 24 year-old ex-Marine. This, officers said, showed that the man had fired a gun, *probably a rifle*." Later that day, after Oswald has been killed, Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade tells reporters "I would say without any doubt (Oswald) was the killer of the President... There's no doubt in my mind we would have convicted him. I've sent people to the electric chair on less." When asked about the paraffin tests, he says "Yes, I've got paraffin tests that showed he had recently fired a gun." When asked by an alert reporter if this meant a rifle, he repeats "A gun." This last statement indicates he knew full well that there was nothing about these tests to suggest Oswald had fired a rifle. And yet, the transcript to this taped press conference (as published by NBC in 1967) indicates he said just the opposite, and had instead proclaimed "Paraffin tests showed that he (Oswald) had fired a rifle recently."

If NBC had simply gotten it wrong, repeatedly, they weren't alone. The **11-25** Washington Post article

on Wade's press conference once again runs down the evidence against Oswald, and reports: "Paraffin tests for gunpowder on both hands were "positive," indicating he recently had shot a rifle."

Amazingly, on 11-25, the New York Times presents its own list of the evidence against Oswald, and gets it equally wrong. It inaccurately reports that paraffin tests showed "particles of gunpowder from a weapon, *probably a rifle, on Oswald's cheek and hands.*" Unlike NBC, and The Washington Post, however, the Times has someone to blame for their mistake. They cite a source for this misinformation; disturbingly, it's J. Gordon Shanklin, Special Agent in Charge of the Dallas FBI.

On **11-26**, moreover, with the case now wrapped up (much as Capt. Will Fritz had predicted on the 23rd), the FBI contacts Dr. Paul Aebersold to see if he can really tell if Oswald had fired a rifle simply by performing neutron activation analysis on his tee-shirt, as purported. A hand-written note in the margins of the 11-23 airtel (in which these test were first discussed), however, reports that Aebersold denied claiming such a test would give definitive results, and that he'd claimed instead that such testing was only "possibly helpful." Presumably as a result, he was never asked to perform these tests.

The NAA Tests on the Paraffin Casts

Apparently, other tests were on his mind. On **11-27**, Dr. Glenn Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) advises the FBI that (according to a memo from Seaborg's contact at the FBI to assistant director William Sullivan) "the AEC has at the present time a very sensitive detection process which might augment the paraffin tests already run on Oswald." The memo goes on to state that the AEC's expert in this field--the field of neutron activation analysis--is Dr. Paul Aebersold. Seaborg even gives them Aebersold's phone number.

Later this day, Roy Jevons, Section Chief of the Physics and Chemistry Department of the FBI laboratory, sends a memo to Ivan Conrad - Assistant to the Director in Charge of the FBI laboratory, and suggests they make arrangements with the AEC to perform the tests proposed by Seaborg, using NAA (neutron activation analysis) on the paraffin casts. While such a test could better establish whether or not there was gunshot residue on Oswald's hands and cheek (the memo asserts that the standard paraffin test is "unreliable") there are limitations to the tests. Jevons writes: "it is noted that the detection of such residues...would not necessarily establish the exact kind of weapon fired by him, the time at which he fired the weapon, or the number of times the weapon was fired. Accordingly, in view of the nonspecific nature of these results and in view of the massive evidence already available indicating Oswald's guilt, it was not felt that this type of examination would contribute essentially to the investigation and trial of Oswald. *However, Oswald is now dead and there will be no trial. In view of this development, it is felt that this examination should now receive further consideration in order to protect the Bureau against any possible future allegations, however unfounded, that if neutron activation analyses type of analyses had been conducted, one might have obtained extremely significant data.*"

Yes, you read that right: the FBI's crime lab had NO plans to perform these tests when they could be used to help Oswald, but, now that he was dead, they thought it a good idea to perform these tests to protect the Bureau. The possibility that Oswald hadn't shot Kennedy, and that performing these tests could have helped them discover his innocence, and have led them to pursue the actual killers, was never even considered. Even more disturbing, the 6 line paragraph in Jevons' memo after the paragraph cited above was redacted in its entirety when released to Harold Weisberg in one of his Freedom of Information Act lawsuits.

(In 2009, I found this memo on the Mary Ferrell website. The paragraph was no longer redacted. It now read: "*Such allegations, for example, might originate from relatively high placed individuals in the*

Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) charged with developing neutron activation analyses and who will recognize the publicity potential of such allegations." (FBI file 62-109060, Sec 5, p140) This proves, as if we ever had any doubt, that the FBI's main interest in performing these tests was political and to cut off speculation that they hadn't thoroughly tested the evidence. The redaction of this paragraph--which had nothing to do with National Security, and only concealed that the FBI was distrustful of Dr. Aebersold--furthermore, demonstrates the problem inherent with letting agencies redact their own documents, as they are as likely to redact items for political reasons as security reasons.)

In any event, with Jevons' memo, the FBI springs into action. On 11-27 Special Agent C. Ray Hall retrieves the paraffin casts from Louie Anderson of the Dallas City Crime Lab, and arranges for their delivery to FBI Spectrography expert John Gallagher. The memo regarding this transfer notes that the paraffin casts are now in seven pieces: the back, palm, and thumb of each hand, and one "thin slab from right cheek." Another memo on this transfer notes further that paraffin casts were normally thrown out by the Dallas Police Department after testing, and that Louie Anderson, who'd analyzed the casts for the DPD, had washed them and taken them home, apparently as a souvenir.

Disturbingly, even though the FBI knows more reliable tests are available, and will soon be performed, it continues to trumpet that the paraffin tests performed in Dallas support that Oswald killed the President. On page 19 of its 12-9 Summary report (written prior to **12-5**), it declares: "Following Oswald's apprehension on November 22, 1963, Dr. W.F. Mason of Dallas concluded, after tests, that paraffin casts made of Oswald's hands contained traces of nitrate consistent with the residue on the hands of a person who had recently handled or fired a firearm." As the report is on the assassination of President Kennedy, and not on the shooting of Officer Tippit, the inclusion of this information without admitting that, 1) per the FBI's own laboratory, these tests are unreliable, and 2) the test on Oswald's cheek was negative, is undoubtedly misleading and indicative of the FBI's desire to close the case without really investigating.

On **12-6**, agent J.J. O'Connor of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division meets with the AEC's chairman, Glenn Seaborg, and further discusses the matter. Seaborg offers the "complete and confidential cooperation" of his agency. Also on this day, O'Connor and the FBI's Spectrography expert, John Gallagher, meet with Dr. Spofford G. English, Assistant General Manager of Research and Development for the AEC. English advises that Dr. Paul Aebersold, Director of the AEC's Division of Isotopes Development, has a "propensity for publicity" that "makes him difficult to control," and that he will not be informed of the tests. This meeting concludes with the decision to "arrange a conference at the earliest possible date with operational personnel of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory..."

On **12-11**, Dr. Paul Aebersold of the Atomic Energy Commission writes a letter to Assistant Attorney General Herbert Miller, offering his services. He writes "We would hope soon to have more details on whether the method (neutron activation analyses) will give useful information to distinguish between smoke deposits from revolvers and those from rifles--by means of their distribution on the body of the person firing them and by the levels of antimony and barium (and perhaps other elements) deposited...Should you wish us to be of assistance, our research contractor in the criminalistics work, General Atomic in San Diego, would carry out the measurements--working directly with the appropriate government investigators and with proper safeguards regarding the physical evidence and information. The scientist in charge of this work at General Atomic is Dr. Vincent P. Guinn." As Guinn has already offered his services to the FBI, and been rebuffed, it could very well be that this letter is his attempt to get around that roadblock.

That same day, unknown to Aebersold and probably Guinn, the FBI's O'Connor and Gallagher meet with Dr.s English, Vandarryn, Swarthout of the AEC, along with Mr. William S. Lyon, in charge of Oak Ridge's neutron activation analysis unit. During this meeting it is decided that Oak Ridge will be "adequate to accomplish the necessary activation analysis..." and that "The work can be performed in a

relatively isolated laboratory to insure the proper security and control of the data." It is further decided that the AEC will "endeavor to bring Dr. Vincent P. Guinn, who has been in charge of all research efforts in powder residue studies at General Atomic Division of General Dynamics Corporation, to Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to act as a technical consultant on the matter. It is pointed out that the confidential agreement reached with AEC will be binding on Dr. Guinn and will include the few other technicians necessarily involved. Mr. William Lyons will notify the Bureau when consulting arrangements have been finished and the facilities at Oak Ridge are ready for the required analysis."

Attached to the 12-12 Jevons to Conrad memo describing O'Connor's and Gallagher's meeting is a list of 18 tests to be performed at Oak Ridge. Four of these are tests to be performed on the materials used by the Dallas PD (Gulfwax, Cheesecloth, Distilled water, and Diphenylbenzidine) in order to make sure these materials themselves have little barium or antimony. Four more are tests related to the cartridge cases of Oswald's revolver and rifle, to see if the gunshot residue of each weapon is readily identifiable. The other ten are controls. Test 1 is a test of a freshly washed left hand. Test 2 is a test of a previously clean right hand, after it has fired a .38 Smith and Wesson revolver four times. Test 3 is a test of a right hand after firing four times and reloading. Test 4 is a test of a left hand after firing four times with the right hand, and reloading using only the right hand. Test 5 is a test of a right hand after firing four times, and reloading, after which the paraffin cast is washed with distilled water. Test 6 is a test of the left hand after firing four times with the right hand, and reloading, after which the paraffin cast is washed with distilled water. Test 7 is a test of a left cheek before firing a revolver. Test 8 is a test of the "Cast of right cheek after the rifle was fired from the right shoulder (rifle was wiped clean with cheesecloth prior to shooting)." Test 9 is a test of the right hand after firing the rifle. Test 10 is a test of the left hand after firing the rifle.

On **12-12**, Special Agent C. Ray Hall contacts the Dallas crime lab and retrieves the paraffin and water samples needed to perform the tests outlined in Jevons' memo.

A letter written on **12-16**, from Defense Department General Counsel John T. McNaughton to Acting Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, indicates that at least someone is watching the FBI. McNaughton indicates that Katzenbach has submitted the FBI's 12-9 report for his inspection, and solicited his comments. Among McNaughton's numerous criticisms is one bearing directly on this issue: "There is no reference to a paraffin test on Oswald's face."

On **12-17**, the FBI's John Gallagher personally delivers the paraffin casts to the AEC's William Lyon, who is in charge of the neutron activation analysis at Oak Ridge National Laboratory.

On **12-19**, Roy Jevons writes his boss Conrad and relates Gallagher's activities. He also notes that Mr. Lyons "feels that it will not be until early in January, 1964, that all procedures, consulting work and facilities will be finalized so that the actual analysis of the casts from Lee Harvey Oswald can proceed." The reference to "consulting work" is most certainly a reference to the work to be performed by Dr. Guinn.

On **12-23**, Jevons again writes Conrad, this time reporting that Dr. English's office has called Gallagher to tell him about Aebersold's letter to the Justice Department, and that, as a response to this letter, English had informed Aebersold of the preparations already underway. He said further that Dr. Aebersold had been "briefed concerning the confidential nature of the examinations by AEC." At this point, Oswald had been dead and buried and proclaimed Kennedy's killer for nearly a month. From this one might ask, why all the secrecy? If the tests showed that Oswald had fired the rifle were they planning on keeping the results to themselves? Of course not. Consequently, one can only look at this concern for secrecy as a concern that the results will suggest that Oswald *had not fired the rifle*, and their feeling that such a revelation should be carefully controlled or, more likely, suppressed.

(This, apparently, was the beginning of the end for Aebersold. He wanted to run some tests to help

determine who'd killed his President, was repeatedly rebuffed, found out they were running tests without him, and was told to keep his mouth shut. A bit sad. A bit tragic. But not as sad and tragic, one might assume, as the next chapter in his life. A February 5, 1965 Associated Press article found in the L.A. Times reports that Dr. Aebersold, a veteran of the Manhattan Project and "one of the world's leading nuclear physicists," has tried to commit suicide by jumping "90 feet from a bridge into the ice-covered Potomac River." It notes further that Aebersold, still only 54, was on medical leave from his post with the AEC. A May 30, 1967 article in the New York Times brings even sadder news. The now-retired Aebersold has jumped from the top floor of a 17-story apartment building near his home, and was successful in ending his life. His name lives on, however. In 1973 the Society of Nuclear Medicine names its annual award in his honor.)

Now back to '63... A scratch sheet received by researcher Harold Weisberg from the AEC in response to a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit in 1975 shows that tests 2, 5, and 6, which test the levels of gunshot residue likely to be found on Oswald's hands, are performed on **12-26, 12-27, and 12-30**.

The insidious nature of the FBI's secrecy comes to light over the next few weeks. On **1-2-64** the Warren Commission's Howard Willens writes a letter over Chief Justice Warren's signature to AEC chairman Glenn Seaborg, asking him for information about "Lee Harvey Oswald...and Jack Ruby...as well as other information which you may believe to be relevant to our investigation."

On **1-6-64** the AEC's Dr. English calls the FBI's Gallagher to tell him of this development. He assures Gallagher that Seaborg agrees that "the FBI should have complete control of the examinations and the results" and that "any data obtained from these tests would be reported by the FBI." A memo from Jevons to Conrad on this date relates that "Dr. English was advised that the Bureau has no objection" to Seaborg's telling Warren about the tests. The real question, of course, is why hadn't Warren already been told about these tests?

On **1-7**, Warren Commission General Counsel Lee Rankin writes FBI Director Hoover. Rankin's been forwarded Aebersold's 12-11 letter to the Justice Department, and is "requesting advice concerning the feasibility and desirability of applying nuclear activation techniques to specimens of evidence."

On this same day Seaborg responds to Warren and lets the cat out of the bag. He admits they are cooperating on a "confidential basis" with the FBI and "are investigating the possibility of whether a very sensitive method of trace element analysis (the so-called 'activation analysis technique') may be of any value in further corroborating evidence already in hand..."

On **1-10**, Hoover responds to Rankin's letter. Paraphrasing a Jevons to Conrad memo from the day before, he advises that "work is already in progress applying this technique to certain phases of the current investigation." He tells Rankin that Seaborg has already written Warren and "reported the existence of this joint effort." He doesn't attempt to explain why they kept this "joint effort" secret from the commission for the first month of its existence, and why they only told them about it after being asked directly.

(While it might seem "big" of Seaborg and Hoover to finally come clean with Warren and admit they are conducting these tests, they may simply have realized that it was bound to come out eventually. The January, 1964, Journal of the Forensic Sciences includes an article by Dr. Guinn and others entitled "Neutron Activation Analysis in Scientific Crime Detection," with a subheading "Detection of Gunshot Residues," and a footnote admitting that their tests are "supported by the Division of Isotopes Development of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.")

On **1-11**, Chairman Warren has General Counsel J. Lee Rankin send a memo to the other commissioners with a "Tentative Outline of the Work of the Commission" attached. Under the heading "Evidence Identifying Oswald as the Assassin of President Kennedy" it includes the subheading "other

physical evidence” and the item “paraffin tests”. No mention of the negative result for Oswald's cheek. No mention of the NAA tests to be performed on the paraffin casts, as described in the letter from Aebersold.

The papers provided researcher Harold Weisberg in 1975 indicate that on **1-15**, **1-16**, **1-18**, **1-20**, and **1-21**, tests are conducted at Oak Ridge on the paraffin casts of Oswald's hands and cheek. On **1-16**, **1-17**, and **1-20**, similar tests are conducted on the materials used by the Dallas Police, in order to determine if they would have any effect on levels of barium and antimony found on the paraffin casts. These same papers indicate that on **1-22** and **1-23** the control tests outlined in December are performed.

During the **1-27** Executive Session, Rankin decides to tell the full commission that the AEC is performing tests on behalf of the FBI and Commission. Curiously, he tells them only of the tests to be performed on the bullet fragments, in order to ascertain how many bullets are represented, and nothing of the tests on the paraffin casts, which might actually demonstrate whether or not Oswald had fired a rifle.

On **2-18**, Mark Lane, who has been acting as a defense lawyer for Oswald, tells The Guardian that he has received a copy of the DPD's paraffin test results from the files of Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade, and that these results showed that the test for Oswald's cheek was negative. Over the next few days, this is reported nation-wide in newspaper articles, including one written by columnist Jack Smith. This, one can only assume, puts a halt to any plans harbored by the Commission to use the tests against Oswald (as was suggested by Warren's 1-11 outline of the evidence).

A **2-21** memo from J. Lee Rankin spells out that Warren Commission Counsel Norman Redlich and Melvin Eisenberg have been tasked with “Developing expert knowledge in certain areas of criminal investigation.” He lists “These areas, in the following order of priority, are: weapon identification; ballistics; *paraffin tests*; fingerprint and palm print evidence; handwriting identifications.”

On **2-27**, Dr. Vincent Guinn of General Atomic, whose early offers of help had been rebuffed by the FBI, but who'd later been contacted by the AEC, returns to center stage. A Jevons to Conrad memo relates: "Today, Dr. Vincent P. Guinn called the FBI Laboratory and spoke to SA John F. Gallagher. He advised that since the assassination a large part of their efforts have been directed to the determination of powder residues taken from the hands and cheeks of individuals who have shot a rifle similar to the one reportedly owned by Lee Harvey Oswald. He advised that there appears that triple firing of this rifle will leave unambiguous positive tests every time on the paraffin casts. It further appears that washing the casts with diphenylbenzidine does remove one of the characteristic elements (barium) but such washings do not remove all of the other characteristic element in powder residues (antimony). Further be advised that the tests to date indicate that powder residues are deposited on both cheeks of the shooter after the rifle is fired either one time or three times. It appears, he added, that these results can be obtained even if the paraffin casts are made 2 1/2 hours after shooting the rifle providing that the skin of the shooter has not been washed in the meantime. He inquired if any information could be furnished him relating to the actual casts from Oswald. He stated he read about those casts in the newspapers but has no way to confirm the stories. SA Gallagher advised he was not at liberty to discuss this matter. Dr. Guinn asked who in Dallas might be knowledgeable on this subject. He was advised that he could not be given any information relative to these casts at this time."

Guinn's memo is incredibly revealing. First, it tells us that, as proposed in the 12-11 FBI/AEC meeting, Guinn was indeed brought on board as an AEC consultant. Second, it tells us that he was tasked with unveiling whether or not Oswald *should* have had gun shot residue on his cheek, had he been the shooter. Third, it tells us he'd concluded that yes, indeed, he should have. And finally, it tells us that these tests were compartmentalized, and that Guinn was not allowed to know the test results on Oswald's cheek cast, and thus his possible innocence. (One can only assume they'd have no problem

with people finding out his possible *guilt*.) In any event, Gallagher and the FBI are now aware that Guinn is curious, and that they need to release their results before it looks like they're hiding something.

On 3-6, the FBI Laboratory advises Hoover that neutron activation analysis has been performed on the paraffin casts of Oswald's hands and face. Their report states that these casts were analyzed to determine if the casts "bore any deposits which could be specifically associated with the rifle cartridge cases found in the Texas School Book Depository." Their results indicate "No characteristic elements were found by neutron activation analyses which could be used to distinguish the rifle from the revolver cartridges." The report concludes that "Elements (barium and antimony) were found on the casts" but that "no significance could be attached to the residues found on the casts other than the conclusion that barium and antimony are present in amounts greater than would be expected to be found on the *hands* of an individual who has not recently fired a weapon." Note that there's no mention of their studying the "distribution on the body of the person firing" a rifle, as originally outlined by Aebersold. Note also that they fail to mention their comparing the cheek cast to the cheek of someone who'd recently fired a weapon.

On 3-6, the FBI's Dallas office is also told of these tests. The memo reflecting as much reveals that "The Union Carbide Corporation personnel at this site who worked on the actual analyses of these specimens with the FBI Laboratory examiners were Dr. Frank F. Dyer and Mr. Joel F. Emery." Yes, that's correct. After initially conspiring with some AEC employees to hide the existence of these tests from other AEC employees and the Warren Commission, the FBI had relied upon some members of the private sector to actually run the tests.

A 3-10 letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Warren Commission General Counsel Rankin recites, almost word for word, the FBI Laboratory report from a few days prior (words taken from the report are in italics): "*The paraffin casts from Lee Harvey Oswald were examined by neutron activation analyses at the Oak Ridge National Laboratories Research Reactor Site, Oak Ridge, Tennessee. These analyses were made to determine if the paraffin casts from Oswald which were made, chemically treated and washed by the Dallas law enforcement authorities, bear any primer deposits from the rifle cartridge cases found in the Texas School Book Depository following the President's assassination. As a result of these examinations, the deposits on the paraffin casts from the hands and cheek of Oswald could not be specifically associated with the rifle cartridges. Elements (barium and antimony) were found on the casts; however, these same elements were found in residues both from the above rifle cartridge cases and from the revolver cartridge cases which were fired from Oswald's revolver reportedly between the time of the assassination and the time of apprehension. No characteristic elements were found by neutron activation analyses which could be used to distinguish the rifle from the revolver cartridges. In view of the fact that the paraffin casts were not made until after the reported firing and handling of that revolver, no significance could be attached to the residues found on the casts other than the conclusion that barium and antimony in these residues are present in amounts greater than would be expected to be found on the hands of an individual who has not recently fired a weapon or handled a fired weapon.*" The letter fails to comment on the results of the test of Oswald's cheek, and if the residue levels were suggestive he'd fired a pistol, a rifle, or neither.

Also on 3-10, Jevons writes Conrad another memo regarding Guinn's 2-27 phone call to Gallagher. This memo re-presents Guinn's info in the context of the FBI's own findings (words from his 2-27 memo italicized): "Dr. Vincent P. Guinn has now informally advised us *that since the assassination a large part of their efforts have been directed to the determination of powder residues on paraffin casts taken from the hands and cheeks of individuals who have shot a rifle similar to the one reportedly owned by Lee Harvey Oswald. He advised that it appears that triple firing of this rifle will leave unambiguous positive tests every time on the paraffin casts. It further appears that washing the casts*

with diphenylbenzidine does remove one of the characteristic elements (barium) but such washings do not remove all of the other characteristic element in powder residues (antimony). Further, he advised that the tests to date indicate that powder residues are deposited on both cheeks of the shooter after the rifle is fired either one time or three times. It appears, he added, that these results can be obtained even if the paraffin casts are made 2 1/2 hours after shooting the rifle providing that the skin of the shooter had not been washed in the meantime." (Note that Jevons now holds that Guinn "informally advised" the FBI of his findings. This implies that they are not to discuss these findings with anyone else, or put them down in any official report.) Jevons continues (words from the 3-6 FBI Lab report italicized): "Examination of the actual casts from Oswald by the FBI Laboratory examiners and personnel at the Oakridge Research Reactor, Oakridge, Tennessee, revealed that the *elements (barium and antimony)* were present on these casts. However, these same elements were found in powder residues in both the rifle cartridge cases and from the revolver cartridge cases which were fired from Oswald's revolver; reportedly between the time of the assassination and the time of apprehension. In view of the fact that the paraffin casts were not made until after the reported firing and handling of the fired revolver, no significance could be attached to the residues found on the casts other than the conclusion that barium and antimony in these residues are present in amounts greater than would be expected to be found on the hands of an individual who has not recently fired a weapon or handled a fired weapon." The memo goes on to repeat the closing of the 2-27 memo on Guinn: "During the course of Dr. Guinn's conversation with Dr. Gallagher of the FBI Laboratory, *he inquired if any information could be furnished him relating to the actual casts from Oswald. He stated he read about those casts in the newspapers but has no way to confirm the stories. SA Gallagher advised he was not at liberty to discuss this matter. Dr. Guinn asked who in Dallas might be knowledgeable on this subject. He was advised that he could not be given any information relative to these casts at this time."*

Well, this is a bit mysterious, isn't it? Guinn tells the FBI that gunshot residue probably should have been found on Oswald's cheek, and the FBI dismisses this by repeating the words of its Lab report--that they couldn't tell by looking at the residues whether they came from the rifle or the revolver, and that the tests revealed residues greater than one would expect to find on the *hands* of someone who hadn't handled a weapon. THIS IS A NON-SEQUITUR. This point is only relevant if the test of Oswald's cheek was positive. Only then does their inability to identify this residue come into play. Was the test performed on Oswald's cheek cast positive? If so, why not say so in this internal memorandum? And why do they keep discussing Oswald's hands, even when the memo is about his cheek? What is the FBI hiding?

On 3-16, Melvin Eisenberg from the Commission meets with the FBI's Gallagher, in order to learn more about neutron activation analysis. The Jevons to Conrad memo on this meeting reflects "As you were previously advised, it was not possible to distinguish the powder residues of the rifle cartridges from the powder residues of the revolver cartridges." Once again, there is no mention of the residue levels found on Oswald's cheek cast, and whether this is pertinent to the question of his having fired a rifle.

On 3-18 Hoover sends the Commission a memo answering some of Eisenberg's questions.

On 3-23, Agent Gallagher receives a phone call from Louise Campbell of Science Magazine. She asks if NAA is being used in the "Oswald case." She is told "there would be no comment on this subject."

On 3-27, Roy Jevons sends another memo to Conrad, this one discussing the FBI Lab's contacts with Eisenberg. The memo notes that on 3-16 Eisenberg brought up Aebersold's letter from 12-11, and its suggestion that NAA could be used to demonstrate that Oswald had fired a rifle, and was told by agent Gallagher that "no elements were found during (the FBI's recent) tests to distinguish between rifle and revolver deposits" and that "nothing has been done subsequent to these examinations which would assist further in the interpretation of the data obtained." As Aebersold had suggested that, in addition to

the possibility one could differentiate between revolver residue and rifle residue, the distribution of antimony and barium on the body of a suspect might also indicate whether or not Oswald had fired a rifle, the answer purportedly given to Eisenberg is non-responsive. Is Jevons hiding that tests have been performed along these lines, and that they can be used to suggest Oswald's innocence?

Speak No Evil

A **3-30** Jevons to Conrad memo reveals that Eisenberg has just conducted a pre-testimony conference with the FBI's Cortlandt Cunningham, and has asked him to perform some quick tests using Oswald's rifle, paraffin, and diphenylbenzidine.

A **3-31** Jevons to Conrad memo reveals that these tests had been performed, and that they "once again confirmed the unreliability of the paraffin test." This is ironic. There was no mention of this "unreliability" in the FBI's 12-9 summary report given to President Johnson, when they used these tests to suggest Oswald's guilt.

On **4-1** FBI ballistics expert Cortlandt Cunningham testifies before the Warren Commission. Eisenberg takes his testimony. Even though the Commission initially intended to use the paraffin tests to demonstrate Oswald's guilt, they have now decided to trash the evidentiary value of these tests. Cunningham states: "We were interested in running a control to find out just what the possibility was of getting a positive reaction after a person has thoroughly washed their hands. Mr. Killion used green soap and washed his hands, and we ran a control, both of the right cheek and of both hands. We got many reactions on both the right hand and the left hand, and he had not fired a gun that day.... That was before firing the rifle. We got no reaction on the cheek... We fired the rifle. Mr. Killion fired it three times rapidly, using similar ammunition to that used in the assassination. We reran the tests both on the cheek and both hands. This time we got a negative reaction on all casts... there were none on the hands. We cleaned off the rifle again with dilute HCl. I loaded it for him. He held it in one of the cleaned areas and I pushed the clip in so he would not have to get his hands near the chamber--in other words, so he wouldn't pick up residues, from it, or from the action, or from the receiver. When we ran the casts, we got no reaction on either hand or on his cheek. On the controls, when he hadn't fired a gun all day, we got numerous reactions." Cunningham fails to state that these tests were performed just a day before, and at Eisenberg's request.

When asked if residues would normally be found on a man's cheek after firing a rifle, Cunningham offers his personal analysis: "No, sir; I personally wouldn't expect to find any residues on a person's right cheek after firing a rifle due to the fact that by the very principles and the manufacture and the action, the cartridge itself is sealed into the chamber by the bolt being closed behind it, and upon firing the case, the cartridge case expands into the chamber filling it up and sealing it off from the gases, so none will come back in your face, and so by its very nature, I would not expect to find residue on the right cheek of a shooter... You can see when you close the cylinder, and each chamber lines up, there is a few thousandths space between. When the bullet is fired, the bullet jumps across this space and enters the ramp and then into the rifling. The gases always escape through this small space. The loss is negligible, but the gases are escaping on every shot. After you fire this revolver, you can see residues, smoke deposits and other residues around the entrance to the rear portion of the barrel which is next to the cylinder, as well as on the cylinder itself... So you would expect to find gunpowder residues on a person's hands after he fired a revolver."

He then discusses a test he performed confirming this analysis, and supports the possible relevance of the test on Oswald's hands: "The tests were run on me. I was the one who washed my hands thoroughly. I did not use a brush, I just washed them with green soap and rinsed them in distilled water... To remove possible dirt from my hands. I washed my hands. The gun was then wiped off with dilute HCl to get rid of any deposits already on the gun, and I fired it in our bullet-recovery room, four

times--and then after firing I opened it up and ejected the cartridge cases into my hand, as I showed you earlier today. The amount of residue that you pick up on your hands from ejection of the cartridge cases was in my hand at the time. I then, under ideal conditions naturally, went back and had paraffin casts made of my hands and these were treated with a solution of diphenylbenzidine. The results of this examination were that we got a positive result on both casts, front and back. Many reactions in this area where I had ejected the cartridge cases in my hand were noted."

Eisenberg then steers Cunningham back on course—the goal is to trash the test, not hold up revolver tests while trashing rifle tests. Eisenberg reminds Cunningham "By the way, you testified this morning that many common substances will produce a positive reaction to the nitrate test, so-called paraffin test. Will the handling of an unclean weapon also produce a positive reaction?" Cunningham responds: "Just as much as firing it will. That is what makes this test so unreliable. Handling a recently-fired weapon that is covered with residues--you would get just as many oxidizing agents in the form of nitrates and nitrites on your hands as you would from firing it and in some cases more especially up here and around here you would." When asked if the FBI tests revealed any false negatives after someone had fired a revolver, Cunningham admits: "None of those were negative results, but they were not run under the same conditions... The only negative results were on the 20 people who were run as a control and who had never fired a gun, and even for those people they all got positive reactions at least on one hand." When asked why the FBI continues to perform paraffin tests if they have so many false positives, Cunningham confides: "Many local law-enforcement agencies do conduct these tests, and at their request the FBI will process them. They take the cast and we will process them. However, in reporting, we give them qualified results, since we frequently will get some reaction. Numerous reactions or a few reactions will be found on the casts. However, in no way does this indicate that a person has recently fired a weapon. Then we list a few of the oxidizing agents, the common ones, such as in urine and tobacco and cosmetics and a few other things that one may come in contact with. Even Clorox would give you a positive reaction.... There may be some law-enforcement agencies which use the test for psychological reasons Yes, sir; what they do is they ask, say, "We are going to run a paraffin test on you, you might as well confess now," and they will."

The irony of this last statement is apparently lost on Cunningham. While he claims the tests are used to pressure suspects, and have little scientific value, he has apparently forgotten that both the Dallas Police Department and the FBI, in the hours and days after Oswald's death, presented the nitrate tests on Oswald's hands as compelling evidence he'd fired a rifle and killed the President. A dead man can't be pressured to confess.

On 4-2, Hoover sends J. Lee Rankin a memo regarding the standard paraffin tests for nitrates. He reports that, as Cunningham has just testified, an FBI agent was tested after washing his hands and received positive results, and that this agent then fired Oswald's rifle three times, and received negative results. Hoover notes that "In prior experiments conducted at the FBI Laboratory, it has been found that the paraffin test is unreliable as to whether a person recently fired a weapon." It's funny how Hoover and his FBI said nothing about this in their 12-9-63 Summary Report, which presented the tests on Oswald's hands as evidence of his guilt.

On 4-7, detective W.E. Barnes, the man who administered the paraffin tests on Oswald for the Dallas Police Department, testifies before the commission. When asked by Counsel David Belin "If I were firing a pistol, would this pistol leave a nitrate on my hands that would be detectable by the paraffin test?" he responds "It should, unless it (the chamber) is awfully tight." This, of course, contradicts what Cunningham has just told the commission. Barnes then explains that the residue could show up on both hands if the non-shooting hand was near the pistol, and that washing one's hands can throw off the test. When asked if one would expect residue to show up on one's cheek after firing a rifle, however, Barnes responds "Chances are smaller on a rifle than it would be for a revolver...Because your chamber

is closed." When asked if finding nitrates on a suspect's hands would be more indicative of the suspect firing a revolver or a rifle, he confirms "The revolver would be more likely." He then acknowledges that he'd been asked to take the cast of Oswald's cheek by Captain Fritz and had never even tested a cheek before, and that the actual results of his tests are determined by doctors at Parkland Hospital. Nevertheless, Belin continues to prod him on the merits of the cheek test. Barnes asserts "Firing a rifle, you get your chamber enclosed with steel metal all around it, and the chances of powder residue would be very remote" and that "In my own mind, I didn't expect any positive report from the cheek to start with." He then explains that in his opinion they only conducted the test "to cut down criticism and to satisfy the public and to show the world that we tried to cover it..." When asked again if he'd expected any results from the cheek test, Barnes reiterates "I didn't personally, and I'm the one who made it. From my experience with paraffin casts and from my experience in shooting rifles, common sense will tell you that a man firing a rifle has got very little chance of getting residue on his cheek." He then readily admits that he's never read a periodical on paraffin casts, and that his ideas on the relative merits of the tests are strictly his opinion.

While Barnes' testimony about the meaninglessness of the cheek tests support Cunningham's testimony, his comments on the paraffin tests of the hands indicate he considers them worthwhile and of far more scientific value than suggested by Cunningham. It seems clear from his testimony that, should Oswald have been tried in Texas, the Dallas Police planned on dismissing the value of the paraffin tests of the cheek whilst simultaneously using the paraffin tests of Oswald's hands as evidence of his guilt.

On 4-15, a Jevons to Conrad memo reveals that Melvin Eisenberg is getting a little curious, and has decided to get a better understanding of neutron activation analysis. He has requested that the FBI's expert Gallagher obtain certain information for him. This information is contained primarily within Atomic Energy Commission quarterly reports prepared by Dr. Guinn. The final paragraph of this memo is a bit strange, and reveals that the FBI and AEC still refuse to trust the Warren Commission. Jevons writes: "although the above documents are public source information, Dr. Spofford G. English...(AEC) was telephonically contacted. He advised AEC has absolutely no objection to the dissemination of these items..."

On 4-22, Lt. J.C. Day of the Dallas PD testifies before the Commission. His testimony is taken by David Belin, and is supportive of detective Barnes' testimony of a few weeks prior. Day states: "Under my direction they made paraffin casts of the hand of Lee Harvey Oswald in Captain Fritz' office...I directed them to make it, and also paraffin casts or just of a piece of paraffin on the left side of the face to see if there were any nitrates there...(correcting himself) Right side...The test on the face was negative...It was just something that was done to actually keep from someone saying later on, 'Why didn't you do it?' Actually, in my experience there, shooting a rifle with a telescopic sight there would be no chance for nitrates to get way back or on the side of the face from a rifle...A rifle such as that one we are talking about here from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, in my opinion, would not throw nitrates back to where a man's face was when he is looking through a telescopic sight...I would expect more with a revolver with an open cylinder than I would from a rifle. Actually, for most practical purposes, I would not be surprised if there would be no nitrates from a man firing a rifle." Here, once again, the Commission relies upon the personal feeling of a witness in place of actual tests. How hard would it have been to have twenty men fire the rifle three times, wait a few hours, and then see how many tested positive for nitrates on their cheek?

Months pass. A 7-2 Jevons to Conrad memo reflects that Warren Commission Counsel Norman Redlich called the FBI on this date and "advised that he had before him a draft of an article to be published by the Reader's Digest in the near future which included the use of neutron activation analyses on the paraffin casts taken of Oswald's cheek and hand for gunpowder residues." The memo continues that Redlich knew the FBI had conducted these tests, and that the FBI Laboratory had sent a letter to the

Commission explaining their results, but that he couldn't find the letter, and was requesting a copy. Jevons then recites the basic findings in the letter he sent Redlich, including the by-now all-too-familiar mantra "In view of the fact that the paraffin casts were not made until after the reported firing and handling of the revolver, no significance could be attached to the residues found on the casts other than the conclusion that barium and antimony (the elements found in the residues) are present in amounts greater than would be expected to be found on the hands of an individual who has not recently handled a fired weapon." The final paragraph of Jevons' memo warns "Mr. Redlich advised that the Commission may want a deposition concerning these findings but he would consider it further and advise the Bureau."

Well, this raises several questions. For one, how did Redlich get a copy of this "draft"? Were prominent publications sending the Commission assassination-related articles as a matter of "courtesy," or did Redlich come by this on his own?

A 7-2 memo from Norman Redlich to Commissioner Allen Dulles, apparently written just after Redlich spoke with the FBI, gives a possible answer. Here, Redlich discusses the Reader's Digest article with Dulles without first explaining its subject matter. This suggests that Dulles, the former head of the CIA, had already known its subject matter and had in fact obtained the article himself--perhaps through "friends" at the Digest-- and had provided it to Redlich. The content of the memo is also intriguing. Redlich makes four basic statements: 1) "At best the analysis shows that Oswald may have fired a pistol, although this is by no means certain;" 2) "There is no basis for concluding that he also fired a rifle;" 3) "The presence of barium and antimony in the cheek cast is of no significance because Oswald might have touched his face with his hands after firing a pistol;" and 4) "barium and antimony are found on a variety of common substances." In other words, these tests are of no help in proving Oswald killed Kennedy.

This memo is nevertheless helpful to our understanding. In explaining why the cheek residue had little significance, Redlich writes: "I have been advised by the FBI lab that there had been insufficient experience with this technique to enable conclusions as to what would be the normal amounts of these elements on a person's cheek whether or not he had fired a weapon." This suggests that Gallagher had failed to tell Redlich of Guinn's tests, which showed that the levels on the cheek of one who'd fired a rifle were inevitably higher than the levels on one who had not, and gave numerical values to back this up.

On 7-29 proto-conspiracy theorist Mark Lane is interviewed on radio station WMCA. He tells its audience: "perhaps the most shocking piece of evidence is the statement by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's chief in Dallas J. Gordon Shanklin, quoted in the New York Times and he said "I have seen the paraffin test" It showed that Oswald had nitrates, gun powder on his hand and on his face, it is proof that he fired the rifle." The Chief of Dallas Police, Mr. Curry, was not so factual. He merely said "We have the paraffin test, boys" this is on November 23rd, "it's just come in. It proves that Oswald was the assassin." A series of FBI memorandums over the next three weeks culminates in Shanklin's stating that Lane's "allegation is completely unfounded." If the New York Times was asked to print a retraction, however, it was news they found not fit to print.

An 8-21 letter by Hoover to J. Lee Rankin accompanying a transcript of Lane's radio interview makes sure the Commission knows that the FBI is completely innocent in this matter. Hoover assures Rankin: "The alleged announcements made by representatives of the Bureau, which are discussed on pages three and four of the enclosed transcription, are completely without foundation as no such announcements were made."

The Return of Vincent Guinn

On **8-27**, however, a wheel comes off the Warren Express. A UPI international news service release from Glasgow, Scotland announces "The use of radioactivity in criminology may determine once and for all whether Lee Harvey Oswald killed the late President John F. Kennedy, a San Diego, Calif. chemist said today. Dr. Vincent P. Guinn, 46, head of the activation analysis (A.A.) program of the General Atomic Division of General Dynamics Corporation, has been working on the problem with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "I cannot say what we found out about Oswald because it is secret until the publication of the Warren Commission Report. But I can tell you about activation analysis and crime," the scientist said here." The next day, an article in the **8-28** New York World Sun & Telegram written in Glasgow goes even further, reporting "In the case of murder of any crime involving a gun," Dr. Guinn said, "there is a paraffin test where a wax impression is taken of the hand and cheeks. There is a need for a better procedure and about three years ago we began working on activation analysis. We bought a similar rifle from the same shop as Oswald and conducted two parallel tests. One person fired the rifle on eight occasions...it was positive in all eight cases and showed a primer on both hands and both cheeks. Then we took the casts of Oswald's cheek and put them in a nuclear reactor."

An **8-28** memo from Jevons to Conrad reflects the FBI's concerns about this development. Hoover himself has asked Jevons "What about this?". Jevons responds by reciting that the FBI and AEC had worked out an arrangement "to have our Laboratory experts work with the AEC contractor" to conduct NAA tests on the paraffin casts "on a highly confidential basis." Jevons reminds Conrad (and the director) that the results delivered to the President's Commission "added little to the investigation" and that "Guinn did not participate in the actual examinations nor have the results of these studies been discussed with him by FBI Laboratory personnel. It is not known whether the AEC or the President's Commission may have conferred or consulted with Guinn; however, Guinn is known to be a publicity seeker." This memo is disingenuous. Jevons wrote Conrad on 2-27 and told him of Guinn's phone call to Gallagher. Guinn discussed the use of NAA on paraffin casts in this phone call. On 12-12-63, moreover, Jevons wrote Conrad and told him the AEC was gonna bring Guinn on as a consultant. Either Jevons' memory regarding Guinn's role was MIA, or he was practicing CYA.

On **8-31** the Dallas Morning News runs their own article on Guinn's statements in Scotland about the use of NAA, entitled "New Test May Tell if Oswald Shot a Gun." The FBI's Special Agent in Charge for Dallas, J. Gordon Shanklin, who'd previously told the New York Times that the paraffin tests performed in Dallas proved Oswald's guilt, calls Laboratory Director Conrad and warns him about the article, written by Hugh Aynesworth. Beyond the statements by Guinn already cited, Aynesworth relates that Guinn "said when it was concluded that Oswald's guilt could not be proved or disproved from paraffin tests made by the Dallas Police, he asked the FBI to try the neutron activation analysis technique. Guinn described the experiment in this manner: A rifle similar to the one that killed the president was used. One person fired the rifle on eight different occasions and each time was given the paraffin test. 'Only one out of the eight experiments gave a positive identification,' Guinn said. Then they repeated the experiment using radioactivity. 'It was positive in all eight cases, and showed a primer on both hands and cheeks,' he said. 'Then we took the casts of Oswald's cheek and put them in a nuclear reactor. Remember that they already had been through the chemical tests which would wash particles away. I can say for the moment that we found no barium but we found antimony in every case,' Guinn added."

An article in the **September 1964** Reader's Digest brings Guinn's discussion of NAA to middle America. This article, entitled "Atomic Energy--Ace Detective," written by James E. Roper and Donald Robinson, quotes Guinn extensively and pushes for NAA tests to be performed in place of the standard paraffin tests for nitrates. It relates "NAA ignores nitrates, but detects any deposits of antimony and barium. These elements, used in the primers of all cartridges, are deposited on any person who fires a gun. Unlike nitrates, they are so rare that they do not collect on the skin of a person who has not fired a

gun. *Dr. Guinn's tests have already cleared several suspects.* When President Kennedy was assassinated, Dr. Guinn promptly suggested to the FBI that NAA tests be run on casts obtained from Lee Harvey Oswald, and highly secret NAA tests were run. The results, which included the discovery of antimony traces, were given to the Warren Commission investigating the assassination."

Oh well, so much for the Commission's plans to ignore the tests they'd known about since early March. As this article is clearly the article Redlich had been reading back in early July, one can only wonder why he hasn't prepared for its release.

On **9-5**, a Warren Commission internal memo from Melvin A. Eisenberg to Norman Redlich reveals that, with the Warren Report all ready to be printed, they have finally decided to interview a member of the FBI about the NAA performed on the paraffin casts. It seems clear Guinn's statements are the impetus. Eisenberg lists questions Redlich should ask the FBI regarding the tests performed more than seven months before. Included on this list are: "When the test was performed on the paraffin cast?"; "Were barium and antimony found on both sides of the paraffin cast of the cheek?"; "If so, doesn't that indicate that the casts were contaminated so that the whole test was worthless?"; "What is the meaning of statement in the letter from the FBI that there were more barium and antimony on the casts than might normally be expected to be found on a person who had not fired a weapon?" The leading nature of these questions indicates that Eisenberg, and by extension, Redlich, have decided, before even taking the testimony, that the testimony should focus on the irrelevance of the test on Oswald's cheek.

This isn't all that surprising. Let's reflect for a second. The tests were performed in mid-January. The test results for Oswald's hands have been mentioned in numerous reports and letters. And yet not once in all these reports has the test performed on Oswald's cheek cast been discussed, beyond that the tests were unable to differentiate between revolver residues and rifle residues. WHY HAS THERE BEEN NO DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIVE LEVELS OF RESIDUE ON A SHOOTER'S CHEEK WHEN FIRING A REVOLVER, AS OPPOSED TO FIRING A RIFLE? The use of NAA to test these levels, and the use of this information to determine if Oswald had fired a rifle, was first discussed by Aebersold in his 12-11-63 letter, and was discussed in more detail by Guinn in his 2-27 conversation with Gallagher. If the FBI had failed to perform these tests, they would have been truly negligent. And yet, they haven't mentioned these tests in their reports. Are they hiding something?

I believe so. Eisenberg's questions reveal his knowledge of these tests. He knows that there were problems with the test of Oswald's cheek cast, and that the FBI has decided that the cast was "contaminated." That the FBI has failed to say as much in any of their reports is more than a little suspicious.

A **9-14** Jevons to Conrad memo reveals that Redlich has called John Gallagher and has asked him to testify as soon as possible. This memo repeats the FBI mantra that "Deposits found on the paraffin casts from the hands and cheek of Oswald could not be specifically associated with the rifle cartridges." Once again, there is no mention of the test on Oswald's cheek cast, nor on the problems with the test discussed in Eisenberg's questions for Redlich.

On **9-15**, John F. Gallagher, the FBI's Spectrographic Specialist, testifies in private before Warren Commission Counsel Norman Redlich about the neutron activation analysis tests performed on the paraffin casts many months before. The men who actually performed the tests, Dr. Frank Deyer and Joel Emory of Union Carbide, are not called. With only a few interruptions, Gallagher testifies: "*Neutron activation analyses were conducted at Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tenn., on the paraffin casts from the right hand, the left hand, and the right cheek of Lee Harvey Oswald... The paraffin casts were analyzed by neutron activation analyses to determine if these casts from Oswald, which were made, chemically treated, and subsequently washed by investigators in the Dallas area, bear any deposits which could be associated with the rifle cartridges found in the Texas School Book*

Depository Building...The deposits found on the paraffin casts from the hands and cheek of Oswald could not be specifically associated with the rifle cartridges. The casts from Oswald bore elements--namely, barium and antimony--which were present in the powder residues from both the rifle, and revolver cartridges. No characteristic elements were found by neutron activation analysis of the residues which could be used to distinguish the rifle from the revolver cartridges. In view of the fact that the paraffin casts were not made until after the reported firing and handling of the fired revolver, no significance could be attached to the residues found on the casts other than the conclusion that the barium and antimony in these residues are present in amounts greater than found on the hands of an individual who has not recently fired or handled a recently fired weapon."

If Gallagher's words sound familiar, it's no wonder—the italicized words above are all in the March 6 FBI Laboratory report or Hoover's March 10 letter to Rankin quoting this report. From this it's clear that Gallagher was allowed to read from his report during testimony. (One can only wonder how many other witnesses were afforded this same "courtesy".) Gallagher's testimony goes a bit further than his report, however. He tells the Commission "It is my opinion that the person from whom these casts were removed may have either handled a fired weapon, or fired a weapon", and that his tests are more definitive than the traditional paraffin tests because "The determination of barium and antimony by neutron activation analysis is specific. Although there are commercial products which contain the elements barium and antimony, these components in many of these commercial products are not as available for contaminating purposes as are nitrates and oxidizing agents detected by the diphenylamine or diphenylbenzidine tests."

Gallagher does discount the value of one of his tests. Not surprisingly, it is the neutron-activation analysis of the paraffin cast of Oswald's cheek. He asserts: "Barium and antimony were found on the cheek casts. However, when the cheek cast was analyzed, both surfaces of the cheek cast were studied. That is, the surface adjacent to the skin of the subject and the surface away from the skin of the subject, or the outside surface of the cast...The outside surface of this cast was found to contain barium and antimony--actually more barium was found on the outside surface of the cast than on the inside surface...There was slightly less antimony on the outside of the cast than on the inside of the cast...I have no explanation for this difference...I found that there was more barium and antimony on the inside surface of the cast than you would find on the cheek of an individual *who had recently washed his cheek*. However, the significance of this antimony and barium on the inside of the cheek is not known...The outside surface of the cheek was run as a control for this particular specimen." Redlich then leads: "And therefore the presence of a lesser amount of barium and a slightly larger amount of antimony on the inside surface was one of the reasons why you could not make a determination as to the significance of the barium and antimony on the inside surface, is that correct?" To which Gallagher replies, "Yes, sir." Gallagher eventually states it was possible the higher levels of antimony were related to Oswald's firing a pistol.

While at first it might seem generous for Redlich and Gallagher to refuse to use the barium and antimony on Oswald's cheek to demonstrate that Oswald fired the shots that killed Kennedy, there is another level to Gallagher's testimony that should not be overlooked. Implicit in Gallagher's statements is that the levels of barium and antimony found on Oswald's cheek were lower than would be expected of a man who'd recently fired a rifle, but higher than would be expected of a man who'd just washed his cheek. Well, first of all, how would Gallagher know the levels one should expect for a freshly-washed cheek? On 7-2, Redlich reported to Dulles that he'd been told by the "FBI lab", almost certainly Gallagher himself, that the FBI had "insufficient experience" to determine what a normal level of barium and antimony on the cheek would be, and there is no evidence they'd studied it afterward. And second of all, no one testified that Oswald had just washed his cheek! More to the point, there was nothing offered to indicate that the cheek casts were rinsed nor that rinsing them would remove barium

and antimony at anywhere near the rate of removal obtained by washing one's cheek. As the DPD was purported to have rinsed all the casts, and as Oswald's hand casts revealed plentiful barium and antimony, it makes little sense for Gallagher to assume the cheek cast was substantially impacted by the DPD's purported rinsing of the casts. When asked how the rinsing of the casts with diphenylbenzidine and water had impacted his results, Gallagher was, not surprisingly, suspiciously vague, telling Redlich "I can say that the washing did not remove all the antimony and barium...Chemical treatment and washing will remove portions of the barium and antimony from the casts. This was determined from test casts which were studied in connection with these analyses. But it did not remove all the barium and antimony." (That the amount of barium and antimony rinsed off the casts would be less than the amount washed off a cheek is supported by an article by Raymond Aaron in the June 1991 FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. Aaron states "washing the hands removes *essentially all* GSR deposits." "Essentially all" sure sounds like a lot more than the "portion" described by Gallagher, but maybe that's just me.)

From this it seems that, instead of comparing Oswald's cheek cast to the cast of a man who'd just washed his face, Gallagher should have been comparing the amounts of barium and antimony on the paraffin cast of Oswald's cheek to the levels on the face of someone who'd recently been working with books, and had handled a pistol. (On 3-18 Hoover had sent the Commission a list of items containing barium and antimony; at the top of the list of items containing barium *and* antimony was...printed paper.)

There is just something odd about Gallagher's testimony. Could he *really* be contending we should disregard the implications of the LOW levels of barium and antimony found on the inside of the cheek cast simply because the *outside* of the cheek cast had been contaminated, and had overly HIGH levels of barium? Does this make sense? And, even if it does, shouldn't there have been an investigation to determine just how this cast had become "contaminated"? And isn't it suspicious that the test results discounted by Gallagher, which the Commission has known about since March, and which they were clearly hoping to leave out of their report, just so happened to suggest Oswald's innocence? And that Redlich didn't ask about the numerical results of these tests? I mean, at what point does *your* smoke and mirrors detector go off? Because *mine's* chirping like crazy...

Gallagher is the last witness to testify for the Commission. With his testimony, Eisenberg and Redlich complete their mission of turning the problematic results of the paraffin tests into a possible indication of Oswald's guilt. They had performed magic. Almost in plain sight. Not surprisingly, Gallagher's test results are not supplied to the Warren Commission and are not included in the hundreds of thousands of pages of assassination-related documents fed into the archives.

On **9-16**, Jevons writes Conrad to report on Gallagher's testimony. He states "SA Gallagher met with Mr. Redlich and after a conference with Redlich a deposition was taken." (One can only wonder what was discussed at this "conference.") Not surprisingly, Jevons submits that "In essence, SA Gallagher deposed that deposits characteristic of primer residues were found on the Oswald casts, which were taken from his hands." He then repeats the mantra "The deposits found on the paraffin casts could not be specifically associated with the rifle cartridges." There is no mention of the tests performed on Oswald's cheek cast, nor of Gallagher's acknowledgment to Redlich that this cast was inexplicably contaminated.

On **9-18**, Gallagher contacts Dr. Spofford English of the Atomic Energy Commission and alerts him to the 8-28-64 article on Guinn and the aspects of the article which are in opposition to the now official story.

On **9-21**, Jevons writes Conrad to report on Gallagher's phone call to English. He describes Guinn as a "typical 'high pressure salesman' with a sound scientific background who is actively promoting the

sales of his company's nuclear reactors and services." He reveals that "Since Dr. Guinn is an AEC contractor, Dr. English advised he would have Mr. E. Eugene Fowler, Acting Director of the Isotopes Division, AEC, contact Dr. Guinn as soon as practical and advise him that both the FBI and the AEC are concerned over the releases attributed to him relating to the assassination of President Kennedy. Guinn will be asked to cease commenting on this sensitive subject." Jevons also mentions that "Dr. Guinn recently received the American Nuclear Society's 1964 Award for 'particularly meritorious contribution' of 'a unique and proven tool to assist the law, clear the innocent and convict the guilty.' Well, perhaps this explains the FBI's avoidance of Guinn. Guinn believes that NAA can be used to establish a defendant's innocence, as well as his guilt. As made clear by Jevons' 11-27 memo, the FBI never had any interest in using NAA to test Oswald's innocence, only in using it to suggest his guilt should the other evidence against him have proved insufficient.

On **9-23**, Jevons writes Conrad again, this time to inform him that a copy of Gallagher's testimony "was furnished this Bureau for review and necessary corrections have been made. The corrected version of this deposition was returned to Mr. Redlich by SA Gallagher on 9/21/64. The changes were shown to Mr. Redlich and were accepted. A copy of the deposition showing the changes is attached hereto." (If anyone has this deposition complete with Gallagher's notations it should prove most interesting. That the FBI was fond of changing testimony is demonstrated by a 12-15-64 Jevons to Conrad memo, in which Jevons reviews the already-published testimony of his experts, including Cunningham and Gallagher. The memo includes a nine page list of changes Jevons would still like to make. Most of them are subtle. For example, he asserts that Gallagher's statement "However, the significance of the antimony and barium on the inside of the cheek is not known" should be edited to "However, *in view of the data obtained from the back of the casts*, the significance of the antimony and barium on the inside of the cheek is not known." One can only hope the FBI lab's experts were as careful in coming to their conclusions as they were in describing them...)

On **9-24**, the Warren report is released with references to Cunningham's and Gallagher's testimony. The overall pattern is to attach no significance to the paraffin tests, some significance to the neutron activation analysis of the paraffin casts, and none whatsoever to the analysis of the paraffin cast of the cheek. The report states: "The paraffin casts of Oswald's hands and right cheek were also examined by neutron-activation analyses at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. Barium and antimony were found to be present on both surfaces of all the casts and also in residues from the rifle cartridge cases and the revolver cartridge cases. Since barium and antimony were present in both the rifle and the revolver cartridge cases, their presence on the casts were not evidence that Oswald had fired the rifle. Moreover, the presence on the inside surface of the cheek cast of a lesser amount of barium, and only a slightly greater amount of antimony, than was found on the outside surface of the cast rendered it impossible to attach significance to the presence of these elements on the inside surface. Since the outside surface had not been in contact with Oswald's cheek, the barium and antimony found there had come from a source other than Oswald. Furthermore, while there was more barium and antimony present on the casts than would normally be found on the hands of a person who had not fired a weapon or handled a fired weapon, it is also true that barium and antimony may be present in many common items; for example, barium may be present in grease, ceramics, glass, paint, printing ink, paper, rubber, plastics, leather, cloth, pyrotechnics, oilcloth and linoleum, storage batteries, matches and cosmetics; antimony is present in matches, type metal, lead alloys, paints and lacquers, pigments for oil and water colors, flameproof textiles, storage batteries, pyrotechnics, rubber, pharmaceutical preparations and calico; and both barium and antimony are present in printed paper and cloth, paint, storage batteries, rubber, matches, pyrotechnics, and possibly other items. However, the barium and antimony present in these items are usually not present in a form which would lead to their adhering to the skin of a person who had handled such items." There is no reference to Guinn and his tests in the report.

Now painfully aware that his test results were ignored and that his comments have angered the FBI and AEC, Guinn writes a letter to the New York World Telegram & Sun on **9-25**. He complains "In my opinion, the person who is responsible for the version that you published should be thoroughly bawled out--it is the worst job of reporting I have ever seen... Your version was shot full of atrocious misstatements. Worse yet, the writer had the gall to make up his own statements, then put them into alleged direct quotations attributed to me... All in all, I think your newspaper should hang its face in shame for publication of such garbled and erroneous nonsense." He then clears up a few mistakes in the article: "We at General Dynamic did not work with the FBI on the Kennedy case. We offered to, immediately after the assassination, but our offer was not taken up by the FBI. We did carry out test firings with an identical rifle, on our own, in conjunction with the Los Angeles Police Department, and made NAA measurements on paraffin casts from this study which yielded valuable information. This information was passed on to the FBI with the recommendation that they undertake NAA of the "used" Oswald casts, which by that time had apparently been turned over to the FBI. We understand that they acted upon this suggestion, but we at General Atomic had no hand in their measurements, and have no knowledge of their results." Guinn continues "The statement, 'We found no barium but we found antimony...' is an almost accurate statement of what I said about the results we obtained from the test firings of a similar Italian rifle (not the one used in the assassination) following NAA measurements on hand and cheek paraffin casts after they had first been processed by the usual chemical test." It is revealing that Guinn never disputes the article's representation of his basic findings, i.e., that the paraffin cast of Oswald's cheek probably *should have* revealed plentiful residue, had Oswald fired his rifle three times at the motorcade as purported.

(While Guinn, with this letter, effectively resolves the question of whether he'd ever worked for the FBI in an official capacity, he is being deliberately disingenuous. In 1975, in a sworn affidavit, Bertram M. Schur, the AEC's Associate General Counsel, would explain: "Some analytical work on simulated evidence was done by General Atomic at the John Hopkins Laboratory for Pure and Applied Science in San Diego, California, using a 6.5 mm. Mannlicher-Carcano rifle of exactly the same type as the one involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. This work was funded under an AEC contract, and was done in furtherance of a continuing, independent research program that began in 1962. The work involved no evidence samples from the assassination and was not done on behalf of the Warren Commission." Thus, the official story is that 1) the FBI sought the assistance of the AEC, 2) the AEC told them they were gonna consult with Guinn, 3) Guinn was PAID by the AEC to conduct tests on rifles like the one purportedly fired by Oswald, 4) Guinn reported his findings to the FBI agent supervising the NAA tests, John Gallagher, only to have Gallagher report his own tests to the Warren Commission, without mentioning Guinn's findings, and that, therefore, 5) Guinn *never worked for the FBI, nor on behalf of the Warren Commission*." Wink-wink. Nudge-nudge. Get it? It seems "plausible deniability" is not just practiced by the CIA.)

An article by Guinn in the **October 1964** Journal of the Forensic Science Society confirms that he felt there *should have* been gunshot residue on Oswald's cheek. After discussing the use of neutron activation analysis in detecting gunshot residue on men suspected of firing a handgun, Guinn states "Similar studies with rifles and shotguns are now being initiated, but to date the only such studies carried out have been with one particular type of rifle. These measurements, however, produced very interesting results, namely, that firing of this type of rifle deposited *quite measurable* amounts of Ba (Barium) and Sb (Antimony) on both hands and *both cheeks* of the firers."

In **January, 1965**, a letter written by Guinn is published in Science Magazine, summarizing the August Glasgow conference and announcing that abstracts of the conference are now available. He doesn't mention the Kennedy assassination. Within a few months, however, the paper delivered by Guinn at the August 1964 Glasgow conference is published in the book Activation Analysis Principles and

Applications. It supports Guinn's account of his statements in that it confirms that he'd never claimed to have worked with the FBI or for the Warren Commission. Even so, it is still intriguing, and damaging to the Commission's case. Guinn asserts "an Italian rifle, identical in type to the one allegedly used by Oswald, was purchased from the same store--in a study carried out jointly by the Los Angeles Police Department and the author's laboratory. A series of tests was made to determine the levels of residues on the cheeks and hands of a person firing it for various numbers of shots. Paraffin casts were made, some tested then by the diphenylamine procedure, others by NAA. The diphenylamine results were useless, but the NAA method clearly detected both Ba (Barium) and Sb (antimony), on both cheeks and both hands of the firer each time. The chemically-tested casts were then also examined by NAA; Sb was still found, but not Ba. *Subsequently*, the F.B.I. examined the Oswald casts, which had been tested by diphenylamine in Dallas, by this NAA procedure." (Aha! The root of the confusion! Guinn clearly implied his tests pre-dated the FBI's tests and that the FBI conducted its tests as a result of his information. This, apparently, was not true, but neither Guinn nor the AP reporter reporting on the conference could have known this.)

Guinn's chapter in the book then updates his paper, stating, in a "note added later": "as described in the Warren Commission Report, the NAA measurements showed the presence of Sb and Ba on both hand casts, and the one cheek cast of Oswald, but the results were inconclusive, as they were found on the outside as well as inside surface of each cast, *presumably* indicating careless handling of the casts at some earlier time." Well, this is intriguing. By saying "presumably," was Guinn expressing skepticism? And, by telling his fellow scientists that the problem was that barium and antimony were found on the outside of the casts, without admitting that the problem centered on one cast--the cheek cast--was Guinn trying to hide the suspicious nature of the problem?

Perhaps. On the other hand, in the aftermath of the Warren Commission, Guinn doesn't exactly shrink from controversy. In a June '67 article in Ramparts Magazine, and then again in his 1968 book on forensic evidence, *Invisible Witness*, former FBI man William Turner reports that Guinn admitted that he and a Los Angeles Police Department criminalist named Raymond Pinker had tested a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle like Oswald's and had found abundant gunshot residue on the cheeks of those firing the rifle every time. (Amazingly, Vincent Bugliosi, in his monster book *Reclaiming History*, ignores Guinn's published statements and implies that Turner misquoted Guinn. Yikes. Perhaps Vinnie's monster book needed a little more research and a little less rhetoric.)

In any event, when first released, Turner's book wasn't so readily dismissed. In 1969, presumably as a response to Turner's book, someone popped up with a perfectly reasonable explanation for the lack of residue on Oswald's cheek. Well...maybe not so reasonable. In her book *Investigation of a Homicide*, Dallas Times-Herald Medical and Science writer Judy Whitson Bonner dismisses the significance of the paraffin test of Oswald's cheek by claiming "Although the hand test was positive, the cheek test was negative, but this is inconclusive because he could have shielded his cheek while firing." Yeah. Okay. Oswald shielded his cheek to protect it from residue, just in case he should be tested, but did nothing to protect his hands, and not only got gunshot residue all over his hands, he left smudged fingerprints all over the trigger-guard of the rifle. Right.

But that's not the end of the story.

Weisberg's War

Over the next decade, researcher Harold Weisberg and lawyer Jim Lesar use the Freedom of Information Act and repeatedly sue the FBI and the Atomic Energy Commission for Gallagher's test results, not only for his tests on the paraffin casts, but also for his tests on the bullet fragments. (The tests were reportedly inconclusive as to whether or not the wrist fragment had come from the magic bullet.) The Federal Government fights hard against their release. In late, 1970, the Justice Department

moves to dismiss Weisberg's case on the grounds that the release of the FBI's analyses "would seriously interfere with the efficient operation of the FBI" and that this would "create a highly dangerous precedent." On November 16, 1970, the Justice Department goes even further, arguing that "the Attorney General of the United States (the subsequently disgraced Watergate conspirator John Mitchell) has determined that it is not in the national interest" to divulge these test results. This tactic proved successful.

But Weisberg starts over. On page 414 of his book *Post Mortem* he discusses how on June 30, 1975, Assistant U.S. Attorney Michael J. Ryan sought to settle one of his lawsuits by delivering 400 pages of random notes and calculations. On page 437, Weisberg mentions that "Most of those hundreds of pages are the raw material of the testing of the paraffin casts... These paraffin tests were subjected to neutron activation analysis. They show deposits on the hands, which need mean no more than that Oswald handled any of the many ordinary materials that can leave the invisible traces that NAAs pick up. This means that he could have fired a pistol, not that he had. *There is no similar evidence on his cheek. The tests given me show that in seven "control" cases where others fired a rifle this evidence was left on the cheeks.*" If Weisberg interpreted these pages correctly, and Gallagher did indeed run "control" cases showing clear deposits on the cheek, then Gallagher *knew* that his tests provided compelling evidence that Oswald *did not* fire a rifle on November 22, 1963, and that he would have to tell this to Hoover and the White House, unless he could find a reason to distrust his own test. This should make us wonder if the excess barium on the back side of the cast was really as significant as Gallagher later testified, or was even on the cast when first tested.

In September 2007 I acquired copies of thousands of the documents given to Weisberg. I found only one "control" for the cheek performed by Gallagher. And that was for a right cheek after only one shot had been fired. As a number of the other documents discussed Guinn and his tests, it seems likely Guinn's tests were the "controls" mentioned by Weisberg, and that Weisberg mistakenly believed he had the actual results for Guinn's tests.

When one thinks about it, however, it makes little difference if the "controls" mentioned by Weisberg were Guinn's tests or Gallagher's. On 4-1-64 Cortlandt Cunningham of the FBI testified "No, sir; I *personally* wouldn't expect to find any residues on a person's right cheek after firing a rifle." This was weeks after Guinn, as a paid consultant under contract to the AEC, had told the FBI of his tests on this matter. It was months after the FBI had created a paraffin cast of a shooter's cheek, and performed NAA on this cast, and found measurable levels of antimony and barium. FBI Crime Lab Chief Ivan Conrad, Cunningham's boss, and section chief Roy Jevons knew of Gallagher's and Guinn's test results and knew, therefore, that Cunningham's "personal expectation" was dead wrong. And yet Jevons' 4-2 memo to Conrad on Cunningham's testimony fails to note this mistake. Cunningham's testifying as an FBI expert, and offering a "personal expectation" at odds with both Guinn's and the FBI's own test results went uncorrected. From this it seems likely that Conrad and Jevons and Cunningham were all well aware of Guinn's and Gallagher's results, and were afraid these results might be interpreted as clearing Oswald of Kennedy's murder, and thereafter sought to get around them by having Cunningham state his *personal* expectation. Significantly, the man taking Cunningham's testimony was none other than Melvin A. Eisenberg, who'd discussed the NAA residue tests with Gallagher on March 16, and had become familiar enough with the issues that on 9-5 he coached Norman Redlich on how one could ask about the "contaminated" cheek cast, and demonstrate that the test upon this cast was "worthless." From this it seems likely he'd conspired on this deception as well.

But maybe that's just paranoid conspiracy thinking. Maybe it's just a coincidence that Guinn's and Gallagher's test results could have been used to support Oswald's innocence, and that the FBI and commission just so happened to keep them from the public.

The Lost Report Re-found

In November, 2007, I located and acquired a copy of Guinn's report on his tests. This report was not delivered to the Atomic Energy Commission until February 15, 1965, long after the Warren Commission had been disbanded. I re-print an excerpt below (*with comments added*).

Rifle Studies

A study of the disposition of Ba (barium) and Sb (antimony) on the hands and faces of persons who recently fired a rifle was made. Previously, only revolvers and automatic pistols had been investigated in this study. The weapon used in these tests was a used 6.5mm Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, of exactly the same type as the one used in the assassination of President Kennedy. The test firing and hand samplings were performed in a manner such that the conditions of the assassination were duplicated as nearly as possible. All of the persons who fired the rifle were right-handed, and the firings were performed in a room that had a door open to the outside; only a slight breeze was blowing at the time. The exact wind conditions at the time of the assassination were not known to us. (Note: this is a reference to an earlier test performed by Guinn. As recounted in his July 31, 1963 quarterly report to the Atomic Energy Commission, he'd found that wind direction in relation to a shooter makes a large impact on the levels of gunshot residue found on the shooter's hands. He found that six times as much barium and 50% more antimony would wind up on the hands of a shooter with a slight wind in front of him than on a shooter with a similar wind coming from behind. As Oswald was purportedly kneeling in front of an open window, with gusts of wind throughout the plaza, one might reasonably expect his cheeks to have more residue than the cheeks of Guinn's test shooters, who were not firing from a window. We'll see.) The hands and cheeks of the persons doing the firings were not sampled until three or four hours after they had fired the rifle. During this time, they went about their normal activities, but they did not wash their hands or face. This was to duplicate, approximately, the time between the assassination and the obtaining by the Dallas police of paraffin casts from the hands and right cheek of Lee Harvey Oswald, the suspected assassin. (Note: this seems about right. Although Oswald's hands and cheek were not tested until more than 8 hours after the assassination, he'd been sitting in police custody for most of that period.)

...The Ba and Sb values obtained from the casts on which the diphenylamine test was performed were quite scattered. The Ba values are low, the only apparent exception being for the right hand of the person who fired three shots. This cast is the only one that gave a positive diphenylamine test (a test for nitrates). However, the levels of Sb on the casts were still well above normal levels, even after the casts were treated by the chemical test. It appears, therefore, that performing the diphenylamine test on the paraffin casts removes the Ba fairly completely but does not remove significant amounts of Sb.

As a result of these studies, the paraffin casts of the hands and right cheek of Lee Harvey Oswald were analyzed by neutron-activation analysis for Ba and Sb by the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Oak Ridge National Laboratory. The casts had been previously treated with diphenylamine by the Dallas police. As reported by the Warren Commission, the results were inconclusive--not because of failure of the activation analysis technique, but rather because of earlier contamination of the casts, presumably by excessive handling. (Note: once again, Guinn takes credit for the FBI's tests. One wonders if he ever found out that they'd performed them without him.)

The important casts in rifle studies are those of the cheeks. Large amounts of Ba and Sb on the cheeks would indicate that a rifle had been fired, as these elements would not be expected to be deposited on the cheeks when a revolver or pistol was fired, unless the revolver or pistol was held very close to the face, which is unlikely. The Kennedy assassination is an example of a case where unaltered casts of the cheeks (i.e. not chemically treated and not mishandled) would have been extremely important. It was alleged that the suspect, after firing the rifle, also fired a revolver (there were witnesses to the revolver firing by Oswald, which resulted in the death of Officer Tippett). Casts of the hands alone would indicate that a gun had been fired, but it could not be determined whether it was a rifle or a hand

weapon. High levels of Ba and Sb on the cheeks would indicate that a rifle had been fired, regardless of whether a hand weapon had also been fired. The normal levels of Ba and Sb on the cheeks have not been determined, but there is no reason to suspect they should be higher than the normal levels on the hands.

The Confusing Results and Resulting Confusion

Here are the results of the FBI's tests, which I received from the Weisberg Archives, and Guinn's tests, which I received from the U.S. Government. These tests were performed between December 1963 and February 1964. I noticed the initials RF on one or more of Gallagher's work sheets, and take that as an indication Robert Frazier, the FBI ballistics expert for the Warren Commission, was the actual shooter for at least some of the tests. Guinn notes that he used four different shooters in his tests (as designated by the initials DM, EM, B, and H). Gallagher's tests are noted as JG and Guinn's as VG.

LEFT HAND TESTS					
Date	Type of paraffin cast	(micrograms)	Ba	Sb	Ba/Sb
12-26 and 27	Left hand after firing revolver 4x with right hand and reloading. Cast subsequently treated and washed.	Specks back	.08	~0.02	
JG		Scrapings back	<0.1	~0.06	
		Specks palm	.43	.30	
		Scrapings palm	<0.2	.49	
		Total	.81	.87	.93
1-23	Left hand after firing a rifle. Cast not treated or washed.	Back	.022	<0.0011	
JG		Palm	.027	.0039	
		Total	.049	.005	9.8
1-23	Left hand after firing a rifle. Cast not treated or washed.	Back	.0185	.0079	2.3
JG		Palm	.022	(left blank)	
2-? VG	Left hand after firing a rifle. Cast not treated or washed.	One firing (DM)	.215	.022	9.77
		Three firings (EM)	.511	.083	6.16
2-? VG	Left hand after firing a rifle. Cast subsequently treated and washed.	One firing (B)	.144	.088	1.64
		Three firings (H)	.075	.095	.79
	Apparent impact from washing. (Washed/Unwashed)	One firing	.67	4	
		Three firings	.147	1.14	

The Left Hand Tests

This last result is interesting. While, on the unwashed casts, both Guinn and Gallagher found far more barium than antimony, the washed casts revealed more antimony than barium. As a result, it appears that far more barium than antimony is lost by rinsing. This is obviously what Guinn was talking about when he said there was no barium on the casts once washed. As there was still a measurable amount of barium, however, he should have said that there was far less barium in comparison to antimony on the

washed casts than on the unwashed casts.

Beyond that observation, interpreting these results is rather complicated. Since Guinn used four different shooters in his tests, we cannot say for sure that repeated firings of the rifle decreased the amount of residue, or that washing the casts actually caused an increase in antimony. We can note the trends however.

Date	Type of paraffin cast	(micrograms)	Ba	Sb	Ba/Sb
1-20 and 21	LHO left hand cast	Back	.95	.068	
		Palm	2.01	.026	
JG		Thumb	.19	.020	
		Inside total	3.15	.114	27.63
		Excluding palm	1.14	.088	12.95
		Outside surface	.28	.029	9.66
		Out/in by %	9.3%	25.4%	
RIGHT HAND TESTS					
Date	Type of paraffin cast	(micrograms)	Ba	Sb	Ba/Sb
1-? VG	Right hand after firing revolver 4x and reloading. Cast not treated or washed.	Specks	26.12	2.625	9.95
12-27/ 12-30	Right hand after firing revolver 4x with right hand and reloading. Cast subsequently treated and washed.	Specks back	2.0	1.7	
		Scrapings back	<2	1.32	
		Specks palm	<0.1	<0.3	
JG		Scrapings palm	<0.2	<1.7	
		Total	4.3	5.02	.86
	Apparent impact from washing. (Washed/Unwashed)		.16	1.98	

Oswald's Left Hand Cast

As there appears to be far more barium on Oswald's left hand cast than was found on Gallagher's and Guinn's "controls" combined, it might be ventured that Oswald hands were more heavily covered from his handling his revolver, his firing from an open window, or both. Since the amount of antimony on his left hand was only slightly more than on the the controls, however, this makes little sense. After staring at these numbers for a spell, I suddenly remembered that for his tests Guinn had tried to minimize the amount of residue likely to be picked up through handling, and had modified his palm casts to exclude the palm of the shooter's hand. Sure enough, when one excludes the palm from Oswald's left hand cast, one gets numbers much more in line with Gallagher's and Guinn's tests of unwashed casts.

This leads me to suspect that Oswald's casts were not rinsed off, as purported.

The Right Hand Tests

While the notation of "specks" on these tests is vague and could be indicative that these totals are smaller than would otherwise be expected, it's nevertheless intriguing that Gallagher's results support Guinn's observations, in that the washing of the cast had far more impact on barium than antimony. Once again, strangely, we see that the amount of antimony on the cast after washing was higher than when it was not washed. As the two tests above were performed on different days, this probably reflects a different initial number, rather than that the washing itself had added antimony to the cast.

Date	Type of paraffin cast	(micrograms)	Ba	Sb	Ba/Sb
1-23	Right hand after firing revolver 4x with right hand and reloading. Cast subsequently treated and washed.	Specks, Scrapings	0.139	0.182	.76
JG					
1-23	Right hand after firing a rifle.	Back	.032	.0097	
JG	Cast not treated or washed.	Palm	.02	.003	
		Total	.052	.0127	4.09
1-23	Right hand after firing a rifle.	Back	.0505	.002	
JG	Cast not treated or washed.	Palm	.257	.011	
		Total	.3075	.013	23.65
2-? VG	Right hand after firing a rifle.	One firing (DM)	.596	.028	21.29
	Cast not treated or washed.	Three firings (EM)	.529	.157	3.37
2-? VG	Right hand after firing a rifle.	One firing (B)	.094	.064	1.47
	Cast subsequently treated and washed.	Three firings (H)	.341	.051	6.69
	Apparent impact from washing. (Washed/Unwashed)	One firing	.16	2.29	
		Three firing	.64	.32	
Date	Type of paraffin cast	(micrograms)	Ba	Sb	Ba/Sb
1-15-21	LHO right hand cast	Back	2.43	.065	
		Palm	3.48	.051	
		Thumb	.412	.133	
JG		Inside total	6.32	.249	25.38
		Excluding palm	2.84	.198	14.34
		Outside surface	.14	.023	6.09
		Out/in by %	2.2%	9.2%	

The Right Hand Tests, Cont'd

Well, these results are more than a bit erratic, wouldn't you say? Still, some observations can be made. On five out of five comparisons so far, the washed casts had a greatly reduced level of barium when compared to the unwashed casts. On four out of the five comparisons, the washed casts had a slightly increased level of antimony when compared to the unwashed casts. From this we can understand Guinn's finding that washing a cast had more of an impact on barium than on antimony.

Oswald's Right Hand Cast

As the Ba/Sb ratio on both of Oswald's hand casts is nowhere near the ratio for the control casts once washed, and is much more in line with the unwashed casts, it seems more than likely the casts weren't actually washed. In Table 6 of Guinn's February 15, 1964 report he notes the levels of barium and antimony on 14 suicides, using various revolvers and rifles. This gives us 28 hands on which to compare the "normal" ratio levels on unwashed paraffin hand casts, where someone has fired a weapon. (It is presumed that these casts, not created by Guinn himself but by various coroners, were full casts, including the palm of the hand). The ratios are 6.04, 2.13, 2.84, .39, 1.86, 1, 5.27, 6.87, .74, .53, 1.82, 6.71, 1.43, 4.61, 1.68, 2.12, 17.83, 31.74, 5.91, 5.74, 2.09, 2.68, 6.70, 4.14, 1.07, 1.56, 9, and 11. Although the two highest ratios were for someone who'd fired a .22 long rifle, it's important to remember that the Warren Commission felt Oswald fired his revolver five times after he'd fired his rifle. This means that the ratio on Oswald's hands, assuming he killed both Kennedy and Tippit, should be more in line with the revolver ratios.

In Table 3 of his July, 1963 report, Guinn noted the levels of barium and antimony on the shooting hands of fourteen men after they'd fired multiple shots with revolvers. Those shooting three shots with a .22 had ratios of 3.66 and 2.75. Those shooting six shots with a .22 had ratios of 1.88 and 1. Those shooting three shots with a .38 had ratios of 2.13, 1.33, 3.22, and 2.02. Those shooting 6 shots with a .38 had ratios of 2.56 and 1.94. Those shooting 3 shots with .45 had ratios of 5 and 5.47. Those shooting six shots with a .45 had ratios of 2.87 and 5.13. And yet the ratios on Oswald's hand casts are 28 and 25 to 1, when one includes the palm, and 13 and 14 to 1, when it is excluded. Something appears to be wrong.

In the April 1977 Journal of Forensic Sciences, Dr. S.S. Krishnan published an extensive study on gunshot residue analysis, in which he used NAA to detect the levels of barium and antimony. While collecting the gunshot residue by a different method than Guinn, and testing the entire hands of his subjects, his data is nevertheless informative. In Table 1 Krishnan reveals that he ran 300 tests on 6 different kinds of .38 caliber revolvers, and found that the deposits ranged from .19 to 1.4 micro grams barium, and .35 to 5.9 micro grams antimony, after a single firing. This means that of 300 firings, the highest possible barium/antimony ratio was 4 to 1. In Table 4 Krishnan compares his lab tests to some actual shootings, and reveals that the quantities and ratios of deposits are often higher outside the lab than in. Even so, the hands of the three killers using pistols and revolvers on this table had ratios of 11.36, 10.67, 5.59, 6.27, 7.71, and 3.34. So why were the ratios on Oswald's hands better than 25 to 1?

That Oswald fired his revolver multiple times is at best a partial explanation. In Table 5 Krishnan lists the results of 3 tests where a .38 caliber revolver was fired 4 times, unloaded, the cartridge cases handled, and the shooter's hands tested. One might think the ratios would be similar to those found on Oswald's hands. But no, once again the ratios are far less. The right hands in this study had ratios of 12.98, 11.15, and 8.95 to 1, while the left hands had ratios of 5.22, 3.47, and 4.56 to 1. The third test was performed 3 hours after firing. It would seem that the ratios decreased over time. And yet, Oswald's ratios, after 8 hours, were 28 and 25 to 1?

There's just too much barium on Oswald's hands compared to antimony.

Date	Type of paraffin cast	CHEEK TESTS	Ba	Sb	Ba/Sb
		(micrograms)			
1-23 JG	Right cheek after firing clean rifle from right shoulder. Cast not treated or washed.	Scrapings	.087	.003	29
2-? VG	Right cheek after firing a rifle. Cast not treated or washed.	One firing (DM)	.144	.037	3.89
		Three firings (EM)	.492	.095	5.18
2-? VG	Left cheek after firing a rifle. Cast not treated or washed.	One firing (DM)	.300	.104	2.88
		Three firings (EM)	.399	.079	5.05
2-? VG	Right cheek after firing a rifle. Cast subsequently treated and washed. Apparent impact from washing. (Washed/Unwashed)	One firing (B)	.084	.020	4.2
		Three firings (H)	.091	.028	3.25
		One firing	.58	.54	
		Three firings	.185	.29	
2-? VG	Left cheek after firing a rifle. Cast subsequently treated and washed. Apparent impact from washing. (Washed/Unwashed)	One firing (B)	.186	.019	9.79
		Three firings (H)	.148	.066	2.24
		One firing	.62	.18	
		Three firings	.37	.84	
Date	Type of paraffin cast	(micrograms)	Ba	Sb	Ba/Sb
1-16	LHO right cheek cast	Cheek side	.30	.015	20
JG		Outside surface	.97	.012	80.83
		Out vs. in by %	323%	80%	

The Cheek Tests

Well, this is more in line with our expectations. While the levels of antimony on the washed hand casts were greater than the unwashed casts four out of five times, this phenomena failed to occur on any of the four cheek casts tested by Guinn.

It's also important to note that, as already discussed, Gallagher's sole test on a cheek proved the assassination rifle leaked residue, and that FBI Agent Cunningham's subsequent testimony was misleading.

Since it seems likely Oswald's casts were not actually washed, and since Oswald was purportedly sitting in front of a window when firing his rifle, moreover, one might assume the level of antimony on his cheek cast would be higher than the .095 micro grams found on the cheek of Guinn's shooter. But one would be wrong.

Oswald's Right Cheek Cast

Intriguingly, while Guinn's unwashed control cast revealed .095 micro grams of antimony on his shooter's cheek, Gallagher found but .015 micro grams on Oswald's cheek cast. This .015 micro grams is barely half the .028 micro grams found on Guinn's shooter's cheek even after the cast was washed.

When one considers as well that the level of antimony on the cheek side was barely more than on the back side (Guinn's own measurements were net) and that Oswald's hand casts had many times as much barium and antimony as Guinn's and Gallagher's controls, one might reasonably take the small amount of antimony on Oswald's cheek cast (as compared to Guinn's control) as an indication that he did not fire a rifle on 11-22-63.

Should one accept that Oswald killed Tippit, moreover, then one must also accept the probability that at least some of the residue on Oswald's cheek came from his firing his revolver five times, and touching his face afterward. Heck, even if he didn't shoot Tippit, it's clear he handled his revolver in the theater, and came in contact with some residue in the process. This makes the small amount of antimony on his cheek cast even more disturbing...and the larger amount of barium more intriguing.

Let's try and give this some context. In Table 1 of Guinn's February 15, 1965 report, he presents the values of barium and antimony found on the hands of 22 individuals who had not recently fired a gun. The levels for barium range from .48 to .01 micro grams, and average .13 micro grams. The levels for antimony range from .06 to .01 micro grams, and average .015 micro grams. Guinn states "The normal levels of Ba and Sb on the cheeks have not been determined, but there is no reason to suspect they should be higher than the normal levels on the hands." Since Oswald's cheek cast had .015 micro grams antimony, average for the hands of someone who has not fired a weapon, and since, as we've seen, washing the cheek casts probably had little effect on this number, and would have at best cut the original number in third, it seems likely the amount of antimony on Oswald's cheek was within the normal range.

When one looks at another report by Guinn, one can see that the amount of barium on Oswald's cheek may also be less than one should expect, should Oswald have fired his rifle three times. By 1966, Guinn had tested 18 more pairs of hands, and had found that the hands of people working in certain occupations, e.g., painters, carpenters and auto mechanics, had on average nine times as much barium on their hands as his earlier group, with a range up to 4.7 micro grams. As Oswald worked exclusively with books, and as J. Edgar Hoover had told the Warren Commission that printer's ink and paper were two of the products containing the most barium, it seems reasonable that Oswald might fall into this category. If so, the .30 micro grams barium on his cheek cast might also fall within the normal range for people in Oswald's line of work and fail to indicate he'd fired a rifle.

Of course, if one presumes the .012 micro grams antimony and .97 micro grams barium on the back of Oswald's cheek cast came from the front of his cast, one might come to a different conclusion.

But there is little to suggest the antimony and barium on the outside of the cheek cast came from the inside of the cast. The paraffin test performed by the Dallas Crime Lab, after all, "showed no traces of nitrate" on Oswald's cheek. If the barium subsequently found on the cheek cast, both inside and out, had at that time been on the inside of the cheek cast, it seems probable it would have shown up at that time.

There's also this. In an online discussion, researcher Herbert Blenner and chemist Tom Pinkston alerted me to the little appreciated fact that barium, when in a form that is readily soluble, is extremely poisonous, and that most commercial forms of barium, including that in gun powder, are, as a result, not soluble. This means that the barium on Oswald's cheek cast, if it were from gunpowder, could be rinsed away, but would not readily dry onto the outside of the cast afterward. This is supported by the fact that the ratios of barium to antimony on the inside of Oswald's hand casts were 3-4 times greater than on the outside of the casts. As a result, one can not reasonably assume the .97 micro grams barium found on the back of the cheek cast came from the inside of the cast. To be consistent with the hand casts, moreover, one might assume the actual amount of barium on the outside of the cast would have been no more than ten percent of the amount on the inside, or .03 micro grams. This would put the

level of barium on Oswald's cheek cast, inside and outside, at .33 micro grams, within the normal range of unwashed hand casts, and quite possibly within the normal range of washed cheek casts of men in his line of work.

Of course, if one rids oneself of the notion that the residue on the outside of the casts came from the inside, and instead considers that at least some of the contamination on the outside of the cast reached the inside part that touched Oswald's cheek, it is hard to come to any other conclusion than that the tests on Oswald's cheek cast, prior to contamination, were negative.

As a result, we can understand John Gallagher's position when testifying before the Warren Commission. There was no way he could explain these results without casting doubt on Oswald's guilt, the scientific basis of his and Dr. Guinn's tests, their ability to run the tests without contaminating the evidence, or the competence and integrity of the Dallas Police. He had little choice but to act as though the contamination of the cheek cast made it impossible for him to come to any conclusions. He had little choice but to bury his test results in the FBI laboratory files, far, far, away from the Warren Commission and the ever-curious gaze of the public.

But we can do more. J. Edgar's long dead and he can't fire us anyhow. When one looks at the diminished Ba/Sb ratios on the back of Oswald's hand casts as compared to the inside, it's clear that one should expect there to be 6-9 times the amount of barium on the back of the cheek cast as antimony, should the residue on the back have occurred naturally (or by the same forces causing the residue on the back of the hand casts). And yet there's 80 times as much! This means there's more than ten times as much barium on the back of the cheek cast as one should expect. This suggests that the cheek cast was contaminated by something other than gunshot residue. When one considers that ALL of Oswald's casts had a higher ratio of barium to antimony than found on Gallagher's and Guinn's controls, one should wonder if the contamination on the cheek cast was but a symptom of a larger illness, and that all the casts had been contaminated to some degree, quite possibly on purpose.

While looking online for support that gunshot residue tests are admissible in court, (a few single-assassin theorist fanatics had wrongly assured me that they were not) I came across a letter from Dr. Jon J. Nordby of Final Analysis Forensics, a prominent expert witness, and the author of five books on forensic science. In his December 10, 2003 letter to the Alabama Attorney General's office, Dr. Nordby makes several assertions that are relevant to this case. He asserts that, while a lack of gunshot residue on a defendant's hands is not by itself proof of his innocence, a lack of residue on his face and clothes, when a defendant is accused of repeatedly firing a weapon that is known to leak residue, is a strong indicator of his innocence. He asserts, as well, that "it is the ratio of barium to antimony that is important, not its simple presence or absence. To be indicative of GSR, in fact, its concentration should be 8.3 +/- 2 Ba to 1 Sb otherwise the elements may have a source other than a gunshot."

While my initial analysis of Ba/Sb ratios was spurred on purely by my desire to understand the data received from Gallagher's and Guinn's tests, it appears from Nordby's statements that studies have been conducted on these ratios, and that the peculiar ratios on Oswald's casts are indeed suggestive that much of the residue on his casts did not come from his firing a weapon. If so, then it seems more than a coincidence that Dallas Crime Lab analyst Louie Anderson, before turning the casts over to the FBI for further testing on 11-27, had taken them home. Did Anderson accidentally expose the casts to barium during their brief time in his possession? Or did he or someone working with him do this on purpose, under the mistaken belief the FBI's tests would not differentiate between the ingredients of gunshot residue, a la the paraffin test he regularly performed? The test for nitrates performed by Anderson, after all, "showed no traces of nitrate" on Oswald's cheek cast. And yet there was a measurable amount of barium on both the inside and outside of the cheek cast when subsequently tested by the FBI. Barium, of course, is a nitrate. While it seems possible the low level of barium on the cheek cast noted by the FBI was not readily visible when tested by Anderson, it seems far more likely the contamination came

afterwards.

In any event, no follow-up questioning of Anderson was ever conducted. The source of the contamination remains a mystery.

The Ongoing Significance

In 1977 Dr. Vincent Guinn was hired by the HSCA to conduct tests on the bullet and bullet fragments recovered from the hospital stretcher, the limousine, and the President's brain. True to form, he would once again announce his results to the scientific community before the government was ready to make an announcement. On June 25, 1978, the San Diego Union trumpeted "Lee Oswald Confirmed as the Killer," citing Guinn's speech before the American Nuclear Society as its source. Guinn's test results on the fragments, of course, could in no way determine who'd fired Oswald's rifle. Guinn's earlier tests, which *could* determine if Oswald had fired a rifle, and cast doubt on his guilt, were not mentioned.

There is an even more ironic aspect to Guinn's tests on the bullet fragments. When coming to his conclusion that the small fragment found in Governor Connally's wrist matched the bullet found on a stretcher, which meant that all the recovered bullet fragments could have come from Oswald's rifle, Dr. Guinn threw out the result for copper and relied on just one element. That element was...ANTIMONY. Since, when interpreting Gallagher's results for the test on Oswald's cheek cast, one must ignore the obviously bogus test result for barium, one should, by Guinn's own precedent, rely exclusively on the result for antimony. Only this time, the result suggests that Oswald did not fire a rifle. That's right, while some, including Kenneth Rahn, Larry Sturdivan and Vincent Bugliosi, hold that Guinn's results for antimony in the NAA test of the bullet fragments indicates that Oswald's rifle fired the shots, they can not do so without also acknowledging that similar tests using this same technology, for this exact same element, suggest that Oswald himself did not fire the rifle.

There's reason to believe Guinn was aware of this conundrum. A May 10, 1977 letter from Guinn to researcher Harold Weisberg and found in the Weisberg Archives proves most intriguing. Guinn writes: *"At the moment I only have time to answer your letter briefly, but at a later time I can perhaps fill you in on the interrelationships of J. Edgar Hoover, Paul Aebersold, Jack Gallagher and myself in the Dallas case. Jack Gallagher is a good friend, so I doubt that he would have cast any aspersions on General Atomic or my group except under orders to do so from J. Edgar. I have received Xerox copies of all the spectrographic analyses (of the bullet lead specimens) and neutron activation analyses (of the paraffin casts and the bullet lead specimens) conducted by the FBI Laboratory, in connection with the Dallas case, and have examined them meticulously. I have also compared their results with my large collection of background NAA data on gunshot residues and bullet-lead comparisons (including data on Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5 mm ammo). Once my report on all this work is completed, I will be glad to send you a copy. I would indeed appreciate receiving copies of any relevant material that you have available, as mentioned in your letter."*

The significance of this letter may at first seem illusory. On closer examination, however, it becomes clear that 1) Guinn had been provided Gallagher's data on the paraffin casts, and 2) Guinn was preparing a report for the HSCA on BOTH the paraffin casts and the bullet fragments. The report ultimately provided by Guinn made NO mention of the paraffin casts. It made no mention of the small amounts of barium and antimony on the inside of the cheek casts. It made no mention of the fact these quantities were far smaller than the amounts found on Guinn's controls. It made no mention of the uncomfortable fact that here there was a test that could clearly demonstrate Oswald's guilt, but that it instead suggested his innocence.

Guinn's HSCA testimony only underlines this strange failure on his part. After a New York Times article claimed Guinn had previously worked for the Warren Commission, and questioned his

objectivity, Congressman Fithian asked Guinn the delicately phrased question: "Did you ever work for the Warren Commission or work for the FBI *in connection with the analysis of these evidence samples?*" To which Guinn responded "Neither one. I think Mr. Wolf called my attention to the existence of this article, which I haven't seen, and I don't know where they got their misinformation, but *I never did anything for the Warren Commission*, and although I know people in the FBI, *I have never done any work for them.*" Pretty sneaky, that Guinn. He knew full well the confusion came from his working on the paraffin casts for another agency cooperating with the FBI, and not the FBI itself. He had reason to believe, moreover, that the FBI was sharing this information with the Warren Commission... But he failed to provide this information, and instead pleaded ignorance... Perhaps he was convinced that a discussion of the casts would lead to some uncomfortable questions, for which he had no answers.... Perhaps not.

Guinn died in 2002. The report on the casts he'd described never saw the light of day.

Apparently, he thought them inconclusive, as they were of little help in proving Oswald's guilt. In the April, 1979 issue of Analytical Chemistry, published shortly before the release of the HSCA's final report, he proclaimed: "*The FBI took the Oswald paraffin casts to the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and analyzed them by neutron activation analysis [NAA] for the possible presence of primer residue ... still there after the Dallas dermal nitrate tests. The effort was thwarted by the fact that the casts were badly contaminated, essentially as much Ba and Sb being found on the outside surfaces of the casts as on the inside surfaces--which had been in contact with Oswald's skin. The right cheek cast, if it had not been contaminated by improper handling, might have established that Oswald had recently fired a rifle.*"

Well, this is disconcerting. Either Guinn was lying or he had forgotten there was, in fact, three times as much barium on the outside part of the cheek cast as on the inside. Three times as much is not, last I checked, "essentially as much". Guinn also failed to explain how he was able to determine that the casts had been "contaminated by improper handling." In 1965, let's remember, he wrote that they were contaminated "presumably" from improper handling. Had someone confirmed that they'd placed the cast...on a barium-covered counter? Or picked it up with barium-covered hands?

Was he unwilling to consider the more worrisome possibility someone exposed the cast to barium--which one might assume was in plentiful supply at a hospital such as Parkland--on purpose? The NAA test for gsr, after all, was brand new. Did someone think the cheek cast would be tested while intact, or that the results would be considered "positive" if either barium or antimony were discovered, sprinkle some barium powder on the cast?

It should also be noted that, as the use of the paraffin test declined, the use of neutron activation analysis to detect gunpowder residue on paraffin casts only grew in acceptance--so much so that by 1986 the standard text Scientific Evidence in Criminal Cases would state "neutron activation analysis and atomic absorption spectrophotometry for the detection of gunshot residues on the hands have received widespread judicial approval." According to Larry Ragle, a retired Director of Forensic Sciences for Santa Ana, California, in his 1995 book Crime Scene, as NAA grew in acceptance, "the historical method of painting heated paraffin on the hands of the suspect shooter was selected as the method of choice" for collecting the residue. While this method of gunshot residue detection was prohibitively costly, and replaced almost entirely by the use of Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometers (AA) in the 70's and Scanning Electron Microscopes (SEM) in the 90's, I have found nothing to indicate that NAA tests for gunshot residue were prone to false positives or negatives, as would often occur with the standard paraffin test for nitrates performed in Dallas. A September 1990 article in the Journal of Forensic Science by Havekorst, Peters and Koons, for example, describes a study in which 267 random sets of hands were sampled using NAA or AA (which was generally considered a cheaper and slightly inferior alternative to NAA). Less than 2 percent of these came up positive.

By March 2006, in fact, testing for gunshot residue using these methods had become so routine that the FBI discontinued performing these tests themselves, asserting that local police labs could adequately perform these tests and that the FBI's resources were better spent on "areas that directly relate to fighting terrorism." A May 26, 2006 article in the Baltimore Sun, however, expressed doubt about the FBI's purported reasons for discontinuing the tests and revealed that the FBI had conducted an internal contamination study in 2005 and had found "the presence of hundreds of particles consistent with gunshot residue in several areas of the lab." This, naturally, resurrects the ancient question of whether Gallagher and the FBI Crime Lab had "contaminated" the Oswald cheek cast, or the Dallas Police.

As for conducting gunshot residue tests on the face as well as the hands...that also continued after Guinn's and Gallagher's tests and only gained in acceptance. A 1977 article in the Journal of Forensic Sciences by SS Krishnan asserted that gunshot residue could be found on the hands of those firing a rifle, albeit in quantities less than would normally be found on the hands of one firing a revolver. This finding, of course, could be extended to the cheek of one firing a rifle, which would be roughly the same distance from any gunshot residue as the hands. The 2000 text Current Methods in Forensic Gunshot Residue Analysis confirmed that "The face of the shooter can be sampled on occasions when firearms such as rifles and shotguns are used in the shooting. Test firings have shown that large amounts of GSR (gun shot residue) are deposited in these areas when certain types of weapons are used that cause a condition of blow back toward the chest, face, and hair." This book included the results of a "plume study" conducted in 1994. For this study, various rifles were fired in front of a high speed camera. Without exception, clouds of gun shot residue were captured flying back onto the face of the shooters. A World War II U.S. military carbine similar to the rifle used by Oswald was included in this study. The study found that the area of highest gunshot residue concentration after firing such a carbine was "from the crook of the support hand, and backward over the shooting hand, face, forehead and arm." The back of Oswald's left hand was, of course, nearly barren of residue. In 1995's Crime Scene, Larry Ragle confirms the current acceptance of gunshot residue analysis for the cheek and expands "By design, revolvers can leak...Rifles, depending on their construction and wear, can also leak. There is only one way to determine the leakage capacity of any weapon and that is to collect samples from the hands or face firing the weapon under controlled conditions while using the corresponding ammunition." Of course, this is precisely the kind of test performed by Guinn and Gallagher back in 1964.

The acceptance of gunshot residue tests of the face has, in fact, in some ways, surpassed even that of gunshot residue tests of the hands. The Elsevier Encyclopedia of Forensic Sciences, published 2000, notes: "In the case of a living shooter, the gunshot residue may be removed by washing the hands; it may also be rubbed off the hands onto clothing. Because of the possibility that gunshot residue may be deliberately removed or inadvertently lost from a shooter's hands other sources of gunshot residue should be considered. Gunshot residue may be deposited on the face and hair of the shooter or on his clothing. *Gunshot residue deposited in these areas will generally be retained longer than gunshot residue of the hands.*" This, of course, feeds back into the question of why, 8 hours after the shooting, there was plentiful residue on Oswald's hands, but so little residue on his cheek. One possible solution, of course, is that he did not fire a rifle on 11-22-63.

Also worth noting...While the paraffin test for nitrates performed in Dallas had already fallen in disfavor by 1963, its use remained widespread for years afterward. In April 1965, Dr. LeMoyne Snyder, one of the nation's top forensic experts, published an article in Popular Science defending the work of the Warren Commission. He was critical on one point, however--its criticism of the paraffin test. He declared: "I have used it often with good results...I still regard it as a valuable investigative tool." As late as 1977, in fact, Snyder still stood by his guns. In his prominent text Homicide Investigation, he assured: "In investigating the assassination of President Kennedy, the Warren Commission was

informed that the dermal nitrate test had no value. In view of the fact that Lee Harvey Oswald fired both a rifle and a revolver several times shortly before his arrest, it is very possible and even probable that a dermal nitrate test, properly conducted, would have revealed very valuable information." As detailed in his 1965 article, Snyder believed the test results for Oswald had little merit, as the test was conducted in an office after "Oswald's hands were probably contaminated by ink from fingerprinting." This last statement, which has no support whatsoever in the historical record, indicates that Snyder was well aware that something was wrong with the residue levels and ratios on Oswald's hands, and that, much as Guinn, he had rationalized this by blaming it on the incompetence of the DPD.

In January 1967, a detailed study of paraffin test results was published in *The Journal of Forensic Sciences*. This study concluded that the test was simply not reliable. Even so, it revealed some interesting probabilities, some of which have a bearing on the Oswald case. For one, the study showed that "Contrary to the general belief, it was the rifle rather than the revolver that demonstrated the broadest dispersion" of nitrates. Accordingly, 75% of those firing rifles were found to have nitrates on the fingers of their left hand. Bear in mind, this was after one shot. Oswald's paraffin test revealed no nitrates on the fingers of his left hand, after purportedly firing three shots with a rifle and five shots with a revolver.

An October 1974 article by S.S. Krishnan in *The Journal of Forensic Sciences* reported on a similar, albeit much smaller, study using neutron activation analysis to detect gunshot residue. This study found that one could predict whether or not someone fired a weapon with 80% accuracy by comparing the relative barium, antimony, and lead levels found on the test subject's hands. It also found that the closer the levels, the more likely it was the test subject had merely handled a weapon. As Krishnan's study found that one should expect to find on average 2.33 times as much antimony, and 1.66 times as much barium, on the shooting hand of one who'd fired a .38 revolver, when compared to his non-shooting hand, and as Oswald's ratios were 2.18 for antimony and 2.01 for barium, it looks like Oswald did indeed fire his revolver on November 22, 1963.

That the residue on Oswald's right hand came from his merely handling his weapon is discounted by a more recent study as well. For this study, as described in the November 1995 *Journal of the Forensic Sciences*, the hands of 43 police officers—none of whom had recently fired a weapon-- were tested to see if they had picked up gunshot residue from merely handling their weapons. The tests were positive for only 3 of them. This once again suggests—it is by no means conclusive--that Oswald fired his revolver on November 22, 1963. If this is so, moreover, then Oswald is undoubtedly the leading candidate for the murder of Officer Tippit. If one is to use gunshot residue tests to suggest that Oswald shot Tippit, however, one must simultaneously acknowledge that these same tests failed to indicate that Oswald killed Kennedy, and that this absence speaks volumes.

The Probably Knot

At the outset of the chapter 4b, I noted that, in order to demonstrate Oswald acted alone, the commission was tasked with proving that three events occurred beyond a reasonable doubt.

1. Oswald was on the sixth floor before the shooting, putting together his rifle and building the sniper's nest.
2. Oswald was in the sniper's nest window, with his rifle.
3. Oswald fired a rifle on 11-22.

1. Did the commission demonstrate that Oswald was on the sixth floor before the shooting, putting together his rifle and building the sniper's nest?

While the commission believed the answer was "Yes" I believe a more honest answer is "No." To the more precise question of whether or not Oswald remained on the sixth floor for the forty-five minute period beginning with the sixth floor crew coming down for lunch and the shooting, the answer is "absolutely not."

2. Did the commission demonstrate that Oswald had been in the sniper's nest with the assassination rifle?

While the commission believed the answer was "Yes" I believe a more honest answer is "No." As the only ones seeing the sniper refused to ID Oswald as this sniper while he was alive, and described a man in different dress than Oswald, and as Oswald was seen on the second floor within 75 seconds of the shooting, calm and collected, there is certainly room for doubt. As the threads found on the rifle matched a shirt Oswald had most likely not been wearing at work that day, the fiber evidence is actually more suggestive of DPD and/or FBI tampering than of Oswald's guilt.

3. Did the commission demonstrate that Oswald fired a rifle on 11-22?

While the commission admitted that they could not prove this point, the answer is not only a "No" but that they had evidence suggesting the opposite--that he had not fired a rifle on 11-22. Their failure to properly examine and explain this evidence is inexcusable, and suggestive of a prosecutor's bias. Or worse.

So, does all this lead me to believe Oswald did it, but that the Warren Commission was unable to effectively demonstrate as much? Did Oswald, in fact, shoot Kennedy?

Probably not.

If Oswald was clever enough to steal a large piece of paper from his work without being noticed, bring it home on his person without being noticed, wrap his rifle in this paper without being noticed, hide this package in the building without being noticed, sneak it up to the sixth floor without being noticed, put his rifle back together without being noticed, hit at least two shots on a moving target without any practice, and race back down to the second floor without being noticed, only to appear innocent and calm when confronted by a police officer, it makes little sense he'd be so un-clever as to use a rifle sent to his own PO box, under a fictitious name easily traceable to himself, and have an ID in this name on his person when captured. Something just doesn't add up. While the simplest answer is that Oswald acted alone and was a devious and unpredictable lunatic, simple answers are often fed to simpletons to stop them from asking not-so-simple questions.

Chapter 5: The Jigsaw Puzzle

The beginning of a comprehensive look at the many ear and eye witnesses to the assassination, in an attempt to determine what REALLY happened

Rashomon



At left and above: photos of the Dallas motorcade. Governor John Connally and his wife Nellie sit in front of President John F. Kennedy and his wife Jackie. Governor Connally looks a bit nervous.



At left: another charming photo of the Governor.

At right: a crop from a photo by Robert Croft, taken just before the shots.



For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Rashomon

Rashomon is the title of a 1950 film by Japanese film-maker Akira Kurosawa. In the film the same event is recounted by four different participants, none of whom is completely reliable. Similarly, over the course of the next few chapters, we'll be looking at the statements of the many witnesses to the shooting, both before the conclusions of the Warren Commission, and afterward, to see if they can help us come to any conclusions on how the shots were fired.

So, why bother? You might ask.. Everybody knows that eyewitnesses aren't reliable. Well, that isn't really true. While everybody knows the impressions of one witness can't be trusted, everybody also knows that the statements of numerous witnesses should never be ignored.

Let's discuss, as an analogy, a party. Say we were invited to a big bash, but were not able to attend. Say we called around the next day to find out what happened. Say that five friends tell us that Mick Jagger showed up at the bash. We'd believe it, right? Now consider that two said he arrived at 10:30, while the other three said he arrived at 11:00. Well, this wouldn't make us think he'd actually never showed, now would it? If we actually cared what time he'd showed, we'd ask more questions, and piece together a puzzle. Say one of those thinking Jagger got there at 10:30 remembered looking at his watch when Jagger arrived. Say the other one thinking Jagger showed up at 10:30 remembered Jagger being at the party for a half-hour or so before going into a bathroom when the 11:00 news came on. Say one of those thinking Jagger showed up at 11:00 remembered his heading down a hall towards a bathroom at 11:00. Say another one of those thinking he'd got there at 11:00 remembered standing in a hall at 11:05, waiting for someone to get out of the bathroom, only to find it was Mick Jagger. Say the third person

claiming Jagger got there at 11:00 remembered someone telling him around midnight that Jagger had been there about an hour. Well, from the statements of these five people it's quite clear Jagger got there at 10:30, even though only a minority of them believed this to be true. A simple voice count on the time of Jagger's arrival was misleading. But a STUDY of their statements was conclusive.

By the end of Rashomon, most viewers have a similar feeling about what really happened to the characters in the movie, even though this story—the one the viewers usually come to decide is the real story—is never depicted in the movie. I suspect as much is true with the Kennedy assassination; that is, I suspect that by reading the many divergent accounts of the assassination we can come to a conclusion not necessarily described by any one person.

The LPM Scenario

While previously we have used the contemporaneous statements of the eyewitnesses to show how the conclusions of the FBI and Warren Commission were, well...un-Warren-ted (sorry), in this section we will try to make sense of what on the surface appears to be nonsense--the eyewitness testimony in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Those who have attempted similarly comprehensive studies of the eyewitness evidence in the past have usually broken the evidence down by the number of shots heard by the witnesses and from where the witnesses believed the shots were fired. This approach, however, has its limitations. The first shot heard by some witnesses was clearly not the first shot heard by others, etc. Due to these complicating factors, I've found that the best way to effectively demonstrate that the current single-assassin theorist scenario—a first shot miss at Zapruder frame 160, a single-bullet striking Kennedy and Connally at Zapruder frame 224, and a fatal head shot at Zapruder frame 313 (from hereon referred to as the LPM scenario in honor of its chief proponents, Dr. John Lattimer, Gerald Posner, and animator Dale Myers)—is an *absolute myth* is to go through the eyewitnesses one by one and analyze their statements and testimony. I hope you'll see this out.

My inspiration in undertaking this examination came in part from re-reading the earwitness section of an earlier presentation. While doing so, I realized that everyone who heard three shots and who described the last two shots as being closer together than the first and second was simultaneously stating that the first shot hit President Kennedy. This comes from our familiarity with the Zapruder film. When one watches the film it is obvious that Kennedy is not hit before frame 188 but is hit by frame 224. It is also obvious that Kennedy is hit again at frame 313. For there to have been a first shot miss fired before these two obvious shots, and for the shots at 190-224 and 313 to have been fired closer together than the first shot miss and the second shot hit between 190-224, this first shot miss would have to have been fired at frame 132 or earlier, far earlier than proposed by even the most ardent single-assassin theorists, save one (Max Holland, whose outlandish claims are discussed below). If one grants that the *first* shot hit Kennedy between frames 190 and 224, however, then the second shot could have been fired around frame 260 and could have been closer to the presumed third shot at 313 than the first shot. The problem with this "second shot miss" theory, however, is that, through the research mostly of single-assassin theorists, the moment of the bullet's impact on Connally has now been established as occurring at frame 224. This is seemingly too close to 313 for Oswald to have aimed and fired a shot in-between. Well, how about the third shot having missed, then? Unfortunately for single-assassin theorists, while there is plentiful eyewitness evidence for a third-shot miss, there is no evidence that this shot was fired as long as 2.3-2.8 seconds after the shot at 313. This means the single-assassin theory is now **DEPENDENT** on a first shot miss fired before frame 173.

This mythical miss has been discussed and demonstrated so often and so convincingly, through countless simulations on TV, that most Americans have no idea that the Warren Commission discounted the likelihood of such a shot and that the eyewitness evidence offers virtually no support—not even

through cherry-picking—for this miss. Although much of the evidence for a first shot hit has been previously discussed--Physicist Don Olson and Criminalist Ralph Turner presented evidence for such a hit to the Academy of Forensic Sciences on February 25, 1971--it is now time to set the story straight, for once and for all: there was no first shot miss.

Mr. Holland's Colossal Blunder

On 2-19-07, long after I completed my study of the eyewitness evidence, the presumably sane historian Max Holland unveiled his theory that the first shot occurred when Kennedy was just making the turn onto Elm Street, 1.4 seconds before Zapruder starts filming the motorcade at frame 133. This is at odds with the evidence and signifies a desperate attempt to make the eyewitness evidence fit the single-assassin theory. On November 22, 2007, the New York Times published an Op-Ed piece by Holland further pushing this theory. In this piece, Holland wrote:

"In May 1964, with the help of surveyors, the Warren Commission first considered the idea that a shot could have been fired before Zapruder restarted his camera. The commission later heard testimony that included references to what the staff labeled "Position A." It did not appear on the Zapruder film, but represented the "first point at which a person in the sixth-floor window of the book building ... could have gotten a shot at the president after the car had rounded the corner."

If the commission had followed up this insight, it would have conceivably been able to describe the duration and intervals of the shooting sequence: that Oswald fired three shots in approximately 11.2 seconds, with intervals of 6.3 seconds and 4.9 seconds between the shots."

In February 2008, on Nation Public Radio, Holland was back at it, telling a nation of radio listeners: "It's always been a presumption, which I think turns out to be unwarranted, that the whole assassination was captured on the Zapruder film, because it is so gruesome to watch the second and third shots that people naturally thought the first one must be on it also. In fact I believe that the first shot occurred just before Zapruder started filming. That means three shots in a little over 11 seconds which relatively speaking is all the time in the world that he needed."

This latest statement by Holland spurred Dale Myers to respond, via his online blog: "Of course, it's *never* been a presumption, as Max Holland claims, that all three shots were fired while Zapruder's camera was turning. There is just *no credible evidence* that any shots were fired before the first frame was exposed, despite Holland's past and present claims. I agree with (former Senator Daniel Patrick) Moynihan's sentiments – 'You're entitled to your own opinions, but not your own facts.' When it comes to an early, pre-Zapruder film shot, Mr. Holland has offered up a spade full of supportive facts – all of his own making."

On this point, Myers and I are in full agreement. The fact that virtually every prominent single-assassin theorist had joined virtually every prominent conspiracy theorist in decrying the silliness of his theory, however, did little to dissuade Holland. In November, 2008, on his website, he returned with another installment, 11 Seconds in Dallas Redux, once again pushing his pet theory. In this one, he cited the recollections of three Secret Service Agents, Ready, Hickey and Bennett, and compared them to their actions in the Zapruder film, in order to conclude the first shot was fired long before anyone had previously believed.

There was a problem with this: the statements of NONE of these men supported Holland's analysis. Ready says he turned to the right after the first shot; Holland decides instead that he turned to the left after the first shot, and did not turn to the right until after the second shot. Hickey also says he turned to the right after the first shot. Holland decides instead that he too looked to his left after the first shot, and did not turn to his right until after the second shot. And, finally, Bennett says he looked to his left after the first shot and saw the impact of the second shot on Kennedy's back, immediately followed by a

third shot striking Kennedy's head. Holland decides instead that, unbeknownst to Bennett, Bennett had looked away from Kennedy between the second and third shots, and that, furthermore, the shot Bennett thought immediately followed the second shot was in fact not fired for 5 tension-filled seconds.

Holland then defended his re-interpretation of their words:

Human beings are not recording machines. An eyewitness to a crime is being asked "to be something and do something that a normal human being was not created to be or do." Recollections are frequently imperfect to begin with, no matter how vivid. Subsequently, they are prone to being subtly influenced by what others think and say, as well as information learned after the fact. If a person is in a responsible position, such as Ready and Hickey were, recollections can be edited unconsciously.

The only approach that makes sense is to examine each recollection carefully and weigh it against the totality of the ballistic, forensic, visual, and aural evidence gathered. A witness can offer one critical detail that is accurate and get almost everything else wrong. Another person's recollection, like that of Glen Bennett, may prove accurate in every important respect, although even Bennett failed to note that he was briefly distracted, after the second shot, away from his concentration on the president.

While Holland seems strangely sure of himself, we must ask how this can be? Far from examining "each recollection carefully and weighing it against the totality of the ballistic, forensic, visual, and aural evidence gathered", as claimed, Holland has twisted a few statements into supporting an otherwise unsupportable scenario, and then willfully ignored the statements of dozens of witnesses contradicting his twisted view of events. If this is what it takes to become a successful historian, respected by the mainstream media, and published in the New York Times, please count me out.

Unfortunately, that appears to be the case--that I've been counted out. In early 2011, I was approached by an historian in contact with the National Geographic Channel. He said they were looking for new theories to test, and that he would send them my recommendations. I sent him my recommendations, which he forwarded to his contact at the channel. I never heard back. It was to my sheer horror, then, that, many months later, when the channel broadcast its new documentary on the assassination, the theory they were testing was Holland's silly theory--a theory not supported by a single expert on the assassination, even those claiming Oswald acted alone.

As if to add insult to injury, moreover, the program was chock full of deceptions and lies. As but one example of its sheer awfulness, Holland, in the program, uses Amos Euins as his prime witness for the early shot he proposes. The narrator then claims ""Euins has lived most of his life outside the media spotlight, but his story remains the same--that all three shots...came from the sixth floor of the book depository, not from the grassy knoll." There was just one problem with this...a HUGE problem. Euins had testified in 1964 that he'd heard FOUR shots, not three! Holland, who fancies himself a "scholar" on the assassination, was certainly aware of this, and his failure to either mention this in the program, or warn viewers that the program was seriously misleading, reveals his contempt for both his audience and the truth, IMHO.

And that's just the tip of the iceberg. The sheer awfulness of JFK: The Lost Bullet is almost beyond description. Within a few days of its airing, the two eyewitnesses beyond Euins presented in the program, James Tague and Tina Pender, had both been outed as skeptics regarding Holland's theory. James Tague said Holland was "full of crap" in an email to a researcher, and Dan Sullivan, a photo analyst who'd worked on the program, admitted, in an article on Tina Pender's appearance, that "*The first bullet was actually shot way before they thought,*" with Tina being one of the "they." Sullivan then claimed: "*and it hit the traffic light...Consequently, we went back, looked at images of the traffic light, sure enough there was a hole.*"

Well, this bit about the hole shot another hole in Holland's credibility.

You see, although the program had pushed that no one saw the impact of the first shot proposed by Holland because it had been deflected by a traffic light, and Sullivan had claimed they'd found a hole in a traffic light, Holland had, in the program, only claimed a "white spot" was visible on images of the traffic light. Hmmm... Was Holland trying to have it both ways--let his audience think a bullet had hit the traffic light, without actually claiming what they'd found was a hole?

Apparently, so. A technical report was added to Holland's Washington Decoded website on 11-20-11, the day JFK: The Lost Bullet was broadcast. In this report, Holland admitted that in June 2011 the producers of JFK: The Lost Bullet had obtained and studied a traffic light identical to the one Sullivan claimed had been hit by a bullet on 11-22-63, and had concluded: **"After hanging the exemplar light and viewing it from roughly the same perspective as the USSS training film, the view through the drilled "bullet" hole showed that the intervening base lip, that was presumed to form a deflection surface, obscures the view. The viewing also revealed that a gap opening exists in the corner between the right and bottom back plates and produces a visible unobstructed hole in the same location as the "possible bullet hole" that was observed in the USSS training film. Consequently, the hole was eliminated as a possible bullet hole."**

But that wasn't all. The report then admitted that in September 2011 the producers had contracted with the HP White Laboratory to fire shots from a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle at the traffic light to see if it was possible a bullet had been deflected by the light without leaving a hole. This was their conclusion: **"All three test firings revealed that an exemplar Eagle signal could deflect a bullet from its flight path, but could not do so without sustaining very visible damage. It appears that if Oswald's first shot had been deflected by the Eagle signal, the damage to the traffic light would have been easily observable from a street level position. It surely would have been noticed in the wake of the assassination."**

Holland's theory had thus been shot to pieces, both figuratively and literally, even before the program pushing his theory had aired. And by the very producers of the program. And yet they'd failed to tell this to their TV audience... And had opted instead to let the truth slip out via Holland's website... And not only that--they'd kept it from others--like Sullivan--who'd not only worked on the program, but had thought they'd helped prove a bullet had hit the traffic light.

Well, by gosh, shouldn't there be a law against this--deliberately deceiving the public?

Oh, and by the way, if you're worried about poor Max Holland, don't be... Having his traffic light deflection theory shot to pieces led him not to abandon his early shot lunacy, as one might hope, but to wonder if the bullet hadn't hit the mast arm to the traffic light on a five foot section of the mast arm currently obscured by signage. Well, bravo for Holland. He is living proof that supposedly credible historians can be every bit as wacky and obsessive as the wackiest conspiracy theorists.

Should one wish to give Holland, a man with far more credentials than myself, the benefit of the doubt, however, one should read through the following sections with not only an eye out for witnesses suggesting that the first shot missed, but for witnesses whose statements, when taken as a whole, suggest the first shot rang out when Kennedy was on the turn onto Elm Street, directly in front of the entrance to the school book depository. While one will find a few vague statements to support such a scenario, one will find that there are many times more statements suggesting the first shot came with the limousine a hundred feet further down Elm. Holland's opus is instead Holland's blunder.

The Irony of It All

One of the great ironies about the "first shot miss myth" is that it was first proposed on a national level by CBS News in 1967, and that CBS used it to conclude that Oswald would have had enough time to

perform the shooting. (They concluded there was a first shot miss at frame 190 of the Zapruder film. They also concluded, without ever testing Zapruder's camera, that his camera was running slower than previously believed. This allowed them to feel confident that a 35 frame time span between the miss at frame 190 and single-bullet shot around 225 was long enough, when it had previously been accepted that a minimum of 42 frames was required.) The irony is that this same CBS investigation revealed the difficulty in getting off 3 rapid-fire shots with a rifle like Oswald's, even when given a few more seconds.

CBS initially approached a legendary marksman, Jim Crossman, and asked him to replicate Oswald's purported shooting (2 hits in 3 tries in 5.6 seconds). In 6 attempts, he was unable to do so. When interviewed by Dan Rather, Crossman said "To hit this target in the short times we were talking about—around 6 to 7 seconds—to hit the target consistently, you would have to be a pretty good shot, but to hit it maybe a couple of times, he could have zigged when the target zagged and vice versa. So it's a large element of luck gets in there." Not surprisingly, CBS never aired this interview. Later, CBS brought in 11 experienced shooters and asked them to try and replicate the shooting on a mock-up of Dealey Plaza. The shots these men were asked to make were a bit easier than those supposedly made by Oswald, as their rifle's scope was in alignment, and as the target these men were aiming at was moving at a constant speed and in a constant direction. They were also provided some practice shots. Even so, the results were less than convincing. First of all, the men were unable to complete 17 of the 37 test runs due to the gun's jamming or to the shooter's inability to operate the bolt fast enough to fire rapidly. This left just 20 completed runs, 26 including Crossman's earlier attempts. Let's take a closer look at these results (first attempts highlighted):

Sid Price: 4.10 seconds (1 hit, 2 complete misses) on his 4th run of 4.

Sid Price: 4.30 seconds (**not sure if any hits**) on his 2nd run of 4.

Ron George: 4.90 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 3rd run of 3.

Al Sherman: 5.00 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 1st run of 5.

Al Sherman: 5.00 seconds (1 hit, 2 near misses) on his 5th run of 5.

Howard Donahue: 5.20 seconds (3 hits) on his 3rd run of 3.

Al Sherman: 5.20 seconds (1 hit, 2 near misses) on his 4th run of 5.

John Concini: 5.40 seconds (1 hit, 2 near misses) on his 2nd run of 2.

Carl Holden: 5.40 seconds (0 hits, 3 near misses) on his 3rd run of 3.

Somersett Fitchett: 5.50 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 3rd run of 3.

Somersett Fitchett: 5.90 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 2nd run of 3.

Sid Price: 5.90 seconds (1 hit, 1 near miss, 1 complete miss) on his 1st run of 4.

Al Sherman: 6.00 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 2nd run of 5.

William Fitchett: 6.00 seconds (1 hit, 2 near misses) on his 2nd run of 3.

William Fitchett: 6.10 seconds (**not sure if any hits**) on his 3rd run of 3.

Jim Crossman: 6.20 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 6th run of 6.

Jim Crossman: 6.26 seconds (1 hit, 2 near misses) on his 4th run of 6.

John Concini: 6.30 seconds (no record of where shots went) on his 1st run of 2.

Jim Crossman: 6.34 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 2nd run of 6.

Jim Crossman: 6.44 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 3rd run of 6.

William Fitchett: 6.50 seconds (3 borderline hits) on his 1st run of 3.

Charles Hamby: 6.50 seconds (0 hits, 2 near misses, 1 complete miss) on his 3rd run of 3.

John Bollendorf: 6.50 seconds (1 hit, 2 near misses) on his 4th run of 4;

Jim Crossman: 6.54 seconds (0 hits, 3 near misses) on his 1st run of 6.

John Bollendorf: 6.80 seconds (2 hits, 1 near miss) on his 1st run of 4.

Jim Crossman: 6.99 seconds (1 hit, 2 near misses) on his 5th run of 6.

Notice anything? While it is obvious that repeated practice helped the shooters bring down their times--9 of the 11 completing a run had their fastest time on their final run--there is no clear correlation between the amount of time it took the shooters to fire their shots and the accuracy of their shooting. Those completing a run in a time shorter than Oswald's purported time--5.6 seconds--averaged 1.44 hits in 5.0 seconds. Those completing a run in a time longer than Oswald's purported feat, meanwhile, averaged 1.43 hits in 6.3 seconds. This is a strong argument against the widespread belief that having the first shot miss, and adding a couple of seconds onto the shooting scenario, makes the purported shots "easy."

I found a further illustration of this point in *Tactics*, by William Balck, published 1915. In this old book, on page 140 to be precise, I found a chart reflecting the accuracy of 6.5 mm Italian rifles (most certainly the Mannlicher-Carcano) when fired at various speeds, as tested by 100 shooters. Below is the chart:

	MEASURED RANGE.		ESTIMATED RANGE.	
	Slow fire†	Rapid fire†	Slow fire†	Rapid fire†
	Percentage of hits.	Percentage of hits.	Percentage of hits.	Percentage of hits.
At 500 m.	21.5	15.8	14.8	11.3
At 1000 m.	11.1	8.1	6.5	5.3
At 1500 m.	5.	3.4	2.6	2.2
Average results at —				
Ranges under 1000 m.	18.2	13.6	12.1	9.3
Ranges over 1000 m.	7.1	5.1	3.2	3.2

**Infantry Training*, 1905, p. 132, par. 2; p. 134, pars. 1, 2; p. 136, par. 6; p. 155, par 1. See p. 154, *infra*.

†Slow fire four shots, rapid fire fourteen shots, per minute.

As demonstrated above, the shooters firing 4 shots per minute (1 every 15 seconds if the clock began before the rifle had been aimed, or 1 every 20 seconds if the clock began with the first shot) were only 34-40% more accurate than the shooters firing 14 shots per minute (1 every 4.3 seconds if the clock

began before the rifle had been aimed, or 1 every 4.6 seconds if the clock began with the first shot). An approximately 350% increase in concentration time led to an approximately 35% increase in accuracy.

It's probably even worse. While reading an article on a Marine Corps website I realized that shooters firing ten rounds per seventy seconds using a five round clip are rated the same as shooters firing ten rounds per minute using a ten round clip. In other words, they are granted ten seconds to change ammunition clips. A shooter firing 14 shots a minute using a six round clip--which was standard for the Carcano--and another in the chamber, would, in such case, most likely be firing his rifle about 14 shots per 50 seconds (1 every 3.57 seconds if the clock began before the rifle had been aimed, or 1 every 3.85 seconds if the clock began with the first shot). This is close to the speed attributed to Oswald.

If the subjects tested in the study cited by Balck were firing 7 shots per clip change, then, the results in the chart above show that an approximately 520% increase in concentration time beyond the time allotted in rapid fire led to but a roughly 35% increase in accuracy.

And this isn't just the conjecture of a non-shooter. Ronald Simmons, who testified before the Warren Commission on the Army's test of Oswald's rifle, testified that "aiming error decreases as time increases. But once you get to the area of about 4 seconds in time, then there is very small decrease in aiming error for increase in time."

So...since the tests reported by Balck and the testimony presented by Simmons suggest that having a little more time would have been of little help to someone firing slower than once every 4 seconds, and since the tests performed by CBS suggest that having a little more time was of little help to men firing as fast as once every 2.5 seconds, it follows that if the first shot fired at Kennedy missed, and that the shooting sequence was actually 50% longer than originally proposed, then this additional time would still have only marginally increased the likelihood the shooter would hit the shots.

Of course, as we shall see, there was no first shot miss.

The First Shot Miss Myth

For those reluctant to read through the plethora of statements and testimony recounted in the pages to follow, but who are nevertheless curious as to how I can feel so sure the first shot did not miss, I hereby offer a telling taste of the statements of every witness I could find who described the activities in the limousine during or just after the first shot. While some of these witnesses believed the first shot missed, they almost all believed Kennedy responded to the shot by leaning forward or jerking to his left, actions the Zapruder film reveals occurred only after he'd been hit. My conclusion that these witnesses were thereby describing Kennedy's actions between frames 190 and 224 of the Zapruder film is further confirmed by the fact that not one of these witnesses said the President continued waving and smiling to the crowd on his right after the first shot rang out. Common sense tells us that this should have been the impression of at least a few of these witnesses should they really have heard a shot at the time proposed by most "first shot miss" proponents, around frame 160 of the Zapruder film. But common sense, alas, is often ignored in favor of something more glamorous.

Remote Viewers--those noting the impact of the shots from buildings looking down on Dealey Plaza (all listed witnesses heard three shots unless otherwise noted):

Ruth Smith (12-21-63 FBI interview, CD206 p.9) "She looked back toward President Kennedy's car after the first shot and thinks he raised his hands to his face."

Lillian Mooneyham (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H531) "Mrs. Mooneyham heard a gunshot and observed President Kennedy slump to the left of the seat of his car."

Cecil Ault (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H534) "Following the first shot Mr. Ault noted that President Kennedy appeared to raise up in his seat."

Dr. Samuel Paternostro (1-20-64 FBI report, 24H536) “He said he estimated several seconds, possibly four or five more, elapsed between the first report and the second and third reports. He said he observed President John F. Kennedy when he appeared to grab his head and thought at the time he is “well-trained;” then, when the other reports followed in quick succession, he realized that the President had been shot.”

Harold Norman (3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H186-198) "I can't remember what the exact time was but I know I heard a shot, and then after I heard a shot, well, it seems as though the President, you know, slumped or something."

James Jarman (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p334-335) “He said that he heard a shot and then saw President Kennedy move his right hand up to his head."

So, we're just beginning and the score is already 6-0. All these witnesses heard three shots and all of them believed Kennedy responded to the first shot.

Eastsiders--those noting the impact of the shots from a location in the Plaza to the east of the limousine:

TE Moore (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H534) “By the time President Kennedy had reached the Thornton Freeway sign, a shot was fired and Mr. Moore observed the President slump forward in the Presidential car."

Mrs. Ruby Henderson (12-6-63 FBI report, 24H524) “at the time the motorcade passed where she was standing, she heard what she initially thought was a firecracker, and saw what she thought was paper fly out of the Presidential car. She said she now realized it was a shot she heard and what she thought was paper was probably flesh." (If so, she thought the first of the four shots she heard was the head shot. This seems highly unlikely, in light of all the other statements. It seems probable then that she was mistaken on this point.)

Welcome Eugene Barnett (7-23-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H539-544) “I was looking at the President when the first shot was fired, and I thought I saw him slump down, but I am not sure, and I didn't look any more then. I thought he was ducking down."

Pierce Allman (11-22-63 eyewitness report on WFAA radio, between 1:45 and 2:00 PM CST) “Right after Mr. Kennedy passed in front of me I heard one big explosion and my immediate thought like most of the people standing around me was “this is firecrackers, but it's in pretty poor taste”. I looked and saw the president, I thought, duck. Evidently, he was slumping at the time."

Phil Willis (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H492-497) "When I took slide No. 4, the President was smiling and waving and looking straight ahead, and Mrs. Kennedy was likewise smiling and facing more to my side of the street. When the first shot was fired, her head seemed to just snap in that direction, and he more or less faced the other side of the street and slumped forward."

Linda Willis (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H498-499) (When asked if she heard shots) “Yes; I heard one. Then there was a little bit of time, and then there were two real fast bullets together. When the first one hit, well, the President turned from waving to the people, and he grabbed his throat, and he kind of slumped forward."

Patricia Lawrence (11-24-63 FBI Report, 22H841): “When the motorcade passed she stated she was looking at Mrs. Kennedy who was looking to the other side of the car. The President was looking in her direction and she had waved. She heard the shot fired as the president was waving." (The president was not waving at frame 160 of the Zapruder film--the moment of the purported first shot miss--but was waving by frame 180, a second or so later. Still, as she does not specifically say the president stopped waving after the shot, it's difficult to say for sure that she is describing a first shot hit.)

Mary Sue Dickerson (Article by Beverly Shay in the **11-01-11** online edition of Now Magazine) "As she was making eye contact with the president of the United States, several things occurred at once. She heard what she thought were fire crackers, which initially seemed so celebratory, but then he slumped forward."

Mary Woodward (**11-23-63** newspaper article Witness From the News Describes Assassination written by Woodward for the Dallas Morning News) "After acknowledging our cheers, he [JFK] faced forward again and suddenly there was a horrible, ear-splitting noise coming from behind us and a little to the right. My first reaction, and also my friends', was that as a joke someone had backfired their car...I don't believe anyone was hit with the first bullet. The President and Mrs. Kennedy turned and looked around, as if they, too, didn't believe the noise was really coming from a gun." (Kennedy, of course, does not turn and look around after frame 160, but resumes waving. What Woodward called "turning" then is almost certainly a reaction to the first shot's impact.)

Jean Newman (**11-22-63** statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H489, 24H218) "The motorcade had just passed me when I heard something that I thought was a firecracker at first, and the President had just passed me, because after he had just passed, there was a loud report, it just scared me, and I noticed that the President jumped, he sort of ducked his head down, and I thought at the time that it probably scared him too, just like it did me, because he flinched like he jumped. I saw him put his elbows like this, with his hands on his chest." (Only heard two shots.)

June Dishong (Letter written on **11-22-63**, as read by her daughter on CNN, 11-21-2003, and featured on the Sixth Floor Museum website) "here come the president and his wife...His arm in the air waving...He drops his arm as they go by, possibly 20 feet. Suddenly--a sound. Gun shots? So hard to tell above the clamor of the crowd. The president bent forward into his wife's lap as his arm slipped off the side of the car."

While we can't rightly count Mrs. Henderson, Ms. Lawrence or Ms. Newman as first shot hit witnesses, the statements of the other 8 witnesses definitely support that Kennedy was hit by the first shot. This makes the score 14-0. Unfortunately, things get a little more confusing when we move on to discuss the statements of those on the west end of the plaza.

Westsidiers--those noting the impact of the shots from a location in the plaza to the west of the limousine:

S.M. Holland (**11-22-63** statement to Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H480, 24H212) "the President's car was coming down Elm Street and when they got just about to the Arcade I heard what I thought for the moment was a fire cracker and he slumped over...After the first shot the President slumped over and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up." (Apparently, he thought the first shot was the head shot.)

Stavis Ellis (HSCA Vol. XII, p.23) "On **August 5, 1978**...Ellis said that just as he started down the hill of Elm Street, he looked back toward President Kennedy's car and saw debris come up from the ground at a nearby curb. Ellis thought it was a fragment grenade. Ellis also said that President Kennedy turned around and looked over his shoulder." (Even though Ellis believed the first shot missed, his description of Kennedy's actions by no means matches the behavior of Kennedy observed between frames 160 and 190 of the Zapruder film, and instead suggests the first shot hit. The "fragment grenade" observed by Ellis was most logically a piece of Kennedy's skull, which would suggest the first shot heard by Ellis was the head shot. It also seems possible Ellis heard less than three shots.)

Dallas County Sheriff Bill Decker (Undated **1963-1964** statement included with Decker Exhibit 5323, 19H458) "I distinctly remember hearing 2 shots. As I heard the first retort, I looked back over my shoulder and saw what appeared to be a spray of water come out of the rear seat of the President's car." (Only heard two shots, the first of which was most probably the head shot.)

Jack Franzen (11-24-63 FBI report, 22H840) “He said he heard the sound of an explosion which appeared to him to come from the President’s car and noticed small fragments flying inside the car and immediately assumed someone had tossed a firecracker inside the automobile.” (Once again, the first shot he describes is the head shot.)

Mrs. Jack Franzen (11-25-63 FBI report, 24H525) “She advised shortly after the President’s automobile passed by on Elm Street near where she and her family were standing, she heard a noise which sounded to her to as if someone had thrown a firecracker into the President’s automobile. She advised at approximately the same time she noticed dust or small pieces of debris flying from the President’s automobile.” (Her statement mimics her husband's. Once again, the first shot is the head shot.)

Malcolm Summers (11-23-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H500) “The President’s car had just come up in front of me when I heard a shot and saw the President slump down in the car and heard Mrs. Kennedy say, “Oh, no,” then a second shot and then I hit the ground as I realized these were shots.” (Only recalled hearing two shots, with the first one most probably the head shot.)

Emmett Hudson (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H481) “At the same time the President’s car was directly in front of us, I heard a shot and I saw the President fall over in the seat.” (First shot head shot.)

Mary Moorman (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H487, 24H217) “As President Kennedy was opposite me, I took a picture of him. As I snapped the picture of President Kennedy, I heard a shot ring out. President Kennedy kind of slumped over.” (Moorman's photo depicts the head shot. Once again...first shot, head shot.)

Jean Hill (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H479, 24H212) “Just as Mary Moorman started to take a picture we were looking at the President and Jackie in the back seat...Just as the President looked up toward us two shots rang out and I saw the President grab his chest and fall forward across Jackie’s lap.” (Once again...first shot, head shot.)

Well, this is a surprise. Here, we have nine witnesses from the west end of the plaza--all of them recalling at least two shots--and ALL of them describing the events observed in the Zapruder film at the time of the head shot as the events they observed at the time of the FIRST shot. Now, this is curious, and suggests that (as Kennedy was obviously hit at least once before the head shot) not only did the first shot not miss, but that the second shot was the head shot. This, in turn, suggests it was the THIRD shot that missed. (Now we can call it either 23-0 or keep it at 14-0. You decide.)

Centrists--those noting the impact of the shots from the center of the plaza.

Abraham Zapruder (2:10 PM 11-22-63 interview on WFAA) “as I was shooting, as the President was coming down from Houston Street making his turn, it was about a half-way down there, I heard a shot, and he slumped to the side, like this. Then I heard another shot or two, I couldn't say it was one or two, and I saw his head practically open up, all blood and everything, and I kept on shooting.” (Only heard two definite shots, but felt certain Kennedy was hit by the first one.)

Marilyn Sitzman (11-29-66 interview with Josiah Thompson) “There was nothing unusual until the first sound, which I thought was a firecracker, mainly because of the reaction of President Kennedy. He put his hands up to guard his face and leaned to the left.” (Only heard two shots.)

William Newman (11-22-63 interview on WFAA) “we were at the edge of the curb, getting ready to wave at the President when we heard the first shot and the President.....I don't know who was hit first but the President jumped up in his seat, and I thought it scared him, I thought it was a firecracker, cause he looked....you know, fear.” (Only heard two shots.)

Frances Gayle Newman (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 24H218) "When President Kennedy's car was about ten feet from us, I heard a noise that sounded like a firecracker going off. President Kennedy kind of jumped like he was startled and then covered his head with his hands and then raised up."

Charles Brehm (11-22-63 NBC television interview first broadcast around 3:15 CST, as shown in Rush to Judgment) "He was coming down the Street and my five-year old boy and myself were by ourselves on the grass there on Commerce Street. And I asked Joe to wave to him and Joe waved and I waved (breaks up)...as he was waving back, the shot rang out and he slumped down in his seat."

John Chism (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H471) "When I saw the motorcade round the corner, the President was standing and waving to the crowd. And just as he got just about in front of me, he turned and waved to the crowd on this side of the street, the right side; at this point I heard what sounded like one shot, and I saw him "The President," sit back in his seat and lean his head to his left side." (Only heard two shots.)

Marvin Faye Chism (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H472) "As the President was coming through, I heard this first shot, and the President fell to his left." (Only heard two shots.)

Well, this is also interesting. Why did so few of those in the middle of the plaza hear three shots? The thought occurs that one of the shots was harder to hear than the others. Counting only those initially claiming to have heard three shots, then, the score is now 25-0 or 16-0.

The motorcade witnesses:

Paul Landis (11-27-63 report, 18H758-759) "At this moment, I heard what sounded like the report of a high powered rifle behind me. My first glance was at the President, as my eyes were almost straight ahead at that time. I did not realize that the President was hit at that point. I saw him moving and thought he was turning in the direction of the sound." (Only heard two shots, but saw Kennedy react to the first sound.)

Glen Bennett (notes written on **11-22-63**, 24H541-542) "At this point I heard a noise that immediately reminded me of a firecracker. I immediately, upon hearing the supposed firecracker, looked at the boss's car. At this exact time I saw a shot that hit the boss about 4 inches down from the right shoulder. A second shoot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the boss's head." (While the precise meaning of Bennett's words are open to debate, they do on first glance suggest that he felt the first shot missed. Since he did not see Kennedy's reaction to the first shot, but only saw him at the "exact time" he received the second shot, it seems possible the blood seen by Bennett came from the first shot. But we'll call this one a first shot miss.)

George Hickey (11-22-63 report, 18H765) "As 100-X made the turn and proceeded a short distance, I heard what seemed to me that a firecracker exploded to the right and rear. I stood partially up and turned to the rear to see if I could observe anything. Nothing was observed and I turned around and looked at the President's car. The President was slumped to the left in the car."

David Powers (5-18-64 affidavit, 7H472-474) "the first shot went off and it sounded to me as if it were a firecracker. I noticed then that the President moved quite far to his left after the shot from the extreme right hand side where he had been sitting."

Clint Hill (11-30-63 report, 18H740-745) "The noise came from my right rear and I immediately moved my head in that direction. In so doing, my eyes had to cross the Presidential automobile and I saw the President hunch forward and then slump to his left." (Only heard two shots, but saw the President react to the first one.)

Sam Kinney (11-22-63 report, 18H732) "The first shot was fired as we were going into an underpass...it appeared that he (the President) had been shot because he slumped to the left."

Emory Roberts (11-29-63 report, 18H733-738) "12:30 PM: First of three shots fired, at which time I saw the President lean toward Mrs. Kennedy."

B.J. Martin (4-3-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H289-293) "one of the agents got off of the car after the first shot...I looked to my right (after the first shot)...I looked at the President after I heard the (first) shot and he was leaning forward—I could see the left side of his face."

Bobby W. Hargis (11-22-63 article in Dallas Times-Herald) "About halfway down between Houston and the underpass I heard the first shot. It sounded like a real loud firecracker. When I heard the sound, the first thing I thought about was a gunshot. I looked around and about then Governor Connally turned around and looked at the President with a real surprised look on his face...The President bent over to hear what the Governor had to say." (Only heard two shots, but he saw the President respond to the first one.)

James Chaney (11-22-63 interview on WFAA, as shown on Youtube) "We heard the first shot. I thought it was a motorcycle backfiring and uh I looked back over to my left and also President Kennedy looked back over his left shoulder." (By saying the President turned to his left after the first shot—which only happens after Kennedy had obviously been hit--Chaney suggests he was hit by the first shot.)

Roy Kellerman (12-10-63 FBI report, CD7 p.3-11) (11-22-63 FBI interview) "he advised he heard a shot and immediately turned around, looking past Governor Connally...to the President. He observed the President slump forward."

First Lady of Texas Nellie Connally (Notes written on 12-2-63, as reprinted in her book From Love Field, 2003) "then I heard a loud, terrifying noise...I turned and looked toward the President just in time to see him clutch his neck and see him sink down in his seat."

First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy (11-29-63 interview with Theodore White, notes released 5-26-95) "They were gunning the motorcycles; there were these little backfires; there was one noise like that; I thought it was a backfire. Then next I saw Connally grabbing his arm and saying no no nononono, with his fist beating—then Jack turned and I turned." (Only heard two shots, but thought her husband responded to the first one.)

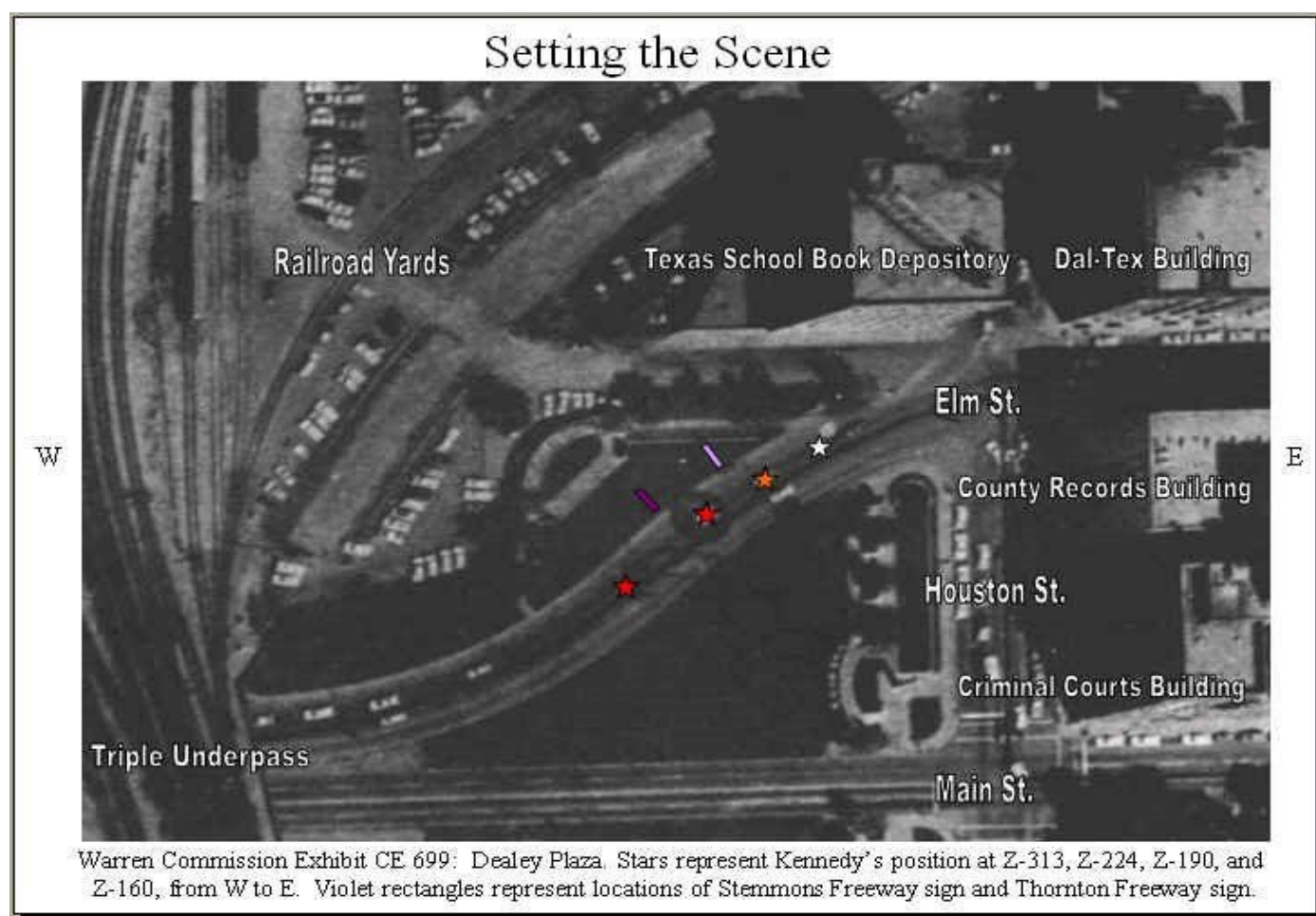
So...a final tally. When one performs even a cursory review of the statements regarding the movements within the limousine at the time of the first shot, one finds that 43 of these indicated Kennedy had a reaction to the first shot. Not one indicated he just sat there waving, or looked around and resumed waving. While Agent Bennett's statement indicated that Kennedy was not hit until the second shot, he does not describe Kennedy's behavior after the first shot, so that his movements can be compared to the Zapruder film. This makes it hard to discern just when Bennett looked at Kennedy, and just how accurate are his recollections. Even if one includes Bennett as a firm witness for a first shot miss, however, and arbitrarily dismisses the statements of those hearing only two shots under the assumption they failed to hear the first shot, and the statements of those claiming the first shot was the head shot under the assumption their recollections are just not credible, the score remains 24-1 in favor of statements indicating that three shots were fired and the first one hit, vs. statements indicating that three shots were fired and the first one missed. Unless someone can come up with a reason why all these witnesses were wrong while Bennett, who was not even asked to testify to clarify his statements, was right, the evidence is overwhelming that the first shot hit.

Let's recall here that Arlen Specter and his pals on the Warren Commission gave "substantial weight" to Agent Bennett's observation that the first shot missed, when they MUST have known, as most every

statement used in this study was available to them, that his was the ONLY statement describing Kennedy's actions at the time of the first shot that suggested the first shot missed, and that there were literally DOZENS of statements available suggesting that it hit, many of them from witnesses with far more credibility. It seems more than just a coincidence, furthermore, that, by giving Bennett's statement its undue weight, the commission was able to suggest that maybe just maybe the first shot missed and that, therefore, Oswald had plenty of time to fire the shots.

The statements of these witnesses thereby supports what we should already suspect: the Warren Commission was a whitewash, a prosecutors' brief created for political purposes without particular concern for the truth.

But what else can we learn from the witnesses?



Setting the Scene: Down on Main Street

Before we dive into the 7 course meal of eyewitness testimony awaiting us, we need to set the table. In order to set the table, and place the incoming testimony and statements in context, we need to understand what really happened. How many loud noises were there? How were they spaced? In order to do that, it's best that we begin by looking at the statements of those furthest away from the assassination scene, those who failed to see the President struck by any of the shots, but who were nevertheless close enough to hear the shots, and alert enough to write down what the shots sounded like. Witnesses equidistant from the grassy knoll and sniper's nest are especially desirable. Fortunately, there were a number of such witnesses on November 22, 1963. The Criminal Courts Building, at

Houston and Main, was home to the Sheriff's Office, and a number of Deputies were standing in front of the building watching the motorcade. As the shots rang out these men raced across the Plaza, many of them running all the way up to the railroad tracks. While their early reports are fascinating in many regards, we will focus here on how these men, all well-experienced with firearms, interpreted the shots. Keep in mind that any man who states the last two shots were closer together than the first two shots is in effect stating that the first shot did not miss, and that the LPM scenario is a myth. Here then are brief summaries of the statements and testimony of these deputies. (The citations refer to the volume and page where you can find their statements in the 26 volumes of the Warren Report. References to CD are references to Commission Documents, documents not released with the Warren Report, but now available on The Mary Ferrell Foundation website.)

Eugene L. Boone (11-22-63 report, 19H508) "I heard three shots coming from the vicinity of where the president's car was." (3-25-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H291-295) "we heard what we thought to be a shot. And there seemed to be a pause between the first shot and the second shot and third shots—a little longer pause." (7-23-86 testimony in televised mock trial, On Trial: Lee Harvey Oswald) (Note: Boone's description of the shots comes from the transcript of this testimony reported in Vincent Bugliosi's book, Reclaiming History, but was not shown on the U.S. version of the program.) "So the first and second shots were closer together, then there was an interval, and then the third shot." (11-17-11 interview on KTXS News Abilene) "There was three shots. There was one shot. It went bang. There was a little space between the first and second shot. And then it was like bang...bang bang." (11-19-11 article by Greg Kendall-Ball found on the Abilene Reporter-News website) "Along with hundreds of others, Boone was on a sidewalk outside the Dallas County Criminal Courts Building — where the sheriff's offices were housed — at the corner of Main and Houston streets. He watched as President Kennedy, first lady Jacqueline Kennedy, Gov. John Connally and Nellie Connally rode by, then drove out of sight around the corner down Elm Street. Then he heard the shots." **Analysis:** when Boone described the shots before the Warren Commission he certainly made it sound that there was a bigger gap between the first two shots than between the second and third. And yet he later testified to the opposite. Now, when he told the Warren Commission "a little longer pause" he may have been talking about the pause between the second and third shots, but that seems unlikely, particularly in that his co-workers almost all said the last two shots were closer together (as we shall see). This leads me to conclude Boone changed his testimony between 64 and 86, after being prepped by prosecuting attorney Vincent Bugliosi. (Since few have ever seen the original tapes of this mock trial, we don't know if defense attorney Gerry Spence was astute enough to catch this change, and force Boone to explain this change, or even if Boone actually said what Bugliosi claims he said.) Thankfully, however, Boone cleared this up in 2011, when he reverted back to his original claim it was the second two shots that were bunched together. **Apparently changed story. Probable first shot hit 190-224 with last two shots bunched together.**

Jack Faulkner (11-22-63 report, 19H511) "I heard three shots and the crowd began to move en masse toward Elm..." (No More Silence p.215-223, published 1998) "When they turned back onto Elm Street and headed toward the Triple Underpass, then I heard three very distinct shots. I'll never forget the sequence: there was a pause between number one and number two, then number two and three were rapid. At the time, I actually thought that someone had attempted to shoot the President and possibly the Secret Service had shot back. It was that fast!" **Analysis: First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

C.M. Jones (11-22-63 report, 19H512) "I heard an explosion followed in about 3 to 5 seconds later two more explosions. I am certain that I recognized the second two as being that of gunfire." **Analysis:** the grouping of the last two explosions as "two more" suggests there was no significant space between these shots. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

A.D. McCurley (11-22-63 report, 19H514) “I heard a retort and I immediately recognized it as the sound of a rifle. I started running around the corner where I knew the President’s car should be and in a matter of a few seconds heard a second shot and then a third shot.” **Analysis:** by failing to mention any gap between the second and third shots, McCurley suggests little time lapsed between these shots.

Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.

L.C. Smith (11-22-63 report, 19H516) “I heard the first shot, which I thought was a backfire, then the second shot and third shot rang out. I knew then that this was gun shots.” **Analysis:** once again “then the second shot and third shot” without mention of a five second space between the two. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Buddy Walthers (11-22-63 report, 19H518) “I heard a retort and I immediately recognized it to be a rifle shot. I immediately started running west across Houston Street...At this time, it was not determined if, in fact, this first retort and 2 succeeding retorts were of a rifle, however, in my own mind, I knew.” (12-13-63 article in the Dallas Morning News) “Walthers and Sweatt were within a block of the slaying site when the sniper opened fire. They agree with other witnesses that the assassin fired only three shots.” (6-18-64 FBI airtel, FBI file 105-82555, sec 177, p18) “Walthers stated he made no statement whatsoever to anyone that one of the shots was fired from the railroad overpass and had actually concluded at the time that all shots had come from the Texas School Book Depository Building.” (7-22-64 memo from Arthur Marmor to Warren Commission Counsel Norman Redlich, as found on Jfkassassinationfiles.com) “Walthers said he then found where a bullet had splattered on the top edge of the curb on Main Street. He thought it was the last shot fired which had missed.” (7-23-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H544-552) “I remember three shots...I told her that sounded like a rifle and I ran across here (indicating) and there is a wall along in here and I hopped over it.” **Analysis:** again we see no mention of an appreciable gap between the second and third shots. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together. Last shot probably missed.**

Harry Weatherford (11-23-63 report, 19H502) “I heard a loud report which I thought was a railroad torpedo, as it sounded as if it came from the railroad yard...then I heard a second report which had more of an echo report and thought to myself, that this was a rifle and I started towards the corner when I heard the third report.” **Analysis:** although he confirms some of the other statements that the first shot sounded different than the second, he doesn’t tell us enough about the spacing to come to any other conclusions. **Too vague.**

Ralph Walters (11-23-63 report, 19H505) “I heard what was shots, three in number.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Lummie Lewis (11-23-63 report, 19H526) “I heard three shots.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Luke Mooney (11-23-63 report, 19H528) “I heard a shot and I immediately started running towards the front of the motorcade and within seconds heard a second and a third shot.” (3-25-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H281-290) “we heard this shot ring out. At that time, I didn’t realize it was a shot...there was a short lapse between these shots. I can still hear them very distinctly—between the first and second shot. The second and third shot was pretty close together, but there was a short lapse between the first and second shot. Why, I don’t know.” (No More Silence p. 224-228, published 1998) “As the motorcade passed by us, we never attempted to follow it around the corner at Houston and were still standing there when we heard a shot ring out. I knew immediately that it wasn’t a backfire...Several of us started moving toward Houston Street at the moment we heard the first shot. By the time we reached the street (Main), the second shot had been fired, then there was a slight hesitation between the second and third. We had already heard all three shots before we had reached Main Street. **Analysis:** Mooney’s early testimony indicates the first two shots were further apart than

the "slight hesitation" between the second and third he described later. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

J.L Oxford (11-23-63 report, 19H530) "we heard what I thought to be shots." **Analysis: too vague.**

Allan Sweatt (11-22-63 report, 19H531) "I heard a shot and about 7 seconds later another shot and approximately 2 or 3 seconds later a third shot which sounded to me like a rifle and coming from the vicinity of Elm and Houston Street." (12-13-63 article in the Dallas Morning News) "Walthers and Sweatt were within a block of the slaying site when the sniper opened fire. They agree with other witnesses that the assassin fired only three shots." **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

John Wiseman (11-23-63 report, 19H535) "I heard a shot and I knew something had happened. I ran at once to the corner of Houston and Main Street and out into the street when the second and third shots rang out." **Analysis:** by placing the second and third shots at the same moment in time—when he ran out into the street—Wiseman suggests that these shots were close together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Roger Craig (11-23-63 FBI report, 23H817) "He heard a shot and ran around the corner onto Houston Street." (11-25-63 FBI report, 24H23) "he heard a noise which he presumed to be a gun shot. He states he immediately started west on Main Street toward Houston Street, and while en route, he heard two additional noises which he also presumed to be gun shots." (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H260-273) "I heard an explosion...I knew it was a shot, but—uh—I didn't want to believe it. But a few seconds later, I heard another explosion and, this time, I knew it was a shot. And, as I began to run, I heard a third one." (When asked about the spacing of the shots) "The first one was uh-about two or three seconds... Well, it was quite a pause in there. It could have been a little longer." (When asked about the spacing between the second two shots) "Not more than two seconds. It was—they were real rapid." (March, 1968 interview in the L.A. Free Press) "Well the motorcade came by about 12:30 and made a right on Houston; several seconds later it made a left on Elm Street. I didn't watch it make a left; I was watching the rest of the cars behind it, but I estimated the time it took it to make a left on Elm Street. And then I heard the first shot. Well, I began to run towards Houston Street...And before I reached the corner--which was about 15 yards away--the third shot had already sounded...There was one report, a pause, and then two reports (claps hands twice quickly) just like that. Impossible for a man to pump a bolt action rifle that fast." (2-14-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) "I heard a shot. I immediately ran towards Houston...Before I reached the corner, the other two shots." (Self-penned article When You Kill a President, 1971) "The President had passed and was turning west on Elm Street . . . as if there were no people, no cars, the only thing in my world at that moment was a rifle shot! I bolted toward Houston Street. I was fifteen steps from the corner -- before I reached it two more shots had been fired. Telling myself that it wasn't true and at the same time knowing that it was, I continued to run." (4-7-74 taped interview with Lincoln Carle, shown in the film Two Men in Dallas, 1975) "The President came by and they made the right turn onto Houston Street and--oh, I'll say, y'know--a few seconds later--to give him time to get to Elm Street and make the left--I heard what was a, well, I call it a report, a gunshot. And I said, I said "Oh, my God" and I turned and started towards Houston Street running just as hard as I could and I was probably 15 steps from Houston Street and before I reached those 15 steps I heard two more reports. And I immediately went to Elm Street." (when asked how long this took) "Not more than a few seconds." **Analysis:** while Craig made a number of wild and inconsistent assertions over the years, his initial impression of the shots--that the last two were fired closely together--was locked in stone. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Seymour Weitzman (11-23-63 Affidavit to Dallas County, 24H228) "I was standing at the corner of Main and Houston...my partner was behind me and asked me something. I looked back at him and

heard three shots. I ran in a northwest direction.” (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p. 124) "Shortly after the President's car turned the corner along Elm Street, he was looking in another direction and heard three sounds in rapid succession, which he believed to have been gunshots. He believed these sounds to have come from a northwesterly direction from where he was standing." (11-25-63 FBI report, CD5 p.126) “as the motorcade went out of his line of vision...he heard three shots ring out and immediately ran to the point where Elm Street turns to go under the underpass.” (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H105-109) “we heard what we thought at that time was either a rifle shot or a firecracker.” (When asked how many shots) “Three distinct shots...First one, then the second two seemed to be simultaneously.” “There was a little period in between the second and third shot.” (When asked which gap was longer, between the first and second or between the second and third) “Between the first and second shot.” (Interview with CBS, broadcast 6-25-67) (Describing the shots) "Well, just three quick bursts, like bang-bang-bang". **Analysis:** while Weitzman neglected to put a space in his re-enactment of the shots for CBS, his 3 "bangs" are so close together that his version is completely at odds with the LPM scenario. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Harold Elkins (11-26-63 report, 19H540) “Just a few seconds after the President’s car had passed my location I heard a shot ring out, a couple of seconds elapsed and then two more shots ring out.”

Analysis: by grouping the last two shots together, Elkins implies they were fired close together.

Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.

W.W. Mabra (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times-Herald) "'I definitely heard three shots,' said Bo Mabrey." (11-27-63 report, 19H541) “we heard three shots. Officer Smith said...” “That sounded like a deer rifle.” (No More Silence p. 518-529, published 1998) "After the procession passed, we continued standing there talking when, in just a short time, we heard the first shot which sounded like a backfire from an automobile or truck well down in the Triple Underpass. That had happened a lot of times in the past and had sounded like a rifle shot. But when that first shot went off, of course, it startled both of us. We looked at each other, kind of caught our breath, wondering, since they had just gone around the corner. Then the second shot went off. Smith said to me, 'That was a deer rifle!' 'It sure was,' I responded. Then in a very few seconds a third went off. We then went around the corner as hard as we could run and could see people over on the grassy knoll. As we were crossing Houston running in the direction of the grassy knoll, I could see what looked like a swirl of smoke...By the time I got there, the smoke had disappeared; evidently it was from a cigarette..." (On his discussion with the Warren Commission) "they were trying to shake my story that a bolt action rifle could be worked with three shots being fired in six seconds. That was because my recollection of the timing was that the three shots were spaced within two to four seconds apart. It seemed like they were spaced longer between the second and third than the first and second." **Analysis:** while Mabra's recent recollections support that the first two shots were fired closer together than the second and third, he also rejects that the third shot could have been fired as much as five seconds after the second, and claims to have seen smoke on the knoll. This makes his statements as un-supportive of the LPM scenario as they are the first shot hit scenario consistent with the statements of so many others. So let's just call it a tie and say he's too vague. **Too vague. Saw smoke on knoll.**

Should one assume that standing on the north side of Main caused these deputies to hear the shots in a configuration different than how they were fired, there are also the words of these Main Street witnesses, who were on the south side of Main in the courthouse.

Ruth Smith (12-21-63 FBI interview, CD206 p.9) “She was on the second floor balcony of the old red courthouse...she heard what she felt was a shot. She stated there was a pause then two more shots fairly close together...At this time people seemed to panic...She looked back toward President Kennedy’s car after the first shot and thinks he raised his hands to his face. The car seemed to slow or perhaps stop after the first shot and then just after the third shot a Secret Service man from the second

car ran up...and threw himself into the rear seat.” **Analysis:** So here we have our first eyewitness, and she confirms what we’ve gathered from the statements of all the deputies: the first shot hit. Her statement that she thinks Kennedy raised his hands to his face after the first shot can only be interpreted as a reference to his reaching towards his throat in the frames just after frame 224. And yet she’d only heard one shot by this point; according to the LPM scenario she should have heard two--one at 160 and one at 224. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

John Solon (1-8-64 FBI report, 24H535) “was in the Main Street entrance of the Old Courthouse... heard three shots which sounded as follows: First shot, pause, two shots, then echoes of the shots. Mr. Solon advised he would judge that approximately five and one-half seconds was taken for all three shots.” **Analysis: first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Malcolm Barclay (6-15-64 FBI report, 26H552) "did watch the Presidential procession pass the corner of Main and Houston streets, about one block south of the Texas School Book Depository, scene of the assassination. Shortly after the car bearing the president passed the place where Barclay was standing, Barclay turned to re-enter the court house, at which time he heard one or more loud reports which he identified in his own mind as rifle shots. He turned and the crowd seemed to be surging toward the Depository area. He did not see the Presidential automobile at that time, and it apparently left the area immediately." **Analysis: too vague.**

Robert West, Dallas County Surveyor, claimed to have been standing in front of the courthouse at Houston and Main when the shots were fired. (2-13-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) (When asked if he'd heard anything unusual after the limousine turned down Elm Street) "Some time after it turned on Elm Street what sounded to me at that time as what I thought was backfiring, a motorcycle." (When asked how many backfires he heard) "Four". (When asked if these backfires sounded the same) "Yes". (When asked what the first "backfire" sounded like) "A motorcycle backfired." (When asked what the second and subsequent "backfire" sounded like) "A rifle fired...It appeared to me it was rifle fire after the second. The first and the second my response was it was motorcycle backfire." (When asked again to describe the third sound) "Rifle fire." (When asked if these were loud sounds) "Yes, sir." (When asked from where he thought this sounds were coming) "The sound came from the northwest quadrant of Dealey Plaza...This entire area north and west of Elm Street." (When asked if he remembered the spacing of the shots) "No, sir." (When asked what happened after the shooting) "When I left my position on the corner of Main and Houston and went across into Dealey Plaza area, there was quite a commotion. A police motorcycle and several men coming up, what is indicated on the aerial photograph as the grassy knoll. When I got over to the motorcycle there were several men up behind the wood stockade fence along the north edge of the grassy knoll." (When asked to confirm that he heard four sounds and thought the first two were backfires and the second two rifle fire) "Right." (When asked if he felt sure about the number of sounds) "That was my response on that day." (When asked to pinpoint where he was standing) "I was standing at the point indicated by the pin here at the southeast corner of the intersection of Main and Houston." **Analysis:** West was the Dallas County Surveyor. Since the Secret Service, FBI, and Warren Commission all used his services to make plats of Dealey Plaza, and since they all came to different conclusions, and kept changing the locations for the shots, it only makes sense that he would grow suspicious of the official story, and suspect there'd been more than 3 shots. Still, he testified that he thought he'd heard four sounds from the very beginning. **Heard Four Shots.**

Setting the Scene: Eastern Spies

As the Down on Main Street witnesses were not technically in Dealey Plaza, there will be those who scoff at our using their statements to debunk the LPM scenario. They will insist that some sort of echo or something confused all those Sheriff's Deputies in a uniform fashion. Let us then examine the statements of those in the Criminal Courts Building watching the motorcade.

Mrs. Rose Clark (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H533) “was with Lillian Mooneyham and Mrs. Jeannette E. Hooker...From the window of Judge Henry King’s court room on the second floor of the court house, she heard the three shots, and it was her impression that the first shot was louder than the second and third shots. She noted that the second and third shots seemed closer together than the first and second shots...she noticed that the president’s automobile came almost to a halt following the three shots before it picked up speed and drove away.” **Analysis:** while her recollection of the first shot being louder than the others is unique, her recollection that it sounded different than the others is nevertheless informative, as is her contention that the last two shots were closer together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Lillian Mooneyham (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H531) “Mrs. Mooneyham heard a gunshot and observed President Kennedy slump to the left of the seat of his car. At the time of the initial shot, Mrs. Mooneyham believed that a firecracker had gone off. Following the first shot, there was a slight pause and then two more shots were discharged, the second and third shots sounding closer together. Mrs. Mooneyham observed Mrs. Kennedy climb up on the back of the car...Mrs. Mooneyham estimated that it was a bout 4 ½ to 5 minutes following the shots fired by the assassin that she looked up towards the sixth floor of the TSBD and observed the figure of a man standing in the sixth floor window behind some cardboard boxes.” **Analysis:** as she saw Kennedy react to the first shot, and heard the last two shots closer together, Mrs. Mooneyham's statements are incompatible with the LPM scenario. **Saw first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Mrs. Jeannette Hooker (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H533) “Mrs. Hooker estimated that the President’s car was almost to the R.L. Thornton Freeway when she heard three gunshots. Mrs. Hooker observed Mrs. Kennedy stand up in the Presidential car and observed a man jump on to the back of the car.” **Analysis:** the report almost certainly should have said “Thornton Freeway *sign*.” The Thornton Freeway sign was alongside the limousine around frame Z-190 of the Zapruder film. **Probable first shot 190.**

Robert Reid (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H532) “followed the progress of the Presidential motorcade from the second floor windows of the court house...heard the three gunshots fired and took his eye from the President’s car because he noticed people who were lining the streets were either running or dropping to the ground after the shots were fired.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Cecil Ault (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H534) “After the presidential car had turned the corner onto Elm Street, Mr. Ault heard three loud reports...the first and second shots sounded to him to be close together and the third shot was spaced more after the second shot, the first two shots sounding close enough to be from an automatic rifle...Following the first shot Mr. Ault noted that President Kennedy appeared to raise up in his seat in the Presidential automobile and after the second shot the president slumped into his seat.” **Analysis:** as the “rising up” recalled by Ault is most probably Kennedy’s reaction to being hit in the Zapruder film after Z-224, the slumping mentioned by Ault would almost certainly be a reference to Kennedy’s falling over after the head shot. And yet Ault says this was the second shot. As he also remembered the first two shots being close together, and these two shots were five seconds apart, it seems likely he either misremembered, misspoke, or was misquoted in regards to which two shots were bunched together. Even if he remembered the spacing correctly, however, his contention that the first shot hit is at odds with the LPM scenario. **Saw first shot hit 190-224. Last shot possibly after the head shot.**

Dr. Samuel Paternostro (1-20-64 FBI report, 24H536) “viewed the presidential parade...from the second floor...with Ruth Thornton...they heard a report or shot...He said he estimated several seconds, possibly four or five more, elapsed between the first report and the second and third reports. He said he observed President John F. Kennedy when he appeared to grab his head and thought at the time he is “well-trained;” then, when the other reports followed in quick succession, he realized that the President

had been shot and it was not a practiced action on the part of the President when he fell against Mrs. Kennedy and later into the rear part of the vehicle he was riding in.” **Analysis:** as Kennedy grabbed his head with the first shot, there was a first shot hit. That the last two shots were bunched together confirms this. **Saw first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Mrs. Ruth Thornton (1-20-64 FBI report, 24H537) “she walked over to a window on the Houston Street side, as the Presidential car drove toward the triple underpass. She said she heard a report which she believed was a car backfiring, until somebody said “That was a shot!” Then she said two more reports followed in quick succession and she observed Mrs. Kennedy as she stood up in the rear seat of the Presidential car just before it was rushed away.” **Analysis:** the by-now familiar scenario. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

E.R. Gaddy (1-20-64 report, CD 385 p13) "as he was leaving the courtroom he heard three reports or shots; however, he said he went to a window in the courtroom and looked toward the triple overpass just in time to observe the presidential car being driven away at a high rate of speed." **Analysis: too vague.**

The next group of witnesses were on Houston Street in front of the Criminal Courts Building and Old Jail.

Garland Slack (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H495) “just after they rounded the corner from Houston onto Elm Street, I heard a report and I knew at once that it was a high-powered rifle shot. I am a big game hunter and am familiar with the sound of hi powered rifles and I knew when I heard the report that the shot had hit something. Within a few seconds I heard another report and knew it also had hit something and all I could see was the highly colored hat that Mrs. Kennedy had on. I couldn’t see anything else... it sounded to me like this shot came from away back or from within a building. I have heard this same sort of sound when a shot has come from within a cave.” (12-2-63 FBI report, 26H364) "He heard two shots in rapid succession and realized from the sound that they must have been fired from the interior of a building. He said he did not realize which building because actually the sound as he first heard it seemed to come from the direction of the overpass but its particular characteristics made him feel it had to come from a building instead of from an open area. He said when he heard the third shot he believed it came from the Texas School Book Depository Building. He said immediately after hearing the first two shots the crowds which were tremendously heavy went into a complete panic and a state of shock." **Analysis:** by his original signed statement that the two shots he heard came within a few seconds of each other and that they both hit, Slack makes it clear he didn’t hear a first shot miss at frame 160 of the Zapruder film. The FBI report, of course, clouds this considerably. Here, Slack is purported to have claimed there were three shots. Perhaps, then, he’d decided that the first shot he’d heard was in fact two shots, and that a third one followed. If so, his words could be considered supportive of the LPM scenario. This is undercut, however, by Slack’s subsequent assertion that panic broke out after the second shot. The testimony of the witnesses as a whole and the filmed footage of the assassination demonstrate beyond any real doubt that the crowd did not panic or go into shock until after the head shot. The probability exists then that, when interviewed by the FBI, Slack simply added a third shot onto his scenario. **Probably Only heard two shots. Probable First shot hit 190-224.**

Jay Skaggs (3-13-02 oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum) ”After the second and third shot, then I told Erma to stay there, and I took [off] running across from the parade, and I don’t remember what cars I was dodging. Anyway, I ran across the street and headed toward where people were still on the ground.” (12-2-02 article on Baptist Standard.com) “He and his family arrived early, parked their car not far from the School Book Depository, and then walked to the corner of Main and Houston...” “I knew they had to make a turn onto Houston Street, and I thought the car might slow down enough that I could get a good picture,” Skaggs recalled. "But when the president's car made the turn, he was

looking the other direction”...Skaggs instead snapped a photo picturing the back of Kennedy's head, a profile of the First Lady, and a slightly obscured view of Gov. John Connally and his wife, Nellie, turned partly away from the camera. Skaggs took a photo of the press bus that followed the presidential convertible. Then he heard the first gunshot. "I thought it was a firecracker--somebody just being stupid. Then I heard a second shot and a third one, and I knew it was a rifle," Skaggs said. Telling his wife and daughter to stay where they were, Skaggs crossed the street, dashing between cars. He snapped a photo of the assassination scene on Elm Street, about one minute after the last shot was fired.” (Interview in **11-22-03** WBAP radio program found on Youtube) "I mumbled something to my wife about some jerk shooting a firecracker. But then I heard the other two shots and I knew it was a rifle. And I ran across the street." **Analysis:** as the press bus would have been a ways from Houston at Z-160, the first shot must have come afterwards. His grouping of the last two shots together—with no mention of any activity in between, suggests they were bunched together. **Probable first shot 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

I.C. Todd worked in the Criminal Courts Building. (**11-27-63** Dallas County Sheriff's report, 19H543) "I walked outside and onto Houston Street to view the President's motorcade as it passed. A few seconds after the president's car passed me and had turned the corner off Houston onto Elm Street, I heard what I first thought was a backfire. I heard a total of 3 and after the last 2, I immediately recognized them as being gun fire." **Analysis:** groups the last 2 shots together. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Arnold Rowland (**11-22-63** statement to Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 24H224) "the motorcade had just turned west on Elm bending down the hill when I heard a noise which I thought to be a back fire...then in about 8 seconds I heard another report and in about 3 seconds a third report." (**11-23-63** FBI report, 26H166) "The Kennedy motorcade...had just turned west on Elm Street and headed down the hill toward the triple underpass when he heard the first shot, which he said sounded somewhat like a backfire of an automobile. He said following the first shot some people around him had laughed. He said that about 8 seconds after the first shot there was another loud report, which he was positive was a rifle shot. A third shot then followed in about three seconds." (**11-24-63** FBI report, quoting Rowland, 16H955) "About 15 or 20 minutes later the President came by, but I did not see him get shot, nor did I see any shots fired. I did hear three shots." (**3-10-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H165-190) "it was proceeding down Elm when we heard the first of the reports. This I passed off as a backfire, so did practically everyone in the area because...practically everyone in the vicinity started laughing ... Then approximately 5 seconds, 5 or 6 seconds, the second report was heard, 2 seconds the third report. After the second report, I knew what it was...I knew it was a gun firing." **Analysis:** although he adjusted his overall time, the relative gaps in Rowland's scenario are consistent. The last two shots were bunched together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Barbara Rowland (**11-22-63** statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 24H224) "the President passed...and turned left onto Elm Street and started down towards the underpass when I heard a report and thought it was a backfire then in a few seconds another report sounded and in another few seconds the third report." (**4-7-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H177-191) "as they turned the corner we heard a shot, and I didn't recognize it as being a shot, I just heard a sound, and I thought it might be a firecracker. And the people started laughing at first, and then we heard two more shots...the second and third were closer than the first and second...the people generally ran towards the railroad tracks behind the school book depository building, and so I naturally assumed they came from there." **Analysis:** while Rowland was asked to testify in order to discredit her husband's testimony that there were two men on the sixth floor just before the shooting, and she obliged, testifying that her husband had lied about his high-school grades, she nevertheless confirmed his contention that the last two shots were bunched together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots**

bunched together.

Jim Willmon (as quoted in Crossfire, published **1989**) "The car turned down Elm Street. A car backfired, or so I thought. I said to my buddy, 'The Secret Service is going to have a heart attack!' But it wasn't a backfire. It was shots. People ran toward the grassy knoll. No one seemed to look up at the book depository." **Analysis: too vague.**

Hugh Aynesworth (**Early 1964** account written for the Dallas Morning News, published on the 2003 DVD The Story Behind the Story) "I stopped at the corner of Houston and Main. As I looked toward the Texas School Book Depository Building--never dreaming that this would become a legend, only interested in the Hertz clock it held high atop its roof--I spotted a man, I thought, named Maurice Harrell, an assistant district Attorney. I thought I'd walk over and say hello. He was standing out from the crowd at Elm and Houston. By the time I got there, he was gone, moved to another vantage point. Harrell told me later he was standing a block away at the time and that it probably wasn't him I saw. So, by at least a dozen strange quirks of fate, I found myself only a stone's throw away from where a crazed gunman fired three shots really heard 'round the world...Then came the first shot. I looked instinctively at one of the motorcycles to see if it was an exhaust. A woman near screamed. I saw a face look into mine with a lost look, much as mine must have been. Then another shot. This was a shot I knew. I recall darting my eyes to the President's open limousine, now slipping down Elm St. to the viaduct. The president jerked his head. I could not tell if he were looking to see what the noise was, but I recall thinking he was only jerking his head to wave at the people on the other side of the grassy slope. His hair seemed to jump up. Later I understood why. Some of the vehicles in the caravan seemed to come to almost a complete stop. Others crept along. I could not tell who was in charge. Then a third shot, clearer now, for I somehow almost expected it." (Article on Aynesworth by Nora Ephron, published in the **February 1976** issue of Esquire Magazine) "He was standing catty-corner to the School Book Depository Building when he heard three shots. 'I thought the first one was a motorcycle backfiring,' he says, but by the time I heard the second, I knew what it was." (Profile of Aynesworth in the **March 1976** Texas Monthly) "Aynesworth was standing in front of the County Records Building, across the street from the School Book Depository, when the motorcade came down Elm. The President waved. Nellie Connally leaned forward, said something. Then a shot, the President clutched at his throat, the agonizingly slow motion of the car, another shot, then another, and the President's head exploded. In an instant, the President's car was gone, speeding under the triple underpass." (**9-5-93** article in the Dallas Morning News) "Veteran author and newsman Hugh Aynesworth stood in the middle of Elm Street and 'could have hit Oswald with a rock' on that day. He also heard only three shots ring out." (**11-21-93** article in the San Antonio News-Express) "'I thought the first shot was a motorcycle backfiring. Actually, if I'd looked up, I could have seen who fired. It was only a few seconds until the second shot, and then I knew. 'I looked at the underpass first, because I could see some people starting to run in that direction.' Aynesworth said he then realized the shots had been fired from a window high up in the Texas School Book Depository building. 'My attention was first toward the people who were running and by the time I looked around, he had pulled the gun in after the third shot and gone.'"

(**11-21-93** Reporters Remember Conference, as quoted in Reporting the Kennedy Assassination) "I went over to the area around Elm and Houston Streets and was there when the three shots rang out. Three definite shots. Total chaos. I still have trouble putting it all together, how it happened." (**11-22-93** article in the Washington Times) "What I witnessed in the horrible few seconds as he was shot changed my life... I heard what I at first thought was the backfire of one of the police motorcycles veering left as it moved past the Texas School Book Depository... What I had heard were three rifle shots. "Chaos" is not too strong to describe what happened in the next moments. My lawyer friends took off in different directions. I saw two policemen running with guns drawn. Off to my right I saw a public relations man I knew, standing with hands on hips, a perplexed look on his face. Pure agony lined the face of a large

black woman holding a child... It must have been a minute or so before I saw two women pointing at a window high in the book depository building." (No More Silence, published **1998**, p.21-40) "There was no particular reason why I went to Elm Street other than the crowds were larger along Main Street, two or three deep, and I wanted to get a clearer view. Locating myself in the middle of the street a little toward the curb, had I looked up to my right I could have seen Oswald up there... The first shot I wasn't sure was a shot. I thought it might have been a backfire from one of the motorcycles since there were several in the vicinity. When you hear one, you listen more closely, and when I heard a second and third very clearly, there was no doubt in my mind that they were shots and that they were from a rifle... Immediately, people started jumping and running and some were throwing their kids down." (JFK: Breaking the News, **2003**) "when I saw a couple of familiar assistant district attorneys standing in front of the jail building near the corner of Houston and Elm, I walked over to join them... I was standing with my lawyer friends maybe 10 feet from the curb. As we watched the big blue Continental glide by—I vividly remember Governor Connally's grin—a huge black woman nearby burst into shouts... At 12:30 we heard the first loud pop. At first I assumed a nearby police motorcycle backfired.... (Secret Service Agent Roy) Kellerman turned in his seat just as two more shots were fired..." (Interview in film Oswald's Ghost, **2007**) "As he goes by, two or three seconds later I hear a pop. I think it's a motorcycle backfire because a motorcycle had just gone by. But then, suddenly, a second or two later another and then another. Three shots." (**4-28-11** article by Jim Schutze in the Dallas Observer) "You hear shots ring out, and you don't count how many seconds there are between them." (**5-2-12** article on News-Register online.com, reporting on a 4-2-12 appearance by Aynesworth at North Lake College) "It was amazing, the happiness and the feeling of good will that was in the crowd," recalled Aynesworth. "Then all of a sudden BOOM! One shot, but I thought it was backfire from a motorcycle. Then a second and then a third. I then realized it was shots from a rifle. We didn't know where the fire was coming from or if we'd be next. People were throwing their children to the ground and taking cover. Everyone was scared," he said. **Analysis:** Aynesworth, a career reporter, is not a very credible source of information. He originally claimed he was at Houston and Elm at the time of the shooting but eventually suggested he was out in front of the jail, a half a block away. Still, he said just enough to indicate that the single-assassin theory he's been standing behind all these years is not exactly solid. His grouping together of the last two shots suggests the last two shots were bunched together. Even more intriguing, his earliest statement indicates that the second shot was the head shot. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together, with the last shot after the head shot.**

Jay Watson and Jerry Haynes, WFAA newsmen, who'd been standing in front of the jail when the shots were fired. (**11-22-63** live broadcast on WFAA, around 12:45) Jerry: "Jay, I remember you said I thought it was a firecracker, or something like that. Then they followed one shot and a second or two later, a gun shot, and then another second..." Jay: "A third shot." Jerry: "And you said the man's been shot at, and then we turned..." Jay: "No, I said 'My God, that's gun shots.'" (**11-22-63** live broadcast on WFAA, around 2:15, while interviewing Abraham Zapruder) Jay: "We were about a hundred yards away and it sounded like there were three shots. And after the first couple I said 'My God, they've shot the President!'" "...At first they sounded like firecrackers. And somebody next to us said they were shooting off fireworks. But then we came to realize they were loud reports." (**11-22-64** WFAA program A Year Ago Today) Jay: "We turned to walk away when he got to the corner and started making the turn. And then we heard the first shot." Jerry: "Yes, we were just about right down here on the corner, on the sidewalk." Jay: "We stopped. And then the second shot." Jerry: "And you said 'My God, that's gunfire.'" Jay: "I said 'My God, they're shooting at him.'" (Oral History interview of Haynes for the Sixth Floor Museum, **1-23-04**) "They turned left onto Elm in front of that building, the school book depository. And I guess we turned to go, and we heard the first shot. And it sounded strange; it was echoes, y'know. And then we heard the second shot. And in our tape, Jay says I said that was a firecracker or something. I can't really remember what we said. And then the third shot, and by then we

knew something terrible had happened." **Analysis:** you gotta love the way Jay corrects Jerry no matter what Jerry says. It's intriguing that the second shot followed the first by a second or two, and that the third followed the second by just a second. It's also intriguing that they described no reaction to the third shot separate from their reaction to the second shot. If it had come 5 seconds later, as proposed in the LPM scenario, it would almost certainly have brought about a separate response. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together. (2X).**

James W. Powell, Special Agent, Military Intelligence, was running west on the south side of Elm St. towards Dealey Plaza at the time of the first shot. He said he was trying to take a picture of Kennedy, but saw the Presidential limo turn off Houston onto Elm when he was still a block away. (11-22-63 Memorandum for the Record found in the HSCA's files and posted online by Denis Morrisette.) "As I approached this intersection, at approximately 1228 hours, and was about one block away, Kennedy's motorcade was just turning west off Houston Street. At this point, I heard at least two loud explosions, which I assumed could either have been shots from a firearm or some sort of fireworks. Several people in the crowd, which was at the intersection to view the motorcade as it passed, pointed up at the Texas School Book Depository Building, 411 South Elm Street. I took a photograph of the building at that instant." (1-3-64 FBI Report, CD 206, p20) "Powell was approximately one-half block east of the intersection of Elm and Houston, and the Presidential motorcade had already turned west on Elm, when he heard the shots fired at President Kennedy. He then ran to the southeast corner of the Elm and Houston Street intersection and, seeing some people pointing to Texas School Book Depository Building, he took the picture...Powell stated that he recalls having heard two shots fired and possibly a third..." (4-12-96 interview with the ARRB's military analyst Timothy Wray, as published on the JFK Lancer website) "I was coming down this way and I was almost at this intersection when the motorcade came around and started down Elm Street, down the hill. I was probably half way down the block when I heard the shots fired. At that time, not expecting anything like that, you weren't sure if we had backfires going on or fireworks or actual shots. Obviously, it turns out that shots were fired." (When asked how far he was from the corner when the shots were fired) "Maybe a hundred feet." (When asked if he had any sense from where the shots had been fired) No, I didn't...I knew that when I got to this intersection, there were people pointing up at the Book Depository Building indicating that they had heard shots coming from there...When someone pointed up at the building and said they'd heard shots coming from up there, I wheeled around with my camera and took a picture of the building at that moment." **Analysis: could only swear to hearing two shots.**

Setting the Scene: Southern Spies

While some might think the preceding witnesses were cherry-picked, and that the recollections of witnesses from other parts of the Plaza differed greatly from those who were east of Houston Street, this is not the case. Here we look at a number of witnesses viewing the motorcade on Elm from the south, some along Houston Street, some along Main Street, and even a few from the south side of the Plaza.

Mark Bell filmed Kennedy's turn onto Elm past the front steps of the school book depository from the west side of Houston Street. (Letter to Josiah Thompson, 2-26-67, as referenced in Six Seconds in Dallas, 1967) "Mr. Bell heard two of the shots definitely bunched but could not honestly say which shots these were. 'Anyone could be mistaken on the bunching of shots...It happened within a few seconds and there was emotion, excitement, and fear involved.'" (Pictures of the Pain p. 267, Trask interview, 3-13-89) "I don't believe that any individual person can tell you exactly how many shots were fired, because of the echoes." **Analysis:** since virtually no one heard the first two shots bunched together, the "bunching" remembered by Bell almost certainly indicates the last two shots were bunched together. **Too vague.**

Marie Muchmore filmed the fatal head shot from the west side of Houston Street, near the cement peristyle. (12-4-64 FBI report CD7 p.31) “She advised that they stood on Main and Houston Streets. As the parade passed by there she heard the first shot but from where they were standing could not observe where the shot came from. She said she panicked after this shot and ran back to the office, later becoming deathly sick over the incident...She said she had a movie camera with her at the time and Wilma Bond had a box camera but she advised that she did not obtain any photographs of the assassination scene.” (2-18-64 FBI report, CD 735 p.8) “Mrs. Muchmore stated that after the car turned on Elm Street from Houston Street, she heard a loud noise which at first she thought was a firecracker but then with the crowd of people running in all directions and hearing the two further noises, sounding like gunfire, she advised that she began to run to find a place to hide.” **Analysis:** while, on the surface, Mrs. Muchmore’s words don’t tell us much, when one reflects that she continued filming after hearing an early shot, and only quit after hearing “two more noises”—grouping them together—it seems pretty clear she heard the last two shots bunched together around the moment of the head shot. As she described her thought process regarding the first shot—thinking it was a firecracker—it would be logical to assume she would have mentioned her thoughts about the second, if it had been a separate shot followed by a five second pause, as in the LPM scenario. Still, it's always possible she was merely playing stupid to try and hide the existence of her film from the FBI. For some strange reason, after having sold a film of the assassination to UPI on 11-25, she told the FBI on 12-4 that she'd failed to take photos of the assassination. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Wilma Bond took a number of photos just before and after the shots. She was standing to the south of Marie Muchmore. (2-18-64 FBI report, CD 735.p.7) “She stated that due to the excitement she did not obtain any photographs at the time of the shooting. She also advised to the best of her knowledge, she heard at least three shots fired at the time of the incident but that due to the excitement, she does not recall the exact number.” (2-14-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) “I was trying to take a picture of the building, or I mean the corner there...when I heard what I thought was a firecracker...I proceeded on over to the alcove...I heard two more...Still firecrackers to me...I would be walking toward the triple underpass.” (When asked from where the shots came) “From my right” **Analysis:** as she grouped the last two shots together after mentioning a short pause after the first shot, she probably heard these last two shots bunched together. **Probable first shot 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Orville Nix filmed the head shot from the southern half of the Plaza, on the southern side of Main Street. (12-3-63 FBI report, 24H539) “Nix believed the film depicts the third shot hitting President Kennedy and the sequence of events immediately after including Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy reaching out over the back trunk lid to assist a secret service agent who is running to her aid.” (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 3-27-66) (When asked where he thought the shots came from) “I thought it came from the fence between the book depository and the railroad tracks.” (When asked where he now believed them to have come from) “They came from the book depository because there’s proof that it did come from there...I believe in the Warren Report.” (Interview with CBS broadcast 6-25-67) (When asked what the shots sounded like) “I would say-- bang...bang...bang.” **Analysis:** it’s tough to say what Nix really believed. His granddaughter has made statements indicating that CBS tried to trick Nix into saying all the shots came from the school book depository for their 1967 special. Even if this is false, however, his comments to Lane and his rapid-fire “bang, bang, bang” on the CBS special (with the third shot coming but two seconds after the second) are at odds with the LPM scenario. **Last two shots bunched together.**

Charles Bronson filmed the head shot from a pedestal near the southwest corner of Houston and Main. (Letter to his sister, 11-24-63, as quoted in Pictures of the Pain, p.283) “they were about halfway down

to the underpass. And then it happened! My first impression was parade—celebration—fireworks when I heard the first two shots ring out in rapid succession and a slight pause before the third shot rang out...I remarked to Frances, “Is that fireworks or someone shooting?...right after my remark, Frances said “President Kennedy is bent over and Jackie has her arm around him and Governor Connally is lying down.” Then I looked and saw a few people lay flat on the ground just as the presidential car stopped for a split second and then take off.” (Interview with Dave Hawkins, **12-19-78**) “When the first shot rang out, it sounded like somebody had thrown like a cherry bomb—it sounded like they tossed it out between the School Book Depository—out of one of the windows—and on the opposite side of Houston Street. It sounded like it went off between the buildings because there was an echo...Then when the second and third shots went off, then it’s when I realized that it wasn’t a firecracker, it was rifle shots.” (Pictures of the Pain p.283-285, Trask interview **11-23-85**) “I was waiting till the limousine got into full view at about right angles (to my position) but the shot rang out just before...I instinctively jumped and snapped it at the same time...then when the second and third shots rang out, that’s when I decided they were rifle shots.” **Analysis:** while Bronson’s letter to his sister says the first two shots were bunched together, there’s reason to believe he was confused when he wrote this. He supposedly wrote this letter after not being able to sleep for two days. His confusion shows in the jumbled way he tells his story—first numbering the shots, and then mentioning details, such as his wife telling him that Jackie had her arms around the President and the limousine slowing down, as if these events occurred after the third shot. The Zapruder film shows these things took place just before the head shot, whether it be the second shot or the third. He doesn’t even mention in the letter that he’d filmed the head shot. In his later statements, he always talked about the first shot, and then grouped the other two shots together. He also mentioned that the still photo he took just before picking up his movie camera was taken just after hearing the first shot. As this photo was taken at approximately Z-220, and it would have taken the sound of a gun shot a half a second or so to reach Bronson from the north side of the Plaza, this photograph was clearly not taken in response to the second shot of the LPM scenario, at Z-222. It was more logically taken as a response to a shot at 188 or so, as the sound from this shot would have reached him around Z-197, a little over a second before the picture was taken. That this first shot could have been as early as Z-160 is brought into doubt by his comment to his sister that the car was halfway to the overpass at the time of the first shot. If Bronson really heard the first shot at Z-160 and felt the first two shots were bunched together, then, the second shot, according to the LPM scenario, would have rung out *just a split second after* Bronson took his picture, and would have been a more obvious frame of reference than a shot ringing out just before. As a consequence, it seems likely his later statements reflect his true impressions. **First shot 190. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Robert Hughes filmed the motorcade from the western-most lane of Houston Street, below Main. (**11-22-63** letter to his parents as quoted in Pictures of the Pain p.265) “About five seconds after I quit taking pictures we heard the shots...Some of the people dropped to the ground at the first shot, but most of us just stood where we were...My first reaction was that somebody was shooting firecrackers...The car had just turned the corner to go under the triple underpass beneath the railroad tracks. I saw Mrs. Kennedy then. She seemed to be in about a half-standing position with her arm behind her on the back of the car.” **Analysis:** as Hughes did not hear a shot for five seconds after he stopped filming, and he stopped filming circa z-195, he did not hear a shot at Z-160, Z-190, or Z-224. He confirms this by saying people dropped to the ground after the first shot. As we shall see, no one who dropped to the ground did so before witnessing the head shot. The first shot he heard was therefore the head shot. As he wrote “we heard the shots” we can take it he heard a shot after this shot. **Only heard two shots. Last two shots probably bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

D.V. Harkness was a traffic officer standing near Main and Houston during the final stretch of the

motorcade. It could very well be Harkness who walks in front of Robert Hughes' camera a few seconds before Hughes stopped filming the motorcade's progression up Houston Street. (4-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H308-315) "I had started west on Main Street to the... plaza area with the crowd to observe the President as he went west on Elm Street...(When asked how many shots he heard) "Three" (and if he knew they were shots) "Yes, sir... When I heard the first shot and saw the President's car almost come to a stop and some of the agents piling off the car, I went back to the intersection to get my motorcycle. (When asked if he was doing that when he heard the second and third shots) "Yes, sir." (When asked where the shots came from) "I couldn't tell. They were bouncing off the buildings down there." (7-16-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, 22H599) "When the first shots were fired, I was with Officer W.K. King and we were walking with the crowd west on Main on the north side, just west of Houston Street. We heard three shots. We were unable at that time to determine where the shots originated from." (No More Silence, p.204-210, published 1998) "when the motorcade made the turn to go down Elm street, they (the crowd) went back to grassy area there in the median between Main and Elm to get a better view of him. So I kind of followed the crowd. As the first shot rang out, then the second, I saw the President's head jerk. Then, as the third shot was fired, Mrs. Kennedy came out of the car and was on all fours on the trunk lid of the car. At the time, I was probably 150-200 feet from the car at the edge of the grassy media between Main and Elm, not far from where my motor was parked at the intersection. The sounds were loud reports. It seemed like there was more time between the first and the second shots than between the second and the third. The second and third were pretty close together. Due to the echo pattern in Dealey Plaza, though, I was unable to tell the direction of the shots. After they heard the shots, some people fell down. My first observation on this, if I would have been suspecting where the shots came from, I would have picked the building across from the School Book Depository because I looked up and there was a huge flock of pigeons that flew up from that building." **Analysis:** by saying that the President's car almost came to a stop and agents piled off the car after the first shot, Harkness is saying there was only one shot before frame 280 or so, when agent Clint Hill raced from the Presidential back-up car for the Presidential limousine. By saying he saw Kennedy's head jerk after the second shot, and that the third shot followed closely after the second shot, and that Mrs. Kennedy crawled out on the trunk as the third shot was fired, he is stating there was a shot after the head shot. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

W.K. King was with D.V. Harkness. (7-16-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, 22H601) "When the first shots were fired, I was with Sergeant Harkness at the intersection of Main and Houston. We both ran into the park west of Houston between Elm and Main." **Analysis: too vague.**

J.B Allan was a Dallas patrolman on traffic duty that day. (7-17-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, CD1259, p11) "At the time the President passed I was in the middle of Houston Street on the south side of Main holding back the crowd and I heard the shots. I did not know where they came from." **Analysis: too vague.**

W.H. Denham was a fourth traffic control officer at this intersection. He was on the northeast corner of Houston and Main at the time of the shots. (7-16-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, CD1259, p6) "The motorcade was approximately halfway past my position when I heard the first shot. I did not know where it was coming from." **Analysis: too vague.**

Jack Weaver was standing on the southeast corner of Houston and Main. (12-12-63 FBI report, CD 329, p. 15) "took a Polaroid photograph of the President's automobile which depicts the automobile and its occupants as the automobile made a right turn onto Houston street from Main street." **Analysis: too vague.**

William Sharper was an elevator operator for the Dal-Tex Building. (1-24-64 FBI report, found in FBI Oswald File, Sec. 83, p43) "Sharper related that on November 22, 1963 he had left the Dallas-Tex

Building to observe President Kennedy, whose car he thought was to pass by the corner of Houston and Main Streets. According to Sharper a short time after the President's car passed by that point he heard several shots and subsequently crossed to the east side of Houston Street and walked to the corner of Houston and Elm immediately in front of the Texas School Book Depository where he remained standing for a very short time. He advised that he saw nothing of pertinence and could furnish no information which could be of assistance to this investigation. He then returned to the Dallas-Tex Building." **Analysis: Too vague.**

William T. Downey. (6-15-64 FBI report, 26H551) "Downey went to the corner of Houston and Main streets, about one block south of the Texas School Book Depository Building, where he watched the Presidential car drive by. Shortly after the car had passed the corner on which he stood, Downey heard one or more explosions, which he thought were firecrackers. Suddenly the crowd started surging in the direction of the school depository, and he saw the Presidential automobile drive away from the corner of Houston and Elm streets in a hurry, at about the time he heard someone in the crowd say the President had been shot." **Analysis: too vague.**

Harry Holmes watched the motorcade from his office in the Terminal Annex Building on the south side of the plaza. He was a postal inspector and was the last man to interview Oswald before Oswald was killed. (12-14-63 FBI report, CD205 p30) "Mr. Holmes said he was using a pair of binoculars himself at the time of the shooting, and one of the employees in his office was observing the President when the bullets struck the President." (4-2-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H289-308) "the motorcade turned north on Houston and went to Elm and turned left on Elm where it started on a downgrade to what we refer to as a triple underpass. As it turned in front of the school book depository, I heard what to me sounded like firecrackers, and it was my recollection that there were three of them. I had my binoculars on this car, on the presidential car at the time. I realized something was wrong but I thought they were dodging somebody throwing things at the car like firecrackers or something, but I did see dust fly up like a firecracker had burst up in the air. (When asked where he saw the dust) "Off of President Kennedy and I couldn't tell you which one of the cracks of the firecracker resulted in this." (No More Silence, p.351-374, published 1998) "When the motorcade came by, I was watching with a pair of 7x50 binoculars when all of a sudden there was a CRACK!...CRACK!...CRACK!! All of us thought that somebody was throwing firecrackers... Anyway, about the first or second crack, I wouldn't know which, there was just a cone of blood and corruption that went up right in the back of his head and neck. I thought it was red paper or a firecracker. It looked like a firecracker lit up which looks like little bits of red paper as it goes up. But in reality it was skull and brains and everything else that went up perhaps as much as six or eight feet. Just like that. Then just a minute later another crack, and everybody fell down like they were ducking firecrackers." **Analysis:** so here we have Harry Holmes, one of the men who helped build the case against Oswald, acknowledging that there was a shot after the head shot. While he told the Warren Commission he couldn't tell which shot hit the President, or created the dust he saw fly up, he didn't tell them that he was unsure between the first and second shots, and that there was a shot after the dust flew up. Evidently it never occurred to Holmes, who was surely no Sherlock, that this was evidence for a second gunman, since the moment of this third shot, when Holmes saw people fall down, was before Z-340, barely a second and a half after the head shot. While Holmes says this crack was "just a minute later" we should not take him literally. Many people use "just a minute" interchangeably with "just a second." By connecting this final shot with people falling to the ground, Holmes showed he was not talking about 60 seconds later. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Sam Kelly, a postal worker, also claimed to have watched the motorcade from a window in the Terminal Annex Building. (11-21-93 article in the Bonham Daily Favorite) "I heard what I thought

were firecrackers,' Kelly remembered. 'I said, 'Somebody is going to get in trouble shooting firecrackers on an occasion like this.'...'I can't remember how many shots were fired,' Kelly admitted."

Analysis: Too vague.

J.C. Price watched the motorcade from the roof of the Terminal Annex Building. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department) "The cars had proceeded west on Elm and was just a short distance from the triple underpass, when I saw Gov. Connally slump over. I did not see the President as his car had gotten out of my view under the underpass. There was a volley of shots, I think five and then much later, maybe as much as five minutes later another one. I saw one man run towards the passenger cars on the railroad siding after the volley of shots....He had something in his hand. I couldn't be sure but it may have been a head piece." (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 3-27-66) (When asked where the shots came from) "From behind the overpass over there, triple overpass, that's where I thought the shots were coming from." (When asked where he saw the man run) "Over behind that wooden fence past the cars and over behind the Texas Depository Building." (When asked to mark a map showing where he thought the shots came from, and then asked if he has marked the map "just behind the wooden fence where it joins the overpass.") "That is correct." **Analysis:** Price almost certainly heard echoes. No one anywhere near him heard four shots, let alone six shots. His recollection of seeing a man run out behind the school book depository makes perfect sense, however. It is worth noting that neither this man nor the witnesses in the parking lot mentioned by railroad worker Lee Bowers were standing at the corner of the stockade fence, believed by so many to be the site of a second shooter. They could very well have been witnesses frightened to death by what they witnessed and too camera-shy to ever come forward. There are many still-unidentified witnesses visible in the assassination films. **Heard six shots?**

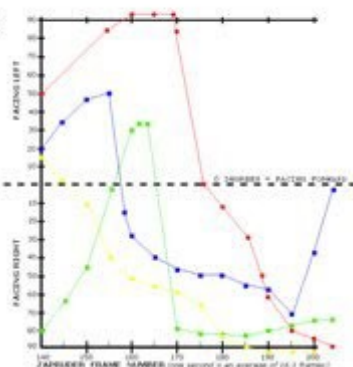
Well, the scene has now been set. We've looked at the statements of **55** witnesses along the south and east sides of the Plaza, with no deliberate omissions. **17** of these witnesses failed to tell us much about the impact of the shots or how they were spaced. This leaves **38** witnesses whose statements can help us figure out what happened. The statements of **31** of these witnesses suggest that the first shot hit and the last 2 shots were bunched together. **2** of the remaining 7 made statements indicating the first shot was heard at frame Z-190 or afterward. Of the remaining 5, **1** could only swear to hearing two shots, **1** heard a shot after the head shot, **1** recalled no pause between the second and third shots, **1** heard 4 shots, and **the last** heard 6 shots. There is therefore but 1 witness whose statements remotely suggest the LPM scenario, the favored scenario of today's crop of single-assassin theorists. This witness is Eugene Boone, and his statement suggesting the scenario, in which he contradicted his testimony before the Warren Commission, was not obtained until 1986, after being contacted by Vincent Bugliosi for a TV show. And he--assuming he actually said what Bugliosi claims he said--reversed himself later. Thus, there is literally no support for the popular LPM scenario of a first shot miss, a 3 ½ second pause, a second shot, a 5 second pause, and then a head shot, when one looks at all the statements of these eyewitnesses. Surprisingly, there is more eyewitness support for a third shot miss after the head shot—5 witnesses so far—then there is support for a first shot miss—0 witnesses so far. With these numbers in mind, we can begin to look at the motorcade witnesses and try to determine not just how many shots rang out, but which shots struck who, when. We can also reflect on the rather shocking fact that the so-called defenders of the Warren Commission, beginning with CBS News in 1967, have insisted the first shot missed, thereby disregarding the statements and testimony of the majority of the witnesses, in favor of a convenient interpretation of the statements of but one or two witnesses, and a convenient interpretation of the Zapruder film. It is the purported role of the media to expose such deception, not sell it. Then why haven't any of CBS' competitors exposed them on this? Professional courtesy?

Chapter 5b: Primary Pieces

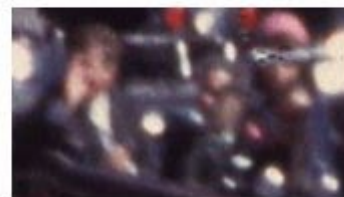
Those in the position to know...

Movements and Reactions

At right: A chart made by researcher Don Roberdeau, reflecting the head turns of the passengers between Z-140 and Z-200, with the top being left. Blue line---JFK. Red line---Jackie. Green line---JBC. Yellow line---Nellie.



Z-161



Z-188



Z-206



Z-223

Below: Figure II-5 from the HSCA report of William Hartmann.

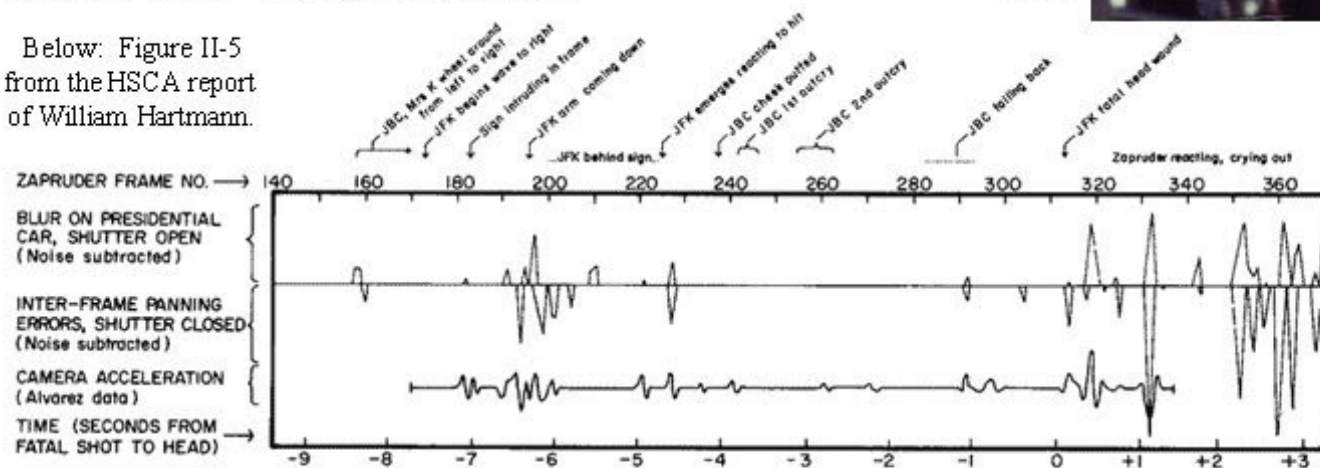


FIGURE II-5.—A comparison of the three independent records of largest blurs or tracking errors, in the Zapruder film, as derived by W. K. Hartmann (top, above line), Frank Scott (top, below line), and L. Alvarez (bottom). Magnitude of blur or panning error is indicated by length of curve upward or downward along direction of vertical axis. Frame numbers and times in seconds are given at top and bottom along horizontal axis.

Movements and Reactions

The principal piece of evidence used by single-assassin theorists to support the LPM scenario is the Zapruder film. They claim that the reactions observed in the film, when matched up to the testimony of these witnesses before the Warren Commission, are clear-cut evidence for a first-shot miss. They also claim that the jiggle analysis of the Zapruder film supports that this first shot miss was between frame 150 and 160. Conveniently, a miss at so early a point provides a more than three second gap between the first and second shot in their scenario, which allows Oswald plenty of time to re-aim. What these theorists won't tell you, however, is that the biggest jiggle or blur of the Zapruder film prior to Connally being wounded at frame 224 is not between frames 150 and 160, but between frames 190 and 200. The jiggle or blur at this time, in fact, is far greater than the jiggle or blur apparent after the shot striking Connally at frame 224, so much so that the HSCA would conclude that only two jiggles could "reasonably be attributed to the photographer's startle reaction to the sound of gunshots" --one at 189-197 and one at 312-334. When one matches up Figure II-5 from the HSCA report of William Hartmann with a chart created by researcher Don Roberdeau reflecting the head turns of the Kennedys and Connallys, moreover, one finds that although all four of them turn to the right shortly before or after frame 160, President Kennedy alone jerks his head back to the left after frame 190. This suggests he

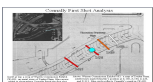
was hit at this point. A discussion of the witnesses, and whether their testimony indicates a first shot miss at frame 160 or a first shot hit at frame 190, follows...

First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy sat to the left of her husband. (11-29-63 interview with Theodore White, notes released 5-26-95, and subsequently published in the September 1995 Kennedy Assassination Chronicles) "They were gunning the motorcycles; there were these little backfires; there was one noise like that; I thought it was a backfire. Then next I saw Connally grabbing his arm and saying no no no nonono, with his fist beating—then Jack turned and I turned—all I remember was a blue gray building up ahead, then Jack turned back, so neatly; his last expression was so neat; he had his hand out, I could see a piece of his skull coming off; it was flesh colored not white—he was holding out his hand—and I can see this perfectly clean piece detaching itself from his head; then he slumped in my lap." (When describing the immediate aftermath of the shots) "All the ride to the hospital, I kept bending over him saying, "Jack, Jack, can you hear me, I love you, Jack." I kept holding the top of his head down trying to keep the..." (When describing her husband's condition upon arrival at the hospital) "From here down"--and here she made a gesture indicating her husband's forehead--"his head was so beautiful. I'd tried to hold the top of his head down, maybe I could keep it in...I knew he was dead." (Note found among White's type-written notes on his 11-29-63 interview with Mrs. Kennedy, as reported in the 5-28-95 Boston Globe) "I have left out of my transcript one or two matters so delicate I could not commit to paper." (11-29-63 interview with Theodore White as presented in The Making of the President 1964, published 1965. Although White, in his foreword, acknowledged the help of another motorcade witness, Malcolm Kilduff, it's clear his account was built at least in part upon his interview of Mrs. Kennedy.) "He had just turned easily, but with grace and precision as was his style, to wave at the Texans who cheered--when the sound rapped above the noise. It was a blunt crack, like a motorcycle backfiring (which is what his wife thought it was), followed in about five seconds by two more; then, suddenly, the sniper's bullets had found their mark and John Fitzgerald Kennedy lay fallen, his head in his wife's lap." (4-7-64, 5-4-64, 5-7-64, 5-8-64, and 7-20-64 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in The Death of a President, 1967) (On the first shot) "Jacqueline Kennedy believed it was a motorcycle noise." (On Connally's screaming) "Jacqueline Kennedy heard him. In a daze she wondered 'Why is *he* screaming?' Already she had started to turn anxiously to her husband." (On the final shot) "The First Lady, in her last act as First Lady, leaned solicitously toward the President. His face was quizzical. She had seen that expression so often, when he was puzzling over a difficult press conference question. Now, in a gesture of infinite grace, he raised his right hand, as though to brush back his tousled chestnut hair. But the motion faltered. The hand fell back empty. He had been reaching for the top of his head. But it wasn't there any more." (Manchester's narration for the immediate aftermath of the shots) "Leaning toward her husband Jacqueline Kennedy has seen a serrated piece of his skull--flesh-colored--not white--detach itself. At first there is no blood. And then, in the very next instant, there is nothing but blood spattering her, the Connallys, Kellerman, Greer, the upholstery, Clint running up behind, the curb alongside." (6-5-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 5H178-181, with words deleted from the Warren Commission's transcript only to be re-discovered by Harold Weisberg and Mark Sobel presented in bold) "the car was very slow and there weren't very many people around...I was looking to the left. I guess there was a noise, but it didn't seem like any different noise really because there is so much noise, motorcycles and things. But then suddenly Governor Connally was yelling, "Oh, no, no, no"...I was looking this way, to the left, and I heard these terrible noises. You know. And my husband never made any sound. So I turned to the right. And all I remember is seeing my husband, he had this sort of quizzical look on his face, and his hand was up, it must have been his left hand. And just as I turned to look at him, I could see a piece of his skull **sort of wedge-shaped, like that**, and I remember that it was flesh colored **with little ridges at the top**. I remember thinking he just looked as if he had a slight headache. And I just remember seeing that. No blood or anything. And then he sort of did this (indicating), put his hand to his forehead and

fell in my lap. And then I just remember falling on him and saying, "Oh no, no, no," I mean, "Oh my God, they have shot my husband." And "I love you, Jack," I remember I was shouting. And just being down in the car with his head in my lap. And it just seemed an eternity. You know, then, there were pictures later on of me climbing out the back. But I don't remember that at all." (When asked if she remembered Secret Service Agent Clint Hill's climbing onto the limo after she climbed out the back.) "I don't remember anything. I was just down like that. And finally I remember a voice behind me, or something, and then I remember the people in the front seat, or somebody, finally knew something was wrong, and a voice yelling, which must have been Mr. Hill, "Get to the hospital," or maybe it was Mr. Kellerman, in the front seat. But someone yelling. I was just down and holding him. **I was trying to hold his hair on. But from the front there was nothing. I suppose there must have been. But from the back you could see, you know, you were trying to hold his hair on, and his skull on.**" (When asked how many shots were fired) "Well there must have been two because the one that made me turn around was Governor Connally yelling. And it used to confuse me because first I remembered there were three and I used to think my husband didn't make any sound when he was shot. And Governor Connally screamed **like a stuck pig**. And then I read the other day that it was the same shot that hit them both. But I used to think if I only had been looking to the right I would have seen the first shot hit him, then I could have pulled him down, and then the second shot would not have hit him. But I heard Governor Connally yelling and that made me turn around, and as I turned to the right my husband was doing this (indicating with hand at neck). He was receiving a bullet. And those are the only two I remember." **Analysis:** although Mrs. Kennedy turns her head to the right in the Zapruder film around the time the LPM scenario holds the first shot was fired, she states she turned her head to the right after hearing a backfire and hearing Governor Connally scream. Governor Connally doesn't scream out until after frame 240. This suggests the first shot she heard was fired between 190 and 224, and hit Governor Connally. Now, since she could only recall hearing two shots, one might try to claim she failed to hear the first shot, fired before the shot or shots fired between 190 and 224. But one can't automatically assume this. Since she fails to remember looking at her husband before she looked at Connally, moreover, and fails to remember climbing out on the trunk of the car after the shots, the most one can faithfully take from her statements is that at least two shots were fired and that Governor Connally was wounded before Kennedy was struck at Z-313. It is intriguing, nonetheless, that she told the Warren Commission that at "first she remembered there were three" shots, and that White, who'd interviewed her months before she spoke to the Warren Commission, in his book based in part upon her comments, described three shots, with the last two bunched together. Did she initially think, as so many other witnesses, that the last two shots were bunched together? Hmmm... **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

Texas Governor John Connally sat directly in front of the President. (11-22-63 report of CBS News' Walter Cronkite, quoting Connally's aide William Stinson as to Connally's response when asked from which direction the shots came) "I don't know. I guess from the back. They got the President, too." (11-27-63 televised interview with Martin Agronsky, transcript printed in the 11-28-63 New York Times.) "we had just turned the corner, we heard a shot; I turned to my left—I was sitting in the jump seat. I turned to my left to look in the back seat—the President had slumped. He had said nothing. Almost simultaneously, as I turned, I was hit and I knew I had been hit badly. I knew the President had been hit and I said, "My God, they are going to kill us all." Then there was a third shot and the President was hit again and we thought then very seriously. I had still retained consciousness but the President had slumped in Mrs. Kennedy's lap and when he was hit the second time she said, or the first time—it all happened in such a brief span--she said "Oh, my God, they have killed my husband—Jack, Jack." After the third shot, the next thing that occurred—I was conscious--the Secret Service man, of course, the chauffeur, had pulled out of the line--they said, "Get out of here..." (12-13-63 FBI report CD188, p. 3-5) "Governor Connally stated "First sense or realization of anything unusual I became conscious of a

shot or what sounded like a gunshot. I knew it came from my right rear. I instinctively turned to my right to look back and as I did so I sensed more than I saw that President Kennedy was hit. As I turned I realized something was amiss with President Kennedy and then I turned back to my left a little and as I did so I got hit with a bullet in my right shoulder...I believe I remarked "Oh my God, they are going to kill us all!" Realizing I had been hit I crumpled over to Mrs. Connally and she pulled me over towards her...I was conscious of a third shot and heard it...we were all splattered with what I thought was brain tissue from President Kennedy." ...When Governor Connally was asked about the elapsed time between the first and last shot he remarked "Fast, my God it was fast. It seemed like a split second. Just that quick" and he snapped his fingers three times rapidly to illustrate the time and said "unbelievably quick...Governor Connally felt the shots were fired so fast the assassin had hit him by accident on the second shot." (Comments made a (4-21-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 4H129-146) "we had gone, I guess, 150 feet, maybe 200 feet, I don't recall how far it was, heading down to get on the freeway...We had just made the turn, well, when I heard what I thought was a shot. I heard this noise which I immediately took to be a rifle shot. I instinctively turned to my right because the sound appeared to come from over my right shoulder, so I turned to look back over my right shoulder, and I saw nothing unusual except just people in the crowd, but I did not catch the President in the corner of my eye, and I was interested...the only thought that crossed my mind was that this is an assassination attempt. So I looked, failing to see him, I was turning to look back over my left shoulder into the back seat, but I never got that far in my turn. I got about the position I am in now facing you, looking a little bit left of center, and then I felt like someone had hit me in the back. (When asked how long it was between the first shot and his feeling the impact) "A very, very brief span of time...I just looked down and I was covered with blood, and the thought immediately passed through my mind that there were either two or three people involved or more in this or someone was shooting with an automatic rifle. These were just thoughts that went through my mind because of the rapidity of these two, of the first shot plus the blow that I took...So I merely doubled up, and then turned to my right again and began to—I just sat there, and Mrs. Connally pulled me over to her lap...I reclined with my head in her lap, conscious all the time, and with my eyes open, and then, of course, the third shot sounded, and I heard the shot very clearly. I heard it hit him. I heard the shot hit something...I heard it hit. It was a very loud noise, just that audible, very clear...Immediately, I could see on my clothes, my clothing, I could see on the interior of the car...brain tissue...on my trousers there was one chunk of brain tissue as big as almost my thumb, thumbnail and again I did not see the President at any time either after the first, second, or third shots, but I assumed always that it was he who was hit and no one else. I immediately, when I was hit, I said, "Oh, no, no, no." And then I said "My God they are going to kill us all." (When asked about the timing of the shots) "It was a very brief span of time...so much so that again I thought that whoever was firing must be firing with an automatic rifle because of the rapidity of the shots...it just couldn't conceivably have been the first (bullet which struck him) ...when I heard the sound of that first shot, that bullet had already reached where I was, or it had reached that far, and after I heard that shot, I had the time to turn to my right, and start to turn to my left before I felt anything...I never heard the second shot, didn't hear it...I think I heard the first shot and the third shot." **Beginning Analysis:** Connally's earliest statements do not support the LPM theory. While he states he turned to his right after hearing the first shot, he more specifically states he turned to look over his right shoulder, which never occurs until long after Z-160 and Z-190, around Z-270.



Connally First Shot Analysis

On page 133 of Connally's Warren Commission testimony there is a most important exchange. Here,

counsel Arlen Specter hands the Governor an overhead photograph of Dealey Plaza and asks him to mark where he was "at the time the shooting first started." The Governor states "I would say it would be about where this truck is here. It looks like a truck. I would say about in that neighborhood." He then marks the photo. This marked photo was placed into evidence as Commission Exhibit 699. When one compares this photo to the surveyor's plat of Dealey Plaza, however, one can see that the area marked by Connally is nowhere near where the LPM theory holds Connally to have been when he heard the first shot. When one combines CE 699 with Connally's testimony that he had gone 150-200 feet down Elm before he heard the first shot, in fact, one should realize the LPM theory is on very shaky ground. At the time of Z-160, Connally was at best 115 feet down Elm (from the turning point in the middle of Houston). At Z-190, on the other hand, he was approximately 145 feet down Elm. Ironically, the closest possible shot to the location marked by Connally was Z-224, where he appears to be hit. The possibility exists, therefore, that Connally was simply confused, and marked CE 699 where he believed he was when first hit, and not where he was when he heard the first shot.

The possibility that Connally felt the first shot could have occurred as early as Z-160, however, is discounted by Connally's comments later that day.

(4-21-64 comments by Connally after studying the Zapruder film, as per a 4-22-64 memorandum for the record written by Warren Commission counsel Melvin Eisenberg) "(d) After viewing the films and slides, the Governor was of the opinion that he had been hit by frame 231. (e) The Governor stated that after being hit, he looked to his right, looked to his left, and then turned to his right. He felt the President might have been hit by frame 190. He heard only two shots and felt sure that the shots he heard were the first and third shots. He is positive that he was hit after he heard the first shot, i.e., by the second shot, and by that shot only."

Thus, we have the Governor giving numbers to the "very, very brief" interval between the first two shots he described in his testimony. While the LPM theory holds that there were almost 3 ½ seconds between the first two shots, the Governor was of the opinion there were barely 2 seconds. Since the Governor felt the first shot may have been around frame 190 and struck the President, and since this frame just so happens to correspond to a substantial blur on the Zapruder film and the President's turning to his left, shouldn't those supporting Connally as the most important witness, and building their theory around his testimony, hold that the first shot rang out around frame 190 and struck the President? The problem with this, of course, is that it doesn't leave enough time for Oswald to effectively re-aim for a second shot at frame 224. The pre-determined conclusions of the LPM defenders therefore determined the direction of their analysis. They built their theory around Connally's testimony while ignoring most of what he said. This would be acceptable if the bulk of the other witnesses corroborated a missed shot at frame 160. But, as we shall see, they do not. Far from it.

As The Governor Turns



Above: the Croft photo, corresponding to Z-161.



Above: the Betzner photo, corresponding to Z-186



Above: Zapruder frame 223.



Above: a crop of Zapruder frame 274.

As the Governor Turns

Still, defenders of the LPM theory will argue that, no matter what Connally's estimation of the distance he traveled down Elm was, and no matter what time in the Zapruder film Connally felt Kennedy was hit, the four passengers in the back of the limousine all turned to their right shortly before or after frame Z-160, and that therefore there must have been a shot at that time. Well, that's quite a leap. Couldn't there be another explanation for their turning their heads? Governor Connally sure thought so...

(6-22-64 interview on television station KRLD, most of which was re-broadcast on CBS 9-27-64) "just as we turned, down by the courthouse, Nelly turned around and said to the President--she was so impressed by the warmth of the reception-- she turned around and said to the President, "Well, Mr. President, you can't say that Dallas doesn't love you, too" and he said "No I think that's apparent" and or words to that effect... The crowds began to thin, but we were only about 5 minutes from the Trade Mart where the luncheon was to be held. *Uh...so...we all more or less straightened up...uh, in the car ...uh, I did I know and maybe I should explain that a little bit by sayin' when you sit for a prolonged period of time as we were, facing one direction acknowledging the crowd why, when you get an opportunity where the crowd thins you kind of shift in the chair and straighten up. We had just done that.* I had and I heard this shot and I say shot because I immediately thought it was a shot. And I immediately thought it was a rifle shot. Why? I don't know but I immediately thought of an assassination attempt. It's the only thing that crossed my mind. Fear just swept through me and I

immediately thought of him, of course. I was sitting on the seat in this seven passenger car, immediately in front of him. And I turned, thinking that the shot had come from back over my right shoulder. And I turned to look in that direction I think motivated by two things, first to see if I could see where the shot came from, see if I could see anything unusual; but equally but more important to me in that moment in my thought processes was a desire to face him, see if anything had happened, see if he was all right. So I turned and I obviously saw nothing but a tremendous crowd of people from where we had just come. And I saw nothing unusual, nothing out of the way except people who also had startled looks on their faces, they were turning, they were looking. And...and I didn't catch him in the corner of my eye, so I was in the process of turning to my left to look back over my left shoulder, and that's when I felt the impact of the bullet that hit me. There was no—there was no great pain associated with the bullet that hit me, notwithstanding it went into my back shoulder and came out my chest, right here. I felt as if someone had just hit me in the back, a sharp blow with a doubled up fist. It was an impact rather than any sort of searing pain. It more or less knocked me over at least enough to where I looked down. And of course I was covered in blood, and frankly thought that I had been fatally hit. I said, as I recall "My God, they're going to kill us all!" So there was no thought in my mind, really, but that this was an assassination attempt. I did not hear the second shot, the one that hit me. I understand there's some question in the minds of the experts about whether or not we could both have been hit by the same bullet and that was the first bullet. I just don't happen to believe that. I won't believe it, never will believe, because, again, I heard the first shot, I recognized it for what I thought it was. I had time to turn to try and see what happened. I was in the process of turning again before I felt the impact of a bullet. Obviously, if the bullet that hit me hit me before I could hear it, I was never conscious of the sound of the second bullet at all. I never heard the second bullet. After I said, "My God, they're going to kill us all," I, of course, didn't know that they'd actually hit the President, because I had not seen him. He had not said a word. And about that time Nellie pulled me down into—I had turned again in reaction to this bullet and had turned facing my right—and she pulled me down into her lap and put her head down on top of mine and just kept talking to me and saying "You're going to be all right, you're going to be all right." I was conscious the whole time. I never lost consciousness and I was lying there and heard the third shot. Now it takes a long time to tell this, Eddie, but this all happened, as you well know, in matter of seconds. I heard the third shot very distinctly. I heard it hit. I assumed that it hit the President. It obviously did. I did not see it hit him, but I heard it hit. And I knew obviously—again, if you've ever done any firing, even 200 or 300 yards, when you fire a rifle at a deer you know from the sound of that shell, the whine of it, whether or not it hit its target or whether it didn't. Makes a different sound. Well obviously the third shot hit something because the evidence was splattered all over the car and all over my clothes, all over Nelly. There was no question what had happened. My eyes were open. I was conscious. "I saw the two Secret Service men in the front seat. I heard what they said...Roy Kellerman, who was in the right front, between the second and the third shot—between the time I was hit and between the time of the third shot—both the driver and Roy were looking back into the seat to see what had happened. This was all, again, happening in a matter of seconds and they both had a look of almost consternation on their face. Roy, in the right seat turned around, on a radio communication, obviously working something on the panel of the car, and said, "Get out of the line." And then he said, apparently over the radio, "Get us to a hospital quick." So we immediately pulled out of the caravan and began picking up speed...No, the car never stopped. And about this time I lost consciousness...It was a time of just unbelievable stark tragedy. You, uh, so many things go through you mind at that moment that I think it's probably impossible to relate at any future time all the things that you thought. I know I thought, again I rather assumed without knowing that the president had been fatally wounded. And I rather assumed that, uh, that I had been..."

Intermediate Analysis: Connally is clearly telling us his sudden turn to the left prior to frame 160 and his sudden turn back to the right afterwards was him simply straightening out in the car. When one

looks at the Croft Photo taken at Zapruder frame 161 and the Betzner photo taken at Zapruder frame 186 one can see that the north side of Elm was still lined with spectators, while a look at any of the Zapruder film frames in this time period shows the south side of Elm to be almost vacant. It only makes sense then that the four political figures in the limousine would turn their heads to face the north side. This accounts for the sudden turn of all four people roughly at the same time. (It should also be noted that while Croft didn't hear a shot until seconds after snapping his picture, Betzner heard one just after he clicked. This is undoubtedly supportive of the first shot coming at frame 190 and will be discussed in more detail on the pages to come.)

Should Connally's words not be enough to convince one that the mass turn to the right of the limousine occupants preceded the first shot, there are also the words of Mary Woodward, who stood on the north side of Elm Street near the Thornton Freeway sign. In an eyewitness account published 11-23-63 she stated "After acknowledging our cheers, he (Kennedy) faced forward again and suddenly there was a horrible, ear-splitting noise." A 12-7-63 FBI report reflects she told the FBI much the same: "she was watching President and Mrs. Kennedy closely, and all of her group cheered loudly as they went by. Just as President and Mrs. Kennedy went by, they turned and waved at them. Just a second or two later, she heard a loud noise." (Kennedy is waving in her direction at frame 190.)

Should one doubt the words of both Governor Connally and Mary Woodward that the limousine occupants turned to the right before the first shot, there is also the testimony of Vickie Adams, who watched the motorcade from the fourth floor of the school book depository. In her 4-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, she stated "I watched the motorcade...proceed around the corner on Elm, and apparently somebody in the crowd called to the late President, because he and his wife both turned abruptly and faced the building...Then we heard—then we were obstructed from the view...A tree. And we heard a shot, and it was a pause, and then a second shot, and then a third shot."

The 6-22-64 Connally interview is also important because it is one of the few times he talked about the actions of the Secret Service agents in the front seat, agents Kellerman and Greer. Connally's assertions that he turned back to his right in reaction to the bullet strike and that he'd already been struck by the time the agents looked into the back seat are strong evidence he was hit long before Zapruder frame 285. This is a critical blow to the pet theory of those holding that Connally was first struck circa Z-285, or later.

(9-16-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Most of the hunters in the motorcade--Sorrels, Connally, Yarborough, Gonzalez, Albert Thomas--instinctively identified it as rifle fire." (Manchester's theory on what happened to the first bullet, after exiting Kennedy) "Continuing its flight, it had passed through Governor Connally's back, chest, right wrist and left thigh, although the Governor, suffering a delayed reaction, was not yet aware of it. At the moment, in fact, Connally was glancing over his right shoulder, in the direction of what he had recognized as a rifle shot." (On Connally's reaction to being hit, by what Manchester asserts was this same first shot) "At this instant, the impact of John Connally's wound hit him. It was as though someone had jabbed him in the back with a gigantic fist. He pitched forward, saw that his lap was covered with blood, and toppled to the left, toward his wife. Both John and Nellie were aware that the Lincoln was slowing down. Huddled together, they glanced up and saw the astounded faces of Kellerman and Greer, inches from their own. Suddenly, the Governor felt doomed. He panicked. 'No, no, no, no!' he shrieked. 'They're going to kill us both!'" (On the head shot) "'Nellie wonders if she is being sprayed by spent buckshot, but John Connally knows. John suddenly recalls his boyhood in the Model T, in a flash he remembers his father and Carlos Estrada, and as he slides bleeding into Nellie's lap, he fills his lungs and screams again and screams again and screams again in agony; in terror she

she begins to scream, too; and they are overwhelmed by matter, saturated in Kennedy's bright blood..." (9-27-64 Press conference on Connally's response to the Warren Report, as shown in the film *Rush to Judgment*, 1967) "Unquestionably, when the first shot was fired, I recognized it as a shot. I thought of nothing else, but it was a rifle shot. I turned to my right, I had time to think, I had time to react. I turned to my right to look back over my right shoulder to see if I could see anything unusual and particularly to see if I could catch him out of the corner of my eye—the President—because I immediately thought it was an assassination attempt the moment I heard the shot. I didn't see anything but the general blur of waving, of people moving. I did not see anything unusual—I did not see the President out of the corner of my eye and I was in the process of turning over to my left shoulder, and had about come to the point where I was looking straight forward again, when I felt the impact of the bullet that hit me...I am convinced beyond any question of a doubt that the first shot that was fired did not hit me. Then I was hit. I have no opinion or recollection of the sound of the shot that hit me. Beyond any question of a doubt the third shot did not hit me." (9-28-64 article in the *Chicago Tribune*, on the press conference the day before) (Note: I assume the press conference shown in *Rush To Judgment* is this same press conference, but have yet to establish this as a fact.) "The commission said the bullet that struck Kennedy in the throat probably also struck Connally. 'I'm convinced beyond any doubt that the first shot did not hit me,' Connally said. 'I heard the first shot and looked back over my right shoulder to see him (Kennedy). All I could see was the blur of people moving. I felt the impact of the second bullet but I did not hear it. The third shot I heard. I heard it hit him [Kennedy] and I saw the results of it. My eyes were open, I was conscious. I thought immediately that it was an assassination...' " (11-21-65 interview with UPI found in the *Brownsville Texas Herald*) "'The first inkling I had that anything was amiss was when I heard a sound that I thought was a shot. I tried to turn around in front of the President. I felt a hard impact. '...the first time I knew I had been hit was when I saw blood all over my clothing. 'I said lo Nellie, 'My God! They're going to kill us both.' She kept saying, 'Be still, be still. You're going to be all right.' 'I remember hearing the third shot and knew that someone had been hit a fatal blow. There was blood all over me and the car.'" (10-30-66 interview with *Life Magazine*, as reported in its 11-25-66 issue) (Note: a caption to a series of frames from the Zapruder film featured in this issue claims that after studying individual frames from the film, "Connally...says he was hit here," with an arrow pointing to frame 234.) (When discussing the frames of the Zapruder film immediately following Kennedy's emergence from behind the sign) "You can see my leftward movement clearly...I had turned to the right when the limousine was behind the sign. Now I'm turning back again. I know that I made that turn to the left before I was hit. You can see the grimace in the President's face. You cannot see it in mine. There is no question about it. I haven't been hit yet." (When discussing his choice of frame 234 as the frame where he was first hit) "Having looked at frames 233 to 235, I can begin to see myself slump in 234. The slump is very pronounced in 235. I am hunched. It looks as though my coat is pulled away from my shirt. My mouth is elongated. I don't think there is any question that my reaction to the shot begins in this time sequence..." (When reflecting on the shooting) "'Between the time I heard the first shot and felt the impact of the other bullet that obviously hit me I sensed something was wrong, and said "Oh, no, no, no." After I felt the impact, I glanced down and saw that my whole chest was covered with blood...I'll bet that you can recall every detail of the circumstances under which you heard of the assassination--or Pearl Harbor Day or the death of F.D.R. And that's why I know every split second of what happened in that car until I lost consciousness. When I heard that first shot, and was starting to turn to my right to see what happened, Nellie saw the President's hands reaching for his throat. I started to look around over my left shoulder, and somewhere in that revolution I was hit. My recollection of that time gap, the distinct separation between the shot that hit the President and the impact of the one that hit me, is as clear today as it was then." (When discussing his dispute with the Warren Commission) "history is bigger than any individual's feelings. I don't want to discuss any other facets of the controversy except my wounds as related to the first shot that hit the President. They talk about the 'one-bullet' or 'two bullet theory,' but as far as I'm concerned there is no 'theory.' There is my

absolute knowledge, and Nellie's too, that one bullet caused the President's first wound, and that an entirely separate shot struck me...It's a certainty. I'll never change my mind."

(11-23-66 AP article found in the Miami News on a press conference called by Connally, in which he read a prepared statement and denounced Mark Lane and other critics of the Warren Report as "scavengers.") "Connally told a questioner at a news conference that he had read none of the books criticizing the Warren Report but had read a number of news stories and reviews about them. He held steadfastly to his belief he was hit by a bullet that did not hit President John F. Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963, in Dallas. The Warren Commission said one bullet hit both men. Connally said he disagreed with the Commission on that one point, but he sees no reason for reopening the investigation... Connally repeated yesterday the testimony he gave before the Warren Commission. He said he heard the first shot, that he did not hear the second one but felt it hit him in the back like a fist, and that he heard the third shot. He said his wife, riding in the other jump seat to his left, heard all three shots, and that they both agreed the shots they heard all came from 'back over our right shoulder,' the direction of the book depository. Some have argued that one shot was fired from the vicinity of a grassy knoll in front and to the right of the presidential limousine. Connally said he first thought two or three people were involved in the shooting because of the rapidity of the shots. 'This was something that went through my mind,' he said. 'It is not evidence. It was nothing but a fleeting thought. The fact that I thought there were two or three because of the rapidity really has no bearing on the case. Nor should it be considered as evidence of any kind.' Connally said he would not change his mind about the shots, but it was the Warren Commission's privilege to disagree." (11-24-66 New York Times article on the 11-23 press conference, in which more direct quotes are supplied) "I am convinced, beyond any doubt, that I was not struck by the first bullet. I know that I heard the first shot, that I turned to see what happened, and that I was struck by a second shot. The third shot struck the President and not me. As I said earlier, this testimony was presented to the Warren Commission. They chose to disagree, which is their privilege. I maintain my original view, always shall. I want to make it very clear, however, that simply because I disagree with the Warren Commission on this one detail does not mean that I disagree with the substance of their overall findings." (Interview with CBS broadcast 6-25-67) "All the shots came from the same place, from back over my right shoulder...Beyond any question, and I'll never change my opinion, the first bullet did not hit me. The second bullet did hit me. The third bullet did not hit me. Now, so far as I'm concerned, all I can say with any finality is that if there is - if the single-bullet theory is correct, then it had to be the second bullet that hit President Kennedy and me."

(9-6-78 testimony before the HSCA Vol.1, p. 11-59) "we had just turned onto Elm. We had gone, I suspect, oh, 150, 200 feet when I heard what I thought was a rifle shot and I thought it came from--I was seated right, as you know, the jump seat right in front of the President, and they have a fairly straight back on them so I was sitting up fairly erect. I thought the shot came from back over my right shoulder, so I turned to see if I could catch a sight of the President out of the corner of my eye because I immediately had, frankly, had fear of an assassination because I thought it was a rifle shot. I didn't think it was a blowout or explosion of any kind. I didn't see the President out of the corner of my eye, so I was in the process of, at least I was turning to look over my left shoulder into the back seat to see if I could see him. I never looked, I never made the full turn. About the time I turned back where I was facing more or less straight ahead, the way the car was moving, I was hit. I was knocked over, just doubled over by the force of the bullet. It went in my back and came out my chest about 2 inches below and the left of my right nipple. The force of the bullet drove my body over almost double and when I looked, immediately I could see I was just drenched with blood. So, I knew I had been badly hit and I more or less straightened up. At about this time, Nelly reached over and pulled me down into her lap. I was in her lap facing forward when another shot was fired. I only heard two shots. I did not hear the shot that hit me. I wasn't conscious of it. I am sure I heard it, but I was not conscious of it at all. I heard another shot. I heard it hit. It hit with a very pronounced impact, just [slap of hands] almost like that.

Almost that loud a sound; it made a very, very strong sound. Immediately, I could see blood and brain tissue all over the interior of the car and all over our clothes. We were both covered with brain tissue, and there were pieces of brain tissue as big as your little finger. It was something that was unmistakable. There was no question in my mind about what it was. About this moment in time, Roy Kellerman, who was the Secret Service agent sitting in the right-front seat, pushed, apparently was pushing some buttons on the panel, doing what, I don't know. I heard him say, "Let's get out of here fast," and the car lurched forward then. Bill Greer was the driver. He accelerated it tremendously. When I was hit, or shortly before I was hit--no, I guess it was after I was hit--I said first, just almost in despair, I said, "no, no, no, just thinking how tragic it was that we had gone through this 24 hours, it had all been so wonderful and so beautifully executed. The President had been so marvelously received and then here, at the last moment this great tragedy. I just said, "no, no, no, no". Then I said right after I was hit, I said, "My God, they are going to kill us all. The shots came, in my judgment, the two shots I heard came from the same direction, back over my right shoulder, came from behind us. Very clear to me where they came from. I don't think any shots came from any other direction. I was conscious until we hit the Stemmons Freeway and then I faded into unconsciousness. I would have to volunteer the very, very strong opinion, I know much has been written, much has been discussed, I was being a participant, I can only give you my impressions, but I must say to you, as I said to the Warren Commission, I do not believe, nor will I ever believe, that I was hit with the first bullet. I don't believe that. I heard the first shot. I reacted to the first shot and I was not hit with that bullet. Now, there's a great deal of speculation that the President and I were hit with the same bullet. That might well, be, but it surely wasn't the first bullet and Nelly doesn't think it's the second bullet. I don't know, I didn't hear the second bullet. I felt the second bullet. We obviously weren't hit by the third bullet. I was down reclining in her lap at the time the third bullet hit." (When asked how long it was between shots) "I think it is impossible for me to say with precision, but obviously a very short period of time, a matter of seconds, because it was, you know, I think undoubtedly a fairly fluid movement. I heard the shot, I reacted by looking, I saw nothing, and I was in the process of turning when I felt the impact. I guess 6, 8, or 10 seconds, in that range, but I certainly couldn't be more precise than that, but it wasn't long." (When asked if the shots were instantaneous) "No, it was not. It could not have been 1 second."

(**11-06-83** AP article by Robert Johnson found in the Daytona Beach Morning Journal) "Connally recalls hearing a rifle shot as the motorcade rolled by the Texas School Book Depository. Then he was hit by what he is convinced was a second shot that he did not hear--'I was more or less in a state of shock and it didn't register on me at all,' he said. But he remembers clearly the sound of a third shot, the one that shattered the president's skull." (**11-13-83** UPI article found in the Paris Texas News) "Connally was conscious, his eyes open, when the bullet hit Kennedy's head. "It hit with a loud bang." He illustrates now by smacking his left palm with his right fist. "And then blood and brain tissue were all over the car, all over us." (ABC News interview shown on the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the assassination, **1983**) "I heard a sound that I thought was a rifle shot. So I looked in the direction from which I thought the shot came, and then suddenly I felt an impact like someone had walked up behind me and hit me with a doubled-up fist right in the back. And it knocked me over. And before I could straighten up I saw that I was literally just covered with blood and I knew I had been hit badly, and I assumed, probably fatally." (The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast **1988**) "I heard what I thought was a rifle shot. I immediately reacted by turning to look over my right shoulder because that's where the sound came from. I didn't see anything out of the ordinary and was in the process of turning to look over my left shoulder when I felt a blow in the middle of my back as if someone had hit me with a doubled-up fist about like that. The blow was of such force that it bent me over, and I immediately saw that I was covered with blood, and I knew I'd been hit. And I said "Oh, my God, they're going to kill us all. And I heard another shot. There was a last shot almost like that, and I immediately saw blood and brain tissue all over the back of the limousine." (**11-16-88** Cox News Service article by Seth Kantor

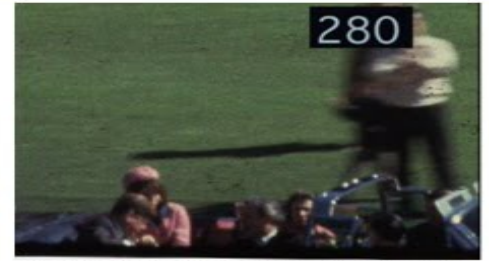
found in the Henderson, North Carolina Times-News) (Describing the impact of the shot) "It was like somebody had walked up behind me and hit me with a closed fist in the back"... 'I didn't hear that second shot. I felt the blow. Then I saw I was drenched with blood. I knew I'd been hit. I said 'My God, they're going to kill us all!' Then Nellie (Mrs. Connally) pulled me into her lap. I heard another shot, what I thought was a rifle shot (he slammed his hands together again). I heard the impact of it, which was very loud, a very distinct impact. I was conscious. I was lying down. I was looking straight into the back of the back seat. And after that shot had hit, I saw blood and tissue all over the blue velour covering of the presidential limousine. All over my clothes. My eyes were open. I knew what I saw. There was no question in my mind but what there were three shots. I did not hear the second. I only heard two. Nellie heard three, There weren't four. They didn't come from the grassy knoll. They all came from the same direction. From behind...they developed the theory that the president and I were hit by the same bullet and that one missed completely. I don't believe that. Never have believed that. They posed that question to me during the Warren Commission and I didn't believe it then; don't believe it now.'" (Interview with Larry King on CNN, January, **1992**) "I thought I heard a rifle shot...I turned to look over my right shoulder because that's where the sound came from. And I saw nothing out of the corner of my eye and I turned to look over my left shoulder. About the time I got square again, Larry, I felt a blow (slaps hands together) about like that, as if someone had hit me in the back with a closed fist. It knocked me over and as I looked down I was covered with blood... Conscious, and I said 'My God, they're gonna kill us all!'...I said it out loud...No pain, nope...just a thud. I felt no pain after that. Nellie then immediately pulled me down into her lap. And about that time ((slaps hands together) we heard another sound, another rifle shot. The loud smack was the bullet hitting the President's head... Immediately after that smacking sound the whole car was covered with blood and brain tissue. There were chunks of brain tissue as big as my little finger on my clothes." (CBS program "Who Killed JFK?," broadcast **1992**) "To me, it's just inconceivable that the first shot that went through the throat, through the neck, entered my back. I don't believe that. I don't wanna believe that. They can't run enough tests to make me believe that." (Interview in the Discovery Channel program The End of Camelot, broadcast **1993**) "I felt like someone hit me in the back with a balled-up fist. It knocked me over. And I looked down and I was covered with blood. And I said 'My God, they're gonna kill us all!'"

(In History's Shadow, **1993**, co-written with Mickey Herskowitz) "It was almost exactly 12:30 PM, November 22, 1963 when we followed the motorcycle escort onto Houston Street and past the ugly brick building where Lee Harvey Oswald waited with his scrambled egg off a mind. People were still jostling for a better view. The noise of the motorcycles, the clearing of the mechanical lungs, b-r-r-o-o-m, competed with the rising cheers, and at first many people thought what they heard was the backfire of a motorbike. I knew it wasn't. I had been to war, hunted, handled guns all my life. And even if there had been time to wonder, within seconds the evidence was all over us. The first shot struck the President in the neck. His hands flew to his throat, a reflex. I turned, and felt the blow against my back. My body was aligned in such a way that the bullet passed through my chest, shattered my right wrist, and lodged in my thigh. It is remarkable, over the years, how many people have tried to tell me where I was shot, and how. I never argue with them. I only need to consult my scars. I was still conscious when the third shot blew off part of John Kennedy's head...Everything I saw, heard, and felt is consistent with what was visible in the frame-by-frame analysis of the film taken by Abraham Zapruder, a Dallas merchant who became an accidental historian: The first shot passed through the neck of John F. Kennedy. I saw him clutch his throat. The second shot was the one that struck me; of this I have no doubt. Nellie had pulled me to her when the third bullet blew across the car a spray of the President's brain." (Final words on the subject) "I happen to support the major findings of the Warren Commission. I believe there were errors, including the so-called "magic bullet." My ear and my body told me that I was not wounded in three places by a bullet that hit President Kennedy. I remain convinced that he was hit twice, and I once, by three separate shots." **Final Analysis:** in late 1966, when public skepticism

about the single-bullet theory became rampant, Connally was in a bit of a bind. The Warren Commission had ignored his testimony that he had not been hit by the first shot and had instead presented that scenario as the most likely scenario. Through his 1966 interviews and beyond, he let the powers-that-be know that he would agree that he may have been hit by the same bullet as Kennedy, as long as they decided that it wasn't the first bullet fired. Shortly thereafter, CBS conducted its investigation concluding that this was indeed the case. Since that point, until 2006, when Mark Fuhrman offered a single-assassin scenario which did not include a miss, all prominent single-assassin scenarios have taken as gospel a first shot miss and a second shot striking both Kennedy and Connally. Connally's "playing ball" with the government after that point is made most clear by a subtle change between his Warren Commission and HSCA testimony. While Connally initially testified the time difference between the first two shots was "very, very brief" and indicative of automatic rifle fire or more than one assassin; by 1978 this gap was now as much as 10 seconds. Connally, a veteran, a hunter, and a former Secretary of the Navy, knew full well that a bolt-action rifle could be fired within 6 to 10 seconds, and that by stretching out the time span between the shots, he was helping to sell the single-assassin scenario.

Beyond his insistence that he was not hit by the first shot, or the third shot, it's difficult to take Connally's testimony at face value. While he testified he turned to look over his right shoulder just prior to being struck and that he never saw the President during the shooting sequence, the Zapruder film shows him look back at the President after he was hit (at around frame 274). From this, one can only assume that Governor Connally's memory was negatively affected by his experience. A 2004 article in the Journal of Law and Psychiatry by Charles Morgan et al examined the impact of extreme stress on eyewitness testimony. Morgan found that when military personnel were subjected to mock prisoner of war interrogations, and threatened with physical violence, and were asked the next day to identify the interrogators and guards, their identifications were only 30% accurate. Conversely, those interrogated in a less stressful environment were able to identify their captors with 62% accuracy. This suggests we should pay less attention to Mrs. Kennedy's and Governor Connally's recollections and more attention to the recollections of those around them. Still, due to Governor Connally's recollection of stretching before the first shot, his approximation of where the first shot occurred for the Warren Commission, and his initial approximation of the time span between the shots, we can safely put Connally in the first shot 190 category. **First shot 190-224. Was aware of two shots between 190 and 224.**

Bodies in Motion, Time Standing Still



By frame Z-280, Connally, Kellerman and Greer are all looking back towards the president.



The Zapruder film frames above and at left can help us place the testimony of the limousine passengers in context.



At left: a crop from Z-335.

Bodies in Motion, Time Standing Still

When one compares the Zapruder film to the testimony of the Mrs. Kennedy and Governor Connally, one can't help but notice how fragile their memories were. In frame 230, for example, we see Mrs. Kennedy looking at her husband. This is *before* Governor Connally begins to yell. Similarly, Governor Connally turns to look over his right shoulder in the frames between Z-270 and 288, and yet this is *after* he has obviously been hit. Neither of them remembered looking at the President at these times. Perhaps, by looking at the testimony and statements of the other three occupants of the limousine, the sequence of events will become more clear. (Perhaps not.)

First Lady of Texas Nellie Connally sat directly to the left of her husband and directly in front of Jackie Kennedy: (11-22-63 WFAA report on a press conference given by Connally aide Julian Read, who had just spoken to Mrs. Connally.) "The car had turned to the left on Elm Street and was getting ready to go under the Triple Underpass. At that moment, Mrs. Connally said she heard a shot. Instantly, when she heard the shot, her husband turned to see what had happened and at that instant he too was shot. Mrs. Connally says she believes the first shot was the one that struck President Kennedy in the head. There was a second shot. That shot struck Governor Connally in the back, and coming out of his body in the right chest. There are reports of a third shot and Governor Connally has a wound on his wrist and that could be the result of that third pistol shot, although Mrs. Connally is not certain whether there was a third shot or not. She said immediately after the first shot Mrs. Kennedy grabbed her husband. After the second shot Mrs. Connally grabbed her husband. All four of them ducked down into the car to escape any further fusillade of shots." (11-22-63 UPI article on Read's press conference.) "Mrs. John Connally, wife of the wounded Governor of Texas, said today she thinks President Kennedy was shot first....(Quoting Read)'They got ready to go through the underpass. Mrs. Connally heard a shot. When the first shot was fired, Connally turned in his seat and almost instantly was hit. She does not know about the third shot. But it may have been the one that hit the governor's wrist...Jackie grabbed the President and Mrs. Connally grabbed Connally and they both ducked down in the car... Mrs. Connally does not remember her husband saying anything." (Notes written on 12-2-63, as

reprinted in her book *From Love Field*, 2003) “then I heard a loud, terrifying noise...I turned and looked toward the President just in time to see him clutch his neck and see him sink down in his seat. There was no utterance of any kind from him...I had no sure knowledge as to what the noise was... Quickly, there was a second shot, John had turned to the right at the first shot to look back and then whirled to the left to get another look...John said, “No, No, No,” was hit himself by a second shot and said “My God, they are going to kill us all,” wheeled back to the right, crumpling his shoulders to his knees...I reached over and pulled him to me...Then came a third shot.” (12-13-63 FBI report, CD188, p.6-7) “she was facing the front of the car when the first shot was fired and turned to her right towards President Kennedy and saw him with his hand at his throat and then slump down. ...almost immediately Governor Connally recoiled in the opposite direction from her and was heard to remark “My God, they are going to kill us all.” She had feelings that buck shot was falling all around them and then she realized it was probably brain matter from President Kennedy’s head...When asked about the lapse of time between the first and last shots she replied “About like saying “crack, crack, crack.” She sensed that Governor Connally had been hit when she heard the second shot and she turned to hold him...The direction of all shots were from somewhere to the rear of the car.”

(4-21-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 4H146-149) “When we got past this area I did turn to the President and said “Mr. President you can’t say Dallas doesn’t love you.” Then I don’t know how soon, it seems to me it was very soon, that I heard a noise...I turned over my right shoulder and looked back, and saw the President as he had both hands at his neck...he made no utterance, no cry. I saw no blood, no anything. It was just sort of nothing, the expression on his face, and he just sort of slumped down. Then very soon there was the second shot that hit John. As the first shot was hit, and I turned to look at the same time, I recall John saying, “Oh, no, no, no.” Then there was a second shot, and it hit John, and as he recoiled to the right, just crumpled like a wounded animal to the right, he said, “My God, ,they are going to kill us all”...I never again looked in the back seat of the car after my husband was shot...I remember that he turned to the right and then just slumped down into the seat, so that I reached over to pull him toward me...The third shot that I heard I felt, it felt like spent buckshot falling all over us, and then, of course, I too, could see that it was the matter, brain tissue, or whatever, just human matter, all over the car and both of us...(The time between the first and second shot was) Very short. It seemed to me that there was less time between the first and the second than between the second and the third. (At the time of the first shot) The underpass was in sight...(When asked about the Zapruder film, she said she thought her husband was shot at frame) “229—it could have been through the next three to four frames.” (Article in *McCall’s* magazine, **August, 1964**) “in that instant the first shot rang out, I heard it and though I handle guns myself and am familiar with rifles, I did not in that split second realize it was gunfire...I looked directly at the President. He clutched his throat with both hands, and I felt sure he was dead. His face went blank. There was no pain or shock or fear just nothingness. His face was completely expressionless, as if the person had gone. Sitting on my right, John, the Governor, turned very fast to his right trying to look around at the President. Not getting him in his line of vision, he started turning to his left and the second bullet hit him. I heard John say, “They’re going to kill us all” He recoiled to his right and slumped over, still upright in his seat...I pulled him down onto my lap and bent over him...I heard the third shot and the Secret Service command to pull out of the motorcade and drive to the nearest hospital, but after John was hit, I didn’t look back again.” (9-30-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On her response to the first shot) "Nellie Connally twisted in her seat and looked sharply at Kennedy. His hands were at his throat, but he wasn't grimacing. He had slumped a little." (On her response to the head shot) "Nellie wonders if she is being sprayed by spent buckshot." (10-30-66 interview with *Life Magazine*, as reported in its 11-25-66 issue) “As far as the first two shots go...my memory is divided into four events. First I heard the shot, or a strange loud noise--I'm not that expert on rifles--back behind us. Then next I turned to my right and saw the President gripping at his

throat. Then I turned back toward John, and I heard the second shot that hit John...I must have been looking right at him because I saw him recoil to the right...so you see I had time to look at the President after he was already hit, then turn and see John hit by a second shot. Then, of course, he slumped, and I reached to pull him toward me.” (When discussing her contention her husband was hit by a different bullet than the one striking Kennedy) "No one will ever convince me otherwise." (Interview with CBS broadcast **6-25** and **6-26-67**) “They all came from the same direction...behind us, over my right shoulder. You see the first one, the first sound, the first shot, I heard and turned and looked right into the President’s face. So the sound drew me to that direction and had a definite reaction...He was clutching his throat, and just slumped down. He just had a - a look of nothingness on his face. He- he didn't say anything. But that was the first shot. The second shot, that hit John - well, of course, I could see him covered with - with blood, and his - his reaction to a second shot. The third shot, even though I didn't see the President, I felt the matter all over me, and I could see it all over the car. So I'll just have to say that I think there were three shots, and that I had a reaction to three shots. And - that's just what I believe.”

(**9-6-78** testimony before the HSCA, Vol.1 p.11-59) “I heard a noise that I didn't think of as a gunshot. I just heard a disturbing noise and turned to my right from where I thought the noise had come and looked in the back and saw the President clutch his neck with both hands. He said nothing. He just sort of slumped down in the seat. John had turned to his right also when we heard that first noise and shouted, "no, no, no," and in the process of turning back around so that he could look back and see the President--I don't think he could see him when he turned to his right--the second shot was fired and hit him. He was in the process of turning, so it hit him through this shoulder, came out right about here. His hand was either right in front of him or on his knee as he turned to look so that the bullet went through him, crushed his wrist and lodged in his leg. And then he just recoiled and just sort of slumped in his seat. I thought he was dead...the only thing I could think of to do was to pull him down out of the line of fire...So, I pulled him down in my lap... I never looked back after John was hit. I heard Mrs. Kennedy say, "they have shot my husband.” Then, I heard a third shot and felt matter cover us and she said, "They have killed my husband, I have his brains in my hand". I thought John was dead, and I heard the Secret Service man say, "Let's get out of here quick." So, we pulled out of the motorcade and we must have been a horrible sight flying down that freeway with those dying men in our arms and going to no telling where.” (ABC News interview shown on the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the assassination, **1983**) "I turned to look back at the President and saw him clutch his throat, and just sorta sink down. There was no sound. He said nothing. And John was turning around and then he was hit by--the second shot hit John. He collapsed, he just collapsed. And I reached over to pull him down into my lap, to get him out of the line of fire so they wouldn't hurt him anymore. And there was a third shot. This all happened very rapidly (snaps fingers snap snap) The third shot. There was matter all over the car. And that was the shot, of course, that hit the President. And I heard Jackie say 'My God, what have they done to you' and then later she said 'I've got his brains in my hand. It was a horrifying, horrible, horrible moment in history.' (Interview with Diane Sawyer on 60 Minutes, **1988**) "And then the shot. I looked right at the President cause I was in the seat in front of Jackie, and I saw it--saw him clutch his throat. Then I heard the second shot and John just collapsed. I pulled him down and tried to cover him." (**11-22-88** Interview on KTRK TV, as reported in an 11-23-88 AP article) "Nellie Connally recalled that she heard a noise and turned, but didn't realize it was gunfire. "John knew that it was a shot," she said. 'I just heard a noise and turned and saw the president clutch his throat and sink into the part of the car where he was sitting. Then I knew something terribly bad had happened." Nellie Connally said she pulled her husband into her lap after he was shot and kept telling him "it's going to be all right." At first I thought he was dead." She said once her husband was in her lap and she was hovering over him, a third shot rang out. "Then there was matter all over us and all over the car. I knew then that the president had to be — had to be dead."

(Interview with Larry King on CNN, **January, 1992**) "I turned at the first noise, but I didn't recognize it as a gunshot, just a noise. And I turned and I saw the President reach up and (unintelligible) clutch his throat. And he just sat down. He said nothing...Then there was the second shot--well, John was twirling around, and he was hit...He didn't hear the second bullet. You don't hear the one that hits you...All this happened in seconds. I reached over and grabbed him and pulled him down in my lap...I never looked back in the back again after I had John in my lap. But the third shot--all this matter and everything sprayed all over us." (Interview in the Discovery Channel program *The End of Camelot*, broadcast **1993**) "We were driving along, and I heard a noise. And I turned around to have a look back and saw the President. His hands flew up to his neck, and he collapsed and made no sound." (Interview with Larry King on CNN, **7-4-2002**, replayed 11-24-2002) "I heard this noise. And it came from the back of me. And I looked back toward the president and saw his hands just fly up to his neck and he slumped down. He said not one word...I didn't know for sure that it was a gunshot when I heard it...It was just a noise. We had noises around. John knew it was a gunshot. And he turned to see the president...He couldn't see him. So he whirled to the other side and he still couldn't see him. And in the process of moving back, the second shot hit John...From the same place...Well, then we had a third shot...From the same place...bloody matter covered the car and covered all of us...Three shots, three reactions." (When asked about the single-bullet theory) "That's baloney." (When asked about the possibility shots were fired from the knoll) "Well, maybe there was. But in my mind, by the time we passed the grassy knoll, got to the grassy knoll, everything that happened in that car had already happened."

(From *Love Field*, **2003**) "A moment later, a terrifying noise erupted behind us. Instinctively, I felt it was a gunshot. I looked back and saw the President's hands fly up to his throat...From the corner of my eye, I saw my husband, John, turn clockwise in his seat..." "No, no, no!" he cried out. Then—a second shot. My husband spun in his seat. He had been hit in the back by the second bullet. "My God," he blurted, "they are going to kill us all!"—then crumpled forward...I pulled him into my lap... A third shot rang out." (Interview with Houston PBS, **2003**) "I heard this loud noise...When I heard this noise, it came over my right shoulder, and I turned around. And I didn't know at first what it was because the motorcycles, you know, backfire and make all that noise, But I knew it was not a good noise. And I turned back just in time to see the president's hands fly up to his neck and then he just sunk down a few inches in the car. John, who is seated in front of him...he knew that was a gunshot. And he turned to his right but he couldn't see the President who was directly behind him. So then he flipped to his left and he still couldn't see him and he said "No, no, no," and turned back. And when he got about half-way back the second shot hit John Connally and he said "My God, they're gonna kill us all!" And then just collapsed forward, blood everywhere. Now I know this takes longer than six seconds but it happened, all happened in six secondsI just pulled him over...across my lap...While I had him down there was the third shot...Tiny bloody matter was all over whatever part of the interior of the car there was and all over our clothes so I knew that had been a pretty powerful shot. That's the one that took the President's head...Jackie said, "They've killed my husband! I have his brains in my hand." That's when I knew it was head." (Interview on *The View*, **11-21-2003**) "I heard this noise. I didn't know what it was but I tried to look at the President and his hands flew up to his neck and he sort of sunk down in his seat. He didn't say a word, but his eyes looked so troubled. John, who was seated in front of the President, knew it was a gun shot. He turned to his right--to see the President--but he couldn't see him. So he turned to his left--and he couldn't see him. On the way back--about midway--he was shot with the second shot...The third shot came, and I couldn't turn around because the weight of my husband in my lap. But I heard Jackie say 'They've killed my husband. I have his brains in my hand.' And then all around us--all over the car--was a bloody mass of--it looked like buckshot is the best way--all over the car and all over us and our clothes--and that was when the President took the third shot in the head." (Interview with Dan Rather on CBS, **11-21-03**) "And I heard this loud noise. And I turned to look. I saw the President's hands fly up to his neck, and he just slumped down into the

seat. The second shot came, and as John was hit he said "My God, they're gonna kill us all" and just fell over. (When asked about a third shot) "Yes. The word out of the back seat--I couldn't look--was Jackie saying "They've killed my husband. I have his brains in my hand." (From an **11-22-03** WBAP radio program on Youtube) "And I heard this loud noise that I was not certain what it was. But I turned toward the noise. When I turned I could look right at the President. And I saw his hands fly up to his neck. John, who sitting in front of him, turns to his left, and this takes seconds. And the second shot went through John Connally. He said 'My God, they're going to kill us all.' There was a third shot. The car was covered. We were covered with a bloody matter that I assumed was the President's head." (Interview with Larry King on CNN, **11-22-2003**) "I heard this noise...I wasn't sure it was a gunshot because the motorcycles had been , you know, backfiring all around us. But I knew it was something and I turned and looked just in time to see his hands fly up to his face. And he just sunk down in the car. Said not a word. He had just a strange look in his eyes and said nothing...(My husband) turned quick...to his right and he couldn't see him because he was directly in front of him. And he said "No, no, no" and turned to his left and he still couldn't see him. Now this is a second or two. Then as he whirled back, the second shot hit John...It went under his shoulder, out through--under the nipple. It went through--it took out five inches of his fifth rib and went through one of his lungs...It crushed this wrist and, you know, shot the cufflink off...And then it landed in his leg...John said, "My God, they're going to kill us all," and just fell over. Blood everywhere.... There was a third shot...I heard the third shot and then, bloody matter, like buck shot, little pieces were all over the interior of the car, all over our clothes...(When asked about the single-bullet theory) "Well, let me ask you this, do you think a bullet that went through the president's neck can hang there in air between the two seats while John turned to the right, turned to the left and came back? That's what I asked the Warren Commission. I said, "I don't believe a bullet could do that." That bullet--the same bullet did not hit both of them." (**11-23-2003** article in Dallas Morning News) "His hands flew up to his neck...and he sank down in his seat. He didn't say a word... John... turned to his right, and couldn't see him, so he flips to his left, and he still can't see him. And he says, "No, no, no." And when he was trying to turn back, the second shot came. John said "My God they're trying to kill us all!"...Then he collapsed...he fell forward... Then came the third, most damaging shot."

Analysis: Mrs. Connally's statements are a hodgepodge of what she remembers mixed with what her husband told her he remembered, mixed with her inaccurate recollections of what he told her he remembered. Her latter-day statements that her husband yelled out "no, no, no" while turning to the left *before* he was hit, and that he was hit while spinning back around to his right are but one example. The Zapruder film shows that Connally yelled out both "no, no, no" and "my God" as he faced his right between Z-240 and 260, and never turned to his left in between. Furthermore, while the break between these utterances is around Z-250, Mrs. Connally testified before the Warren Commission that she felt her husband was hit by Z-229. These inconsistencies in her testimony make interpreting her words difficult. Even so, her testimony is clearly not supportive of the LPM theory. She insists that the President was hit by the first shot. She also distinctly remembers her husband being hit *after* she witnessed Kennedy raise his arms to his throat. This is indicative that either she failed to actually hear a second shot or that she failed to immediately recognize that her husband had been hit. There is reason to believe, then, unless one is to assert that she is completely mistaken, that she witnessed a first shot hit on the President at approximately frame 190 and a second shot hit on her husband at frame 224... and that she was simply in error in her recollection of when her husband cried out in relation to the shots. Finally, while some might wish to present her remembrance of a last shot head shot as conclusive, her original thoughts as communicated by Read on 11-22-63 were, in fact, a blur. She was quite possibly too low in the limousine, and too pre-occupied with pulling her husband to safety, to notice any shots beyond the one exploding Kennedy's skull. **First shot hit 190-224. Was aware of two shots between 190 and 224.**

Another point worth making about Mrs. Connally's statements is that, late in life, she was influenced or victimized by LPM theorists. While in both her original notes and in her various testimony she stated that she saw President Kennedy clutch at his throat after the first shot, she described this clutching as his hands flying up to his throat in her final statements. This feeds into the LPM theory that President Kennedy's arms flew up after he was hit as a result of a neurological response and not as a conscious act. This allows the LPM theorists to explain why President Kennedy appears to respond to the shot at 224 as early as 225, much faster than would normally be expected. While Mrs. Connally is totally within her rights to change her impressions of the President's actions, this change of "clutch" to "flying up to" is more insidious than at first meets the eye, as the change not only takes place in the text of her 2003 memoir *At Love Field*, but in a transcription in the book made from her original notes. That's right: in the transcription of her notes it is reported that the President's hands flew up to his neck, but in the notes themselves, thankfully re-printed in her book for all to see, it is reported that she saw the President "clutch" his neck. This indicates that either Mrs. Connally herself or her co-writer Mickey Herskowitz, was not above misrepresenting the evidence a little to help support the LPM theory. This is disappointing. Unfortunately, this is far from an isolated incident. As one reads through the many eyewitness accounts one witnesses a great many such incidents, where witnesses under the influence of one theory or another subtly change their testimony to make it "fit." Another example of Mrs. Connally's willingness to support the government line is her statement that all the shots came from the same location, behind her right shoulder. As she was lying flat in the limousine at the time of the third shot, "behind us, over my right shoulder" would mean the third shot came from the south, and not the Texas School Book Depository. Perhaps by reading the accounts of the two secret service agents in the car, we will come to a better understanding of what happened.

Roy Kellerman sat on the passenger side of the front seat. (11-22-63 statements regarding the shooting while on the flight back from Dallas, as recalled by reporter Charles Roberts in *The Truth About the Assassination*, 1967) "But it was not just minor details on which the eyewitnesses to that day's history--some of them trained professional observers--disagreed during that flight back to Washington. On the important question of how many shots had been fired, there was dispute, even among Secret Service men. Agent Roy Kellerman, who rode in the front seat of the President's car, told me (as he later told the Warren Commission) that he had heard a 'flurry' of shots." (11-22-63 FBI interview, conducted during Kennedy's autopsy, as described in a 12-10-63 FBI report, CD7 p.3,) "he advised he heard a shot and immediately turned around, looking past Governor Connally...to the President. He observed the President slump forward and heard him say "Get me to a hospital." Mr. Kellerman then heard Mrs. Kennedy say "Oh, no!" as the President leaned towards her...He stated he distinctly heard three shots. He advised he did not see the Governor get hit, nor did he observe the second bullet hit the President." (11-27-63 FBI interview, CD 7, p.5-8) "Towards the end of town, the vehicle came to a sharp right turn in the street. Few people were on either side at this time. In a matter of a block, the road veered to the left. There were extremely few people on either side of the road at this point. The vehicle was still going at the normal speed which Kellerman estimated to be approximately 15 miles per hour...Kellerman advised he does not recall passing the Texas State Book Depository Building. He advised the vehicle appeared to be going down a small decline at which time everybody in the car was seated. Kellerman said he heard a noise like a firecracker...Upon hearing a noise like a firecracker, he distinctly and positively heard the President say "My God, I've been hit." Kellerman advised he immediately turned his head to the left rear and almost instantaneously heard two additional shots. Upon turning his head to his left, he observed President Kennedy with his left hand in back of him appearing to be reaching to a point on his right shoulder. The President fell on Mrs. Kennedy's lap. She stated, "My God, what are they doing to you?" Governor Connally never said a word." (11-29-63 report, 18H724-727) "As the motorcade completed the main thoroughfare through Dallas, we made a sharp right turn for about 1 block, then a curved left turn into a slight downhill grade, entering an area

with little or no spectators...Immediately I heard what I firmly believe was the President's voice, "My God, I'm hit!" I turned around to find out what happened when two additional shots rang out, and the President slumped into Mrs. Kennedy's lap and Governor Connally fell into Mrs. Connally's lap. I yelled at William Greer to "Step on it! We're hit!" and grabbed the mike from the car radio and called SA Lawson in the lead car." (3-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H61-112) "As we turned off Houston onto Elm and made the short little dip to the left going down grade, as I said, we were away from the buildings, and where there was a sign on the side of the road which I don't recall what it was and what it said, but we no more than passed that and you are out in the open, and there is a report like a firecracker, pop...as I turned my head to the right to view whatever it was or see whatever it was, I heard a voice from the back seat and I firmly believe it was the President's 'My God! I am hit!,' and I turned around and he has got his hands up there like this (he put his hands up to his neck)...So, in the same motion I come right back and grabbed the speaker and said to the driver, 'Let's get out of here, we are hit!,' and grabbed the mike and I said, 'Lawson, this is Kellerman... We are hit; get us to the hospital immediately.' Now, in the seconds that I talked just now, a flurry of shells come into the car." (When asked about his recollection of Kennedy speaking out) "This noise which I attribute as a firecracker, when this occurred and I am in the process of determining where it comes because I am sure it came off my right rear somewhere; the voice broke in right then" (When asked if he heard Mrs. Kennedy say anything) "after the flurry of shots, I recall her saying, 'What are they doing to you?'" (When asked how long the shooting lasted, in seconds) "Three or four" (When asked how many shots were in the flurry) "I am going to say two, and it was like a double bang--bang, bang." (When asked again if this meant there were two shots after the first noise) "Yes, sir; yes, sir, at least." (When asked the timespan between the first shot and the flurry) "I will estimate 5 seconds, if that." (When asked to describe the second and third shots) "You have heard the sound barrier, of a plane breaking the sound barrier, bang, bang? That is it." (When asked at what point Greer accelerated the limousine) "Our car accelerated immediately on the time—at the time—this flurry of shots came into it...Between the second and third shot." (Signed statement in the 5-5-64 Secret Service report on the behavior of the presidential detail on the night before the shooting, 18H678) "I retired to my room in the neighborhood of 1 a.m. November 22, 1963. I did not leave my room at any time during the night." (11-17-64 and 5-12-65 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Lawson, Kellerman, Greer, Ready, and Hill, all thought that a firecracker had been exploded." (On the explosion of Kennedy's skull) "To Kellerman it appears that the air is full of moist sawdust." (8-24-77 interview with HSCA investigator, ARRB Medical Document 56, p7) "Kellerman recalled that when he was in the car just moments after the shots there was '...a splattering of metal all around me.' Kellerman said there had to be '...four or five metal fragments in the car.'" (The Kennedy Detail, by Gerald Blaine, 2010) (Describing Kellerman's actions after hearing a first shot, looking back at the President, and then turning around to pick up the radio and report that the President had been hit) "As he was relaying the message, he heard one bang, and then another."

Analysis: Kellerman's assertion that he heard three shots and that the limousine was away from the buildings when the first shot rang out is undoubtedly indicative that the first shot came after frame 160. His recollection of a sign being on the side of the road is possibly a reference to the Thornton Freeway sign, adjacent to the limo around Z-190, but also possibly a reference to the Stemmons Freeway sign, somewhat further down the road. He is also quite clear that he heard two shots (or more) after the President was hit. In addition his assertion that the third shot occurred after Agent Greer began to accelerate the car is an indication that it may have been fired after frame 313. If one is to defend the LPM line, then perhaps the best way to explain Kellerman's testimony is to insist he mistakenly interpreted the sound of the bullet fragments hitting the windshield as a third shot, and missed the first shot entirely. While this is certainly possible, it seems unlikely a Secret Service agent would make such a mistake. His statements to the HSCA argue against this as well, as here he remembers the shots and

the sounds of the fragments bouncing around the car as separate events. Kellerman was clearly incorrect on one point, however. While Kellerman felt quite sure he heard the President speak after being struck, and Mrs. Kennedy yell out just after, Kellerman didn't turn to look at the President until Z-255, just after Governor Connally concluded his outbursts. As Mrs. Kennedy, Governor Connally, and Mrs. Connally all failed to hear the President speak after he was shot, it should be obvious that Agent Kellerman heard the Governor, and mistakenly thought he heard the President and the First Lady. Fellow Secret Service Agent Blaine's reporting of Kellerman's statements is also of interest. While writing his book in part as a defense of Kellerman and Greer, Blaine clearly found Kellerman's description of the last two shots problematic, and opted to present the shots to his readers as two separate sounds--which could conceivably be seconds apart. This is not what Kellerman told the Warren Commission. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together. Last shot possibly after the head shot.**

William Greer was the driver of the limousine. (12-10-63 FBI report, CD7 p.4, based upon an **11-22-63** FBI interview) "He advised that the throngs of people were great and that he had just emerged from the congested area of people and was proceeding into an open area of the highway, which a short distance away passed beneath an overpass. Greer stated that he first heard what he thought was possibly a motorcycle backfire and glanced around and noticed that the President had evidently been hit. He thereafter got on the radio and communicated with the other vehicles, stating that they desired to get the President to the hospital immediately. Greer stated that at the time this incident occurred, he was traveling at the rate of 12 miles per hour..." (**11-27-63** FBI interview, CD7 p.9-11) "Greer estimated that the motorcade was traveling at a speed of 15-20 miles per hour down the main thoroughfare...The procession made a right turn, facing in the direction of the Book Depository Building, and then a left turn, bringing the motorcade in front of this building which was then on the right. The same speed was maintained as the motorcade passed in front of this building and Greer estimates that he had crossed the center line of the building when he heard a noise which sounded like a motorcycle backfire. On hearing this noise he glanced to his right toward Kellerman and out of the corner of his eye noticed that the Governor appeared to be falling toward his wife. He thereafter recalls hearing some type of outcry after which Kellerman said, "Let's get out of here!" (**11-28-63** report, 18H 723) "There was a right turn for about half a block and then a left turn. At this point, I would say that the President's automobile was traveling about 12-15 miles per hour. A short distance ahead the street passed under a railroad or expressway. A building stood on the right side of us that would have been the last building we would have to pass before entering the underpass. The President's automobile was almost past this building and I was looking at the overpass that we were about to pass under in case someone was on top of it, when I heard what I thought was the backfire of a motorcycle behind the President's automobile. After the second shot, I glanced over my right shoulder and saw Governor Connally start to fall, I knew then that something was wrong and immediately pushed the accelerator to the floor and Mr. Kellerman said get out of here." (**3-9-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H112-132) (When asked how far they were from the overpass when the first shot rang out) "I wouldn't have a distance recollection... It wasn't too far... Well, when we were going down Elm Street, I heard a noise that I thought was a backfire of one of the motorcycle policemen. And I didn't--it did not affect me like anything else. I just thought that it is what it was... And then I heard it again. And I glanced over my shoulder. And I saw Governor Connally like he was starting to fall. Then I realized there was something wrong. I tramped on the accelerator, and at the same time Mr. Kellerman said to me, "Get out of here fast." And I cannot remember even the other shots or noises that was. I cannot quite remember any more. I did not see anything happen behind me any more, because I was occupied with getting away." (When asked how many shots he heard) "I know there was three that I heard - three. But I cannot remember any more than probably three. I know there was three anyway that I heard... I knew that after I heard the second one, that is when I looked over my shoulder, and I was conscious that there

was something wrong, because that is when I saw Governor Connally. And when I turned around again, to the best of my recollection there was another one, right immediately after." (When asked how much time elapsed between the first and second shots.) "It seems a matter of seconds, I really couldn't say. Three or four seconds." (When asked how much time elapsed between the second and third shots.) "The last two seemed to be just simultaneously, one behind the other, but I don't recollect just how much, how many seconds were between the two. I couldn't really say." (When asked to describe the sound of the second shot when compared to the first) "The second one didn't sound any different much than the first one but I kind of got, by turning around, I don't know whether I got a little concussion of it, maybe when it hit something or not, I may have gotten a little concussion that made me think there was something different to it. But so far as the noise is concerned, I haven't got any memory of any difference in them at all." (When asked if Roy Kellerman yelled to him after the first shot) "I believe it was at the second that he and I both simultaneously--he said, "Get out of here fast," and I speeded up as fast as I could then and as fast as the car would go." (3-11-64 memorandum from Arlen Specter to J. Lee Rankin, found in the Weisberg Archives) "Mr. Greer told me on March 3rd that he recollected two shots, but testified that he heard three shots." (4-7-64, 5-4-64, 5-7-64, 5-8-64, and 7-20-64 interviews of Jacqueline Kennedy by William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On Greer's approaching Mrs. Kennedy at Parkland Hospital) "Those who had been in the motorcade were racking their brains with *if only this, if only that*. One of them came to her. Bill Greer, his face streaked with tears, took her head between his hands and squeezed until she thought he was going to squeeze her skull flat. He cried, 'Oh, Mrs. Kennedy, oh my God, oh my God. I didn't mean to do it, I didn't hear, I should have swerved the car, I couldn't help it. Oh, Mrs. Kennedy, as soon as I saw it I swerved. If only I'd seen in time! Oh!' Then he released her head and put his arms around her and wept on her shoulder." (11-19-64 interview with author William Manchester RIF#180-10116- 10119) "After the second shot I glanced back. I saw blood on the Governor's white shirt, and I knew we were in trouble. The blood was coming out of his right breast. When I heard the first shot, I had thought it was a backfire. I was tramping on the accelerator and at the same time Roy was saying, 'let's get out of here fast.'" (11-19-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Lawson, Kellerman, Greer, Ready, and Hill, all thought that a firecracker had been exploded."

(12-6-70 phone interview by Roy Ennis posted on Youtube by Vince Palamara) "I didn't know at first that, whether it was a shot or not. I thought it might be a motorcycle policeman's motorcycle. That's what I said. But then I said that when I looked over my shoulder and saw the blood on the governor's shirt, y'know, on his white shirt, then I knew it was blood coming out. And then I knew it was trouble. (When asked how many times he looked back) "Just the one time, after the governor was hit." (When asked if he saw the president hit) "I didn't really see the president at all...I had a car in front of me and couldn't see very much." (2-28-78 interview with HSCA investigator, file # 180-10099-10491) "The first shot sounded to him like a backfire. He did not react to it. After the second shot he turned to his right and saw blood on Governor Connally's shirt. At the same moment he heard Kellerman say 'We're hit. Let's get out of here,' or words to that effect. He said he immediately accelerated and followed the pilot car to Parkland Hospital...Greer does not recall the third and final shot. He heard nothing from the back of the car; his mind shut it out, and he concentrated on driving at a high rate of speed to Parkland Hospital." (11-10-83 AP article on Greer found in the Lakeland Ledger) "The motorcade moved into downtown Dallas and turned onto Elm street, moving past the Texas School Book Depository where Lee Harvey Oswald waited with a high-powered rifle. Above the noise of the throng that crowded the street, Greer heard a popping sound. The other agents thought the sounds were firecrackers. Greer thought they were made by a motorcycle back-firing. When he heard a second pop, he looked over his right shoulder and saw blood running down Connally's white shirt. Kellerman yelled, 'We've been hit! Get out of here!' Greer floored the accelerator. Kellerman grabbed the radio and told the car ahead to make for the nearest hospital. The limousine leaped forward as a third pop sounded. A bullet fragment

whipped past Greer's head and smashed into the windshield."

Analysis: Greer may have heard two shots. On the other hand, he may have heard four. While he sometimes reported he turned around and saw Connally fall (an apparent reference to Connally's collapsing into his wife's arms between frames 287 and 303) after hearing the *second* shot, and he can be seen turned around in Zapruder frame 279, he testified before the Warren Commission that the last two shots were simultaneous. He couldn't have heard two shots before he turned around and two shots after he turned back and still have heard three. As Greer, in his original statement, failed to mention how many shots he heard, and as he only told the Warren Commission he heard three shots after being asked a direct question, it seems possible he was trying to skirt the issue. Still, he let what was probably his true impressions sneak into his testimony. He testified that after Kellerman told him to "take off," he couldn't remember how many "shots or noises" he heard--when officially there could be but one. He also let it slip that after he turned back around from looking at Connally, which he does not do till frame 318, he heard another shot "right immediately after." Sounds like the man heard four shots. That he later told an HSCA investigator he could recall hearing but two shots suggests the possibility he realized his predicament, and had convinced himself that he'd heard but two shots and their echoes.

Still, maybe he interpreted the sounds of the gun fire and impact within the car as separate shots. If so, his testimony regarding the second shot that "I got a little concussion of it, maybe when it hit something or not" would certainly suggest the second shot he heard was the head shot, followed closely by the sounds of the bullet fragments impacting the windshield and its frame. The 12-10 FBI report contributes to the confusion surrounding Greer. Here, Greer reportedly says he saw the President when he turned around and that *he* used the radio to contact the other cars. From this, it seems likely the author of the report simply got his agents confused, as Agent Kellerman, riding next to Greer, readily admitted to both seeing the President and using the radio. The disparity between what Greer claims to remember and the Zapruder film, however, is not so easily explained. While Greer can be seen looking back into the limousine at frame 279, and turning back around at 292 after Connally begins to fall, he looks back *again* at frame 302 and appears to be looking *directly at the President* at the moment of the head shot. Only *after* this shot has struck the President, around frame 318, does Greer turn back around and accelerate the limousine. This is in disagreement with his statement that he pressed down the accelerator just after seeing the Governor fall. Perhaps, as some suggest, Greer was part of the conspiracy. More likely, however, in light of his trying to avoid the issue of how many shots he heard (not exactly conspirator-like behavior), Greer simply blocked the explosion of the President's skull out of his mind, or missed it while turning away. Perhaps this was his guilty conscience at work, as he'd failed to take evasive action in a timely fashion. In any event, his testimony that the last two shots were "simultaneous" puts his statements at odds with the LPM scenario. **Inconsistent. Possibly heard but two shots. Possibly heard four. May have heard two shots prior to frame 279. Last two shots possibly bunched together (with the last shot probably after the head shot).**

From comparing the words of the witnesses furthest away from the shots to the words of those actually in the limousine, a conflict has emerged. While those furthest away heard the last two shots bunched together, three of the witnesses in the limousine believed two shots were fired before these shots. This raises the possibility that the second shot perceived by these witnesses, the one felt but not heard by Connally, rarely reported as heard by his Mrs., and only possibly heard by Greer, was a silenced shot. Even a silenced shot, after all, makes some noise when impacting its target. That this second probably-silenced shot was not one of the two "bunched" shots heard by the more distant earwitnesses is supported, moreover, by the words of Agents Greer and Kellerman, who heard two or more shots closely bunched together *after* Connally had been hit. When one reflects on the activities of Mrs. Kennedy and the Connallys during this period--staring at the President as his head explodes and ducking down in their seat as his brain showers down upon them--it's easy to understand how they

might miss hearing the second of these last two shots.

There's something else to consider. In 1995, researcher Harold Weisberg wrote former Warren Commission Counsel (and self-appointed Champion of the Commission) David Belin and challenged him regarding his recent articles. On January 31, Belin responded, with a spirited 12-page letter. Included in this letter is the following analogy:

"Your concentration on the affidavit of T.F. Bowley is a vivid example of what I call the 'Kellerman Syndrome'. In the Presidential limousine at the time of the motorcade, Secret Service Agent Roy Kellerman, riding in the front seat next to the driver, said he heard President Kennedy say, after the first shot, 'My God, I am hit!' Edward J. Epstein, in his book Inquest, used this as a rationale for disputing the findings of the Warren Commission. Indeed, Epstein was correct in his quotation of what Kellerman said. But what Epstein did not do is to tell his readers that everyone else in the Presidential limousine disagreed with Kellerman. The driver, William Greer, said the President said nothing. So did Governor Connally. So did Nellie Connally. And the exact words of Jacqueline Kennedy were, 'And my husband never made a sound.' Your case is built on the Roy Kellermans of the world. The Warren Commission conclusions were based on the William Greers, John Connallys, Nellie Connallys, and Jacqueline Kennedys of the world."

Feel free to read that again. And again. Let it sink in. Have you ever read such self-serving nonsense? While Belin wants Weisberg to believe "the Warren Commission conclusions" were based on the testimony of the bulk of the witnesses, he ignores completely that the bulk of the witnesses claimed the last two shots were bunched together, and that the commission accepted (and he now proposed) a five second gap between these shots.

And there's something even more ironic. While Belin offers that the Warren Commission conclusions were consistent with the recollections of four of the five witnesses in the limousine, he overlooks that there was something--a BIG something--on which they were inconsistent with ALL five. And that's the single-bullet theory. NONE of the witnesses recalled Kennedy and Connally reacting to a single shot, whether it be the first, second, or third. And NONE of them were aware of a shot to which neither Kennedy nor Connally reacted.

Thus, it is easy to see that the Warren Commission conclusions were NOT based on the William Greers, John Connallys, Nellie Connallys, and Jacqueline Kennedys of the world. Belin was blowing smoke.

The Mounted Escorts...



Above, the Altgens photo at Z-255, the limousine with its escorts.



Above: a frame from the Bell film, taken seconds after the Altgens photo, the limousine without its escorts.



At left: three frames from the Nix film, with the head shot at top, and the braking of Chaney and Jackson at bottom. That's Abraham Zapruder on the far pedestal.

The Mounted Escorts

B.J. Martin rode his motorcycle on the far left behind Jackie Kennedy. (4-3-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H289-293): "one of the agents got off of the car after the first shot...I looked to my right (after the first shot)...I looked at the President after I heard the (first) shot and he was leaning forward—I could see the left side of his face. At the time he had no expression on his face" (Then I heard) "Two more shots...immediately after the first shot I saw him (the President) and after that I couldn't see him." (2-14-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) "after we turned onto Elm Street I heard what I thought was a shot and then I heard, I looked back to my right and two more shots or what I thought to be two more shots I heard...(Asked if he saw the effects of the third shot) "No, sir, I did not...All during the shots I was looking to my left and right trying to find out where the shots were coming from...it was after the third shot it had almost come to a stop, it was going very slow." (As quoted by Fred Newcomb in an unpublished manuscript, *Murder from Within*, 1974) "You could smell the gunpowder...you knew he wasn't far away. When you're that close you can smell the powder burning, why you - you've got to be pretty close to them...you could smell the gunpowder... right there in the street." (The Kennedy Assassination Tapes, 1979) Officer D "I was looking at the President when the first shot was fired. It missed. The second shot hit the President in the back, and the third shot hit him in the head." **Analysis:** As all the agents remained on the back-up car until after frame Z-255, (as demonstrated in the Altgens photo) and as Martin claims to have heard only one shot when an agent (Clint Hill) jumped off the back-up car, he heard but one early shot. Although he later said he thought the first shot missed, Martin's original testimony that the President was leaning forward after the first shot (after 160, the President is smiling and waving) is a strong indication that the first shot hit and occurred after frame 190. The last comments by Martin for The Kennedy Assassination Tapes are not to be trusted. The book's writer, J. C. Bowles, (who would become the long-time Sheriff of Dallas County) was determined to show everyone that the DPD did not stand by the HSCA's conclusion that a second shooter was likely. After all, talk of conspiracy would inevitably turn to suspicion of the Dallas

Police Department itself, seeing as they had helplessly stood by while Ruby killed Oswald. Perhaps Martin, who is described in the book but not named, simply told Bowles what he wanted to hear. Or perhaps Bowles added to his statements, which could explain why he published the statements without names. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Bobby W. Hargis rode to the right of Martin and to the left of Mrs. Kennedy. (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times-Herald) "About halfway down between Houston and the underpass I heard the first shot. It sounded like a real loud firecracker. When I heard the sound, the first thing I thought about was a gunshot. I looked around and about then Governor Connally turned around and looked at the President with a real surprised look on his face... The President bent over to hear what the Governor had to say. When he raised back up was when the President got shot... I felt blood hit me in the face and the Presidential car stopped almost immediately after that... I racked (parked) my motorcycle and jumped off. I ran to the North side of Elm to see if I could find where the bullets were coming from. I don't think the President was hit with the first shot... I felt that the Governor was shot first." (Undated typescript of interview with Hargis found within the Dallas-Times-Herald's photograph collection, as reported by Richard Trask in Pictures of the Pain, 1994. This is almost certainly the basis for the 11-22 article) "I felt blood hit me in the face, and the presidential car stopped almost immediately after that and stayed stopped about half a second, then took off at a high rate of speed. I racked my cycle and jumped off. I ran to the north side of Elm Street to see if I could find where the bullets came from. I don't think the President got hit with the first shot, but I don't know for sure. When I heard the first shot, it looked like he bent over. I feel that the Governor was shot first. I could be wrong. Right after the first shot, I was trying to look and see if the President got shot. When I saw the look on Connally's face, I knew somebody was shooting at the car... The fatal bullet struck the President in the right side of the head. I noticed the people in the Texas School Book Depository were looking up to see the top. I didn't know if the President stopped under the triple underpass or not. I didn't know for sure if the shots had come from the Book Depository. I thought they might have come from the trestle." (11-23-63 UPI article found in the Fresno Bee) "I saw flesh flying after the shot, and the president's hair flew up," Hargis said, "I knew he was dead." (11-23-63 article in the Houston Post, as quoted by John McAdams in his book JFK Assassination Logic. Note: the ellipse conceals Hargis' description of the head shot, and his claim it hit Kennedy on the "right side of the head.") "A Dallas motorcycle officer who was riding two feet from the presidential car described to the Houston Post Friday what he saw when a sniper fired the shots that killed President Kennedy and wounded Gov. John B. Connally. 'When the first rifle bullet spewed into the open limousine,' said Patrolman J.H. Hargis, 'The President bent forward in the car.'...Hargis said he jumped off his motorcycle and began a search of the building from which the shots were fired. 'I knew it was high and from the right. I looked for any sign of activity in the windows, but I didn't see anybody.'" (11-24-63 article in the New York Sunday News) "We turned left onto Elm St. off Houston, about a half block from where it happened. I was right alongside the rear fender on the left side of the President's car, near Mrs. Kennedy. When I heard the first explosion, I knew it was a shot. I thought that Gov. Connally had been hit when I saw him turn toward the President with a real surprised look. The President then looked like he was bent over or that he was leaning toward the Governor, talking to him. As the President straightened back up, Mrs. Kennedy turned toward him, and that was when he got hit in the side of his head, spinning it around. I was splattered with blood. Then I felt something hit me. It could have been concrete or something, but I thought at first I might have been hit. Then I saw the limousine stop, and I parked my motorcycle at the side of the road, got off and drew my gun. Then this Secret Service agent (in the President's car) got his wits about him and they took off. The motorcycle officer on the right side of the car was Jim Chaney. He immediately went forward and announced to the chief that the President had been shot."

(4-3-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H293-296): "I was next to Mrs. Kennedy when I

heard the first shot, and at that time the President bent over, and Governor Connally turned around. He was sitting directly in front of him, and (had) a real shocked and surprised expression on his face...I thought Governor Connally had been shot first, but it looked like the President was bending over to hear what he had to say, and I thought to myself then that Governor Connally, the Governor had been hit, and then as the President raised back up like that the shot that killed him hit him." (When asked about the blood) "when President Kennedy straightened back up in the car the bullet hit him in the head, the one that killed him and it seemed like his head exploded, and I was splattered with blood and brain, and kind of bloody water, It wasn't really blood. And at that time the Presidential car slowed down. I heard somebody say 'Get going' or 'get going.'" (When asked about the source of the shots) "Well, at the time it sounded like the shots were right next to me. There wasn't any way in the world I could tell where they were coming from, but at the time there was something in my head that said that they probably could have been coming from the railroad overpass, because I thought since I had got splattered, with blood--I was Just a little back and left of--just a little bit back and left of Mrs. Kennedy, but I didn't know. I had a feeling that it might have been from the Texas Book Depository, and these two places was the primary place that could have been shot from." (8-7-68 interview with Tom Bethel and Al Oser, NARA #180-10096-10005) (When discussing how he could have been sprayed with blood, if the shot came from behind) "Well, that right there is what I've wondered about all along, but see there's ah -- you've got to take into consideration we were moving at the time, and when he got hit all that stuff went like this, and of course I run through it." (When discussing his interpretation of the direction of the shots) "Well, like I say, being that we know that the shot came from the School Book Depository, right then it was kind of hard to say what run through your mind. You know you pick up these little things. You don't know why you do it. You don't know why you do 'em, you just do 'em. It's just kind of instinct. But I had in my mind the shots you couldn't tell where they was coming, but it seemed like the motion of the President's head or his body and the splatter had hit me, it seemed like both the locations needed investigating, and that's why I investigated them. But you couldn't tell, there was -- it looked like a million windows on the Book Depository. You couldn't tell exactly if there was anyone in there with a gun." (When asked if the shots could have come from anywhere) "Uh huh. That's correct." (When asked if he saw the President's head jerk as a response to a bullet's impact) "Yes. Uh huh...To the left forward. Kind of that way...I couldn't see what part of it got hit...If he'd got hit in the rear, I'd have been able to see it. All I saw was just a splash come out on the other side." (Interview with NBC broadcast on the 1988 program That Day In November) "It sounded like a firecracker to me and I thought 'Oh Lord, let it be a firecracker. And it looked like the President was bending over, forward. And then when he raised back up is when that second shot hit him in the head."

The next three reports were posted on the Education Forum by Chris Scally, 6-21-11. (Interview by HSCA investigators James Kelly and Harold Rose on 10-26-77, notes transcribed 11-16-77, JFK document #003300, RIF 180-10107-10243) ""When they turned left on Elm from Houston, he was watching the President's car. Shortly afterwards, he heard a shot. He saw President Kennedy slump forward and Governor Connally turn. He felt at the time that Connally might have been hit and the President was leaning forward to find out what happened. He said the first shot sounded to him like a firecracker. The second shot hit JFK in the head. The presidential car had slowed almost to a stop. After the second shot, the car accelerated rapidly and sped to Parkland Hospital. Hargis said he pulled over to the curb at the grassy knoll. He got off the bike and went up the hill on the grass. He didn't see anyone with a gun, so he went over to the Texas School Book Depository at 411 Elm Street and helped other police officers seal it off." (Interview by HSCA investigator Jack Moriarty dated 8-8-78, notes transcribed 8-23-78, JFK document #014362, RIF 180-10113-10272) "When the first report sounded, he was "about one-third of the way down Elm", having made the last turn from Houston. It sounded like a firecracker, but he was unable to tell where it came from. He looked to his right and saw Connally turning and the President appeared to be leaning forward as if he was trying to hear what the

Governor was saying. He had seen JFK lean forward in like manner during the motorcade as he and Connally had been conversing. This time, though, the President had an expression of pain on his face. When the second shot was fired - no doubt gunfire this time as it hit the President's head - the limousine slowed so much it practically stopped and he had to put his feet down to maintain balance. Then the driver accelerated and several motormen started the escort. Hargis remained behind parking his bike where it stood in the left side of Elm now about one half way down the hill. He ran to the grassy knoll and continued until he had reached the top section of the underpass. Finding nothing significant, he returned to his bike - still on the stand with the radio on (and working) and the engine off. He started the bike and drove back up Elm and parked just west of the front door of the TSBD where he joined Brewer as they became part of the effort to seal off this building, although, he adds, at that time no-one was certain just where the shots had come from." (Interview by HSCA investigator Jack Moriarty, **12-29-78**, JFK document # 014224, RIF 180-10109-10354). "Reached Mr. Hargis at his new residence... today and developed the following additional information. At the sound of the first shot, he was "in position" - some five to six feet from the left corner of the rear bumper of John F. Kennedy limousine. At the sound of the second shot, he was a bit closer (the limousine slowed and nearly stopped) - perhaps four feet. By the third shot (although he doesn't recall the actual, but saw John F. Kennedy's head explode), he was "almost even with Jackie - no more than two or three feet, if that."

(**6-26-95** interview with Mark Oakes, posted on Youtube by Gil Jesus) "There was not three shots; there was only two. I only heard two...The facts was there was two shots--one that hit him in the back and one that hit him in the head. And the one that hit him in the head just busted his head wide open... (On William Greer, the driver of the limo) "That guy slowed down, maybe his orders was to slow down, slowed down almost to a stop." (**11-23-95** Dallas Morning News article found in the Herald Journal) "I'm the only one living who was beside the car," said Detective Hargis, now 63. "When he was shot in the head, it splashed up, and I ran into all that brain matter, and all that. It came up and down, all over my uniform." (**November 1998** interview with Texas Monthly) "About ten seconds after we made that left-hand turn, that first shot rang out... I remember Kennedy leaned forward to listen to what he had to say. And then when he raised back up, that second shot hit him in the head. But we figured out that he had got shot—that first bullet had gone through the upper part of his back, well through the seat, and hit Connally's wrist and glanced off and went into his thigh." (Interview within an **11-22-03** WBAP radio program found on Youtube) "Yeah I looked toward the President and I thought maybe John Connally was hit because he turned around to look at the President. He had a real surprised look on his face. Kennedy was bending over like he was listening to what Connally had to say. When he raised back up, that second shot hit him in the head. That's what killed him, There was only two shots fired." (**11-22-03** article in the Dallas Morning News) "Hargis differs with the Warren Commission and most eyewitnesses, insisting that only two shots were fired. With the first, "a thousand million things went through my mind," he says. After the last, "there was a plume of blood and brains and plasma. It was just like a fog, and I ran right through it." (Oral History interview performed for the Sixth Floor Museum, **9-24-10**) (When asked if his observations suggested that the fatal shot came from in front of Kennedy) "No." (When asked if it bothered him that people use his statements to suggest there'd been a conspiracy) "Yeah, it does...There was no conspiracy, whatsoever. There was two shots fired, and both shots, we found the bullet." (On the possibility there was a second gunman on the grassy knoll) "To me it sounds ludicrous." **Analysis:** Hargis insists he heard only two shots. As he can be seen in the Zapruder film turning towards the President around frame 198, it seems likely the first shot he heard was just before this point. The fact that he heard only one more shot can be taken as an indication that one of the two shots heard by others was fired quite close to one of the two he heard, or that one came just after the head shot, while Hargis was driving through a cloud of blood. It should also be noted that many conspiracy theorists, most usually citing Vincent Palamara, use Hargis' Warren Commission

testimony to suggest that William Greer stopped the limo to allow Kennedy's killers to fire upon a stationary target. Well, this is a myth, as Hargis specified in his statements and testimony that he thought the limo slowed (or stopped, as he'd originally claimed) only after Kennedy's head had exploded. **Only heard 2 shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

James Chaney rode to the right and rear of the President. Although he was the closest witness behind the President at the time of the shooting and had a private conversation with Jack Ruby the next day, Chaney was never questioned by the Warren Commission. (11-22-63 interview with KLIF radio, reportedly around 12:45 PM--but not broadcast at that time--as transcribed by Harold Weisberg from the KLIF album *The Fateful Hours*) "On the first shot we thought it was a motorcycle backfire. I looked to my left and so did President Kennedy, looking back over his left shoulder, and when the second shot struck him in the face then we knew someone was shooting at the President." (When asked what happened after the President was hit) "He slumped forward in the car. He fell forward in the seat there." (When asked Mrs. Kennedy's reaction) "I don't know. When I seen that he was hit I went on up to tell Chief Curry's group there that he had been hit there, and we took him on to the hospital from there." (When then asked if he saw where the bullet had come from) "No, all I knew it came over my right shoulder." (Note: some sources have it that Chaney mentioned "a third shot that was fired that (he) did not see hit the President" and that he did see "Governor Connally's shirt erupt in blood.." in one of his first interviews, but I can not find a primary source for these quotes.) (11-22-63 interview with Bill Lord on WFAA television, apparently in the early evening) "I was riding on the right rear fender... We had proceeded west on Elm Street at approximately 15-20 miles per hour. We heard the first shot. I thought it was a motorcycle backfiring and uh I looked back over to my left and also President Kennedy looked back over his left shoulder. Then, the, uh, second shot came, well, then I looked back just in time to see the President struck in the face by the second bullet. He slumped forward into Mrs. Kennedy's lap, and uh, it was apparent to me that we were being fired upon. I went ahead of the President's car to inform Chief Curry that the President had been hit. And then he instructed us over the air to take him to Parkland Hospital and he had Parkland Hospital stand by. I went on up ahead of the, to notify the officers that were leading the escort that he had been hit and we're gonna have to move out." (When asked if he saw the person who fired on the President) "No sir, it was back over my right shoulder." (11-24-63 article in the *Houston Chronicle*, posted online by Chris Davidson) "A motorcycle policeman just six feet from President Kennedy when he was hit said the assassin's first shot missed entirely. The second of the three shots felled Kennedy, said patrolman James M. Chaney. He was six feet to the right and front of the President's car, moving about 15 miles an hour while rounding a curve. The shot, said Chaney, came from the sixth floor of a warehouse building about 50 feet or less behind the President's car. From the sixth floor to the President, the bullet traveled about 110 feet, Chaney estimated. Chaney was an infantryman in Europe during World War II, with experience in sharpshooting. 'When the first shot was fired, I thought it was a backfire,' Chaney said. Everyone looked around. The President was looking back over his left shoulder. A second or two after the first shot, the second shot hit him. 'It was like you hit him in the face with a tomato. Blood went all over the car. There was screaming and yelling. A secret service man yelled 'Let's get out of here!'" Chaney said the motorcade stopped momentarily after the shots rang out. A policeman ran between two cars with his pistol drawn, heading toward the building. 'I sped to the lead car carrying Chief (Jesse) Curry and Forrest Sorrels, chief of the secret service division of the Treasury Department in the Dallas area. I told them the President had been hit and it appeared bad,' Chaney said. 'A piece of his skull was lying on the floor of the car,' Chaney said." (Article in the 12-2-63 issue of *Newsweek*, presumed to be based on an 11-22-63 interview of Chaney, by motorcade witness Charles Roberts) (On the first shot) "'I thought it was a backfire,' said Dallas Patrolman James M. Chaney, who was riding a motorcycle 6 feet from the right rear fender of the President's car." The President jerked his head around...Then (came) the second shot and his head exploded in blood..." (12-8-63 AP article by Sid Moody) "His head erupted in blood"

said Dallas patrolman James Chaney, who was 6 feet away from the president." (The Torch is Passed, a book by the Associated Press put out in **December 63**) "'His head exploded in blood,' motorcycle officer James Chaney later would say."

(**3-25-64** testimony of Marrion Baker before the Warren Commission, 3H242-270) "I talked to Jim Chaney, and he made the statement that the two shots hit Kennedy first and then the other one hit the Governor." (Taped interview of Chaney with researcher Gil Toft, **1971-1973**, as transcribed by Josiah Thompson and posted on the Education Forum, 1-4-12) (When asked if Kennedy's limousine came to a stop during the shooting) "I don't know whether the lead car ever stopped or not. I know that... I mean Kennedy's car. The one behind them apparently did because an officer could run from the left hand side in front of me. I know I stopped. Whatever happened there. I know Hargis, one of the officers riding escort on the other side, run across in front of me... Whether or not the lead car stopped... I don't believe that it did. It slowed down though. What was this agent's name? Clint Hill?" (Continuing his thought) "Slowed down enough that he did get on that car. Now whether he was on there or not on... Several different times during the procession there he would run up and jump on those little steps and ride there for a couple of seconds and jump off. It all depended on how fast it was going along and where we were at. So whether... I don't believe that it actually stopped. It could have but I just don't... The second car... cause I recall it was Officer Hargis jumped off his motor and run across in front of me... I don't recall myself stopping but as I stopped--to think of it I must have come almost to a stop for Hargis to have got off his motor over on the left-hand side and run between those two cars and run in front of me. Apparently, I did too. I don't recall stopping but I must have." (When asked if Kennedy's brain matter sprayed everywhere) "Well, it was all over with as soon as you see it. It did splatter everything."

(**9-12-75** FBI report) "Chaney stated that as the President's car passed the...(TSBD), he was four to six feet from the President's right shoulder. He heard three evenly spaced noises coming seconds apart, which at first he thought to be motorcycle backfire. Upon hearing the second noise, he was sure it was not a motorcycle backfire. When he heard the third noise he saw the President's head "explode" and realized the noises were gunshots. He said that the shots did not come from his immediate vicinity and is positive that all the shots came from behind him." (**9-17-75** FBI report, FBI file 62-109060, sec 181, p168-170) "after making a left turn off Houston Street and shortly after the car had passed the School Book Depository, Chaney heard a noise which sounded like one of the motorcycles close to the President's car had backfired... Chaney said he glanced to his left at the two motorcycles on the opposite side of the President's car... Within a few seconds after Chaney heard the first noise, he heard a noise again and turned to his right to try and determine what the noise was and where it was coming from... Chaney said he then looked straight ahead to avoid colliding with the curb and presidential car and then looked at the President just as he heard a third noise. Chaney said while he was looking at President Kennedy, he saw his head "explode." Chaney said he was positive that all the noises he heard were coming from behind his motorcycle and none of these noises came from the side or the front of the position in which Chaney was located. Chaney said the noises were evenly spaced." **Analysis:** it seems apparent that Chaney initially believed the first shot missed the President, the second shot hit the President in the face, and the third hit Connally. Chaney's statement that Kennedy looked back over his left shoulder, however, indicates the first shot was a hit, as Kennedy only leaned to the left after being hit. Sure, enough, Baker's testimony indicates that Chaney himself came to believe the first shot was indeed a hit. That Chaney, the closest witness behind Kennedy at the time of the head shot, initially believed there was a shot after the head shot, is undoubtedly intriguing. As he saw no impact from this final shot on the President, perhaps his eyes strayed to Connally as Connally was being pulled down in the seat by his wife. If this is so, then Chaney's initial statements are consistent with those of Greer, Kellerman, and Martin. In any event, it seems clear that by 1975 Chaney had changed his views again, and had tried to bring them in line with the "official" story. Here, the head shot is the third shot. As the Altgens photo, taken at Z-255, a second-and-a-half after what the LPM scenario holds was the second

shot, shows Chaney to be looking to his left, and as Chaney's 1975 story specified that he looked back to his right after the second shot, however, his new story was still at odds with the LPM scenario. **First shot hit 190-224. Last shot after the head shot.**

Douglas Jackson rode on the far right of the President. (Notes written on the night of **11-22-63** as reprinted in *The Kennedy Assassination Tapes*, 1979): Officer C "we turned west onto Elm Street. Drove only a short way traveling very slowly. About that time I heard what I thought was a car back fire and I looked around and then to the President's car in time for the next explosion and saw Mr. Connally jerk back to his right and it seemed that he look right at me. I could see a shocked expression on his face and I thought 'Someone is shooting at them.' I began stopping my motor and looking straight ahead first at the Railroad overpass and saw only one Policeman standing on the track directly over the street. I looked then back to my right and behind me then looked back toward Mr. Kennedy and saw him hit in the head; he appeared to have been hit just above the right ear. The top of his head flew off away from me. Mrs. Kennedy pulled him toward her. Mrs. Connally pulled Mr. Connally down and she slid down into the seat. I knew that the shooting was coming from my right rear and I looked back that way but I never did look up. Looking back to the front again I saw the Secret Service Agent lying down across the car over Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy, the presidential limousine was beginning to pick up speed and the Secret Service men were running past the presidential car drawing their guns as they ran. I said to Jim Chaney "Let's go with them" and we sped away, he pulled past the President's car and up toward Chief Curry's car." (As quoted by Fred Newcomb in *Murder from Within*, an unpublished manuscript from **1974**) "Mr. Connally was looking toward me. And about that time then the second shot went off. That's the point when I knew that somebody was shooting at them because that was the time he [Connally] got hit - because he jerked. I was looking directly at him...he was looking...kind of back toward me and...he just kind of flinched." "...that car just all but stopped...just a moment." (**9-17-75** FBI report, FBI file 62-109060, sec 181, p171-173) "As the presidential vehicle was proceeding down Elm Street, and Jackson was turning the corner from Houston to Elm Street, he heard a loud report which he first thought to be a motorcycle backfire. He looked at the Presidential car to see what the reaction was and observed Texas Governor John Connally turn to his right in the car. At the same time he heard a second noise and saw Connally jerk to his right. At this point, Jackson had just rounded the corner from Houston to Elm Street and he recognized the second noise as a definite gunshot. At this point, he was 15 to 20 feet away from the Presidential vehicle and he stopped his motorcycle in the street and looked toward the railroad overpass, directly in front of the Presidential car. He observed a police officer with his hands on his hips, looking toward the Presidential car. As this appeared normal, he then looked to his right and rear in the direction of the Texas School Book Depository and the intersection of Houston and Elm Street and observed many bystanders falling to the ground. He looked toward the Presidential vehicle and at the same time heard a third shot fired. He observed President Kennedy struck in the head above his right ear and the impact of the bullet exploded the top portion of his head, toward the left side of the Presidential vehicle. Jackson immediately knew that Kennedy had been hit and that the shot had been fired from his right rear. He turned and looked back at the intersection of Houston and Elm Street, however, did not look up at the windows in any of the buildings. When he looked back toward the Presidential car, a Secret Service agent was climbing onto the trunk of the vehicle and the car was picking up speed. Jackson then told Officer Chaney that they should go with the vehicle and Chaney proceeded forward to Chief Curry's car and then cleared the way toward Parkland Hospital...Jackson advised he had recognized three distinct noises at the time President Kennedy was shot and could identify two as definitely being gunfire. He further stated he is positive the shot that struck President Kennedy in the head was fired from the right rear, the vicinity of the Texas School Book Building." **Analysis:** while Jackson's statements suggest there was a first shot miss as they turned the corner, that Connally was hit by the second shot and looked to his right, and that there was a final head shot, there are holes in this. First, at

what point does Connally turn far enough to his right to look at Jackson? Not until Z-280 or so. Is that when Jackson heard the second shot? And, at what point does Jackson stop his motorcycle? While Jackson says it was after the second shot, the Nix film shows that Jackson only slowed his motorcycle after Kennedy was struck in the head! This could indicate that Jackson heard a shot (a first shot hit) looked around, looked back to Connally, heard the head shot, slammed on his brakes, and heard the third shot as he looked up and saw the President's wounds. Still, since he distinctly remembered seeing a piece of the President's skull fly away, it would seem he saw the actual impact. This raises the possibility that he heard a shot, looked around, saw Connally jerk to his right and then fall back into the car after being hit by a silent bullet, saw the President's head explode, heard a shot, slammed on his brakes, and looked back to the President as a third shot rang out, but then got himself mixed-up when he tried to make sense of the movements and the shots. Another possibility is that he was simply mistaken about when he stopped his motorcycle in relation to the shots. In any event, one can not honestly say Jackson's statements clearly support the LPM theory, or any other theory. Even so, his notes are intriguing in that his initial impression of the fatal shot was that Kennedy had been hit above the right ear, and not on the back of the head. Curiously, Jackson was not interviewed by Hoover's FBI after the assassination, nor was he called before the Warren Commission. **Possible LPM scenario. Possible first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots possibly bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

The Changing of the Guards



At left: the Betzner photograph at Z-186

Above: the Willis photograph at Z-202



At left and below: the Altgens photograph at Z-255.



The Changing of the Guards

In order to place the statements of the occupants of the Presidential follow-up car in context, one first needs to familiarize oneself with the photographs of Hugh Betzner, Phil Willis, and James Altgens. Betzner's photograph, taken just before he heard a shot, was later shown to correspond to Z-186; Willis' photograph, taken just after he heard a shot, was shown to correspond to Z-202; and Altgens'

photograph, taken a few second after he first heard a shot, was shown to correspond to Z-255. (The memories of all three photographers are therefore consistent and suggestive that the first shot came at Z-190.) In these photos, the reactions of the President's guards, or lack thereof, are made clear.

Sam Kinney was the driver of the Presidential back-up car. (11-22-63 report, 18H732) "The first shot was fired as we were going into an underpass...it appeared that he (the President) had been shot because he slumped to the left. Immediately, he sat up again. At this time, the second shot was fired and I observed hair flying from the right side of his head...I did hear three shots but do not recall which shots were those that hit the President." (11-30-63 report, 18H730-731) "As we completed the left turn and on a short distance, there was a shot...I saw the President lean toward the left and appeared to have grabbed his chest with his right hand. There was a second of pause and then two more shots were heard. Agent Clint Hill jumped from the follow-up car and dashed to the aid of the President and first Lady in the President's car. I saw one shot strike the President in the right side of the head." (2-19-65 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the head shot) "Sam Kinney, seeing the back of the President's head erupt, stomps on his siren button with his left foot to alert Kellerman and Greer." (2-26-78 interview with HSCA investigator, file #180-10078-10493) "Kinney immediately recognized the first sound as that of gunfire, realizing that it was a 'shot from over our right shoulder' which hit the president in the throat. The President, his movement (in Kinney's opinion) affected by the brace he wore, fell toward Jackie, who, 'after catching him, set him back'...'While Jackie was setting him back up, Connally turns right, then left, then pow, pow. The second shot' (hit Connally and) 'left Connally's back open.' 'The third shot hit the President.' As the third shot landed, SA Kinney was able to see 'hair coming up.'" (11-22-93 interview on the Today Show put up on Youtube by Vince Palamara) "I saw the President grab his neck. And then by that time there was two following shots, just like a pow...pow." (3-5-94 and 4-15-94 interviews with Vince Palamara, as reported by Palamara in January 1996's *JFK Deep Politics Quarterly*) "However, it was during interviews conducted on 3/5/94 and 4/15/94 that Kinney totally amazed me with details concerning his first-hand observations of the President's wounds. Sam told me twice that he saw the back of JFK's head come off immediately when the fatal shot struck him. (Kinney was watching JFK's head and the rear bumper of the limo--as a normal part of his duty to maintain a 5' distance between the follow-up car and JFK's limo, something he had done many times). Sam told me, 'It was the right rear--I saw that part blow out.' He added that his windshield and left arm were hit with blood and brain matter immediately after the head shot. Once at Parkland Hospital, Kinney helped remove the President from the back seat of the car, with help from Clint Hill, Roy Kellerman, and Dave Powers. This gave him an extremely vivid, up-close look at JFK's head wound. 'His brain was blown out," Kinney said, '...there was nothing left!' I pressed further, learning, 'There was brain matter all over the place...he had no brains left in his head'...Kinney, who believes there was a conspiracy (although he believes Oswald was the only shooter), wanted his story told... As for the shooting on Elm Street, Kinney was adamant, on 3 separate calls, that he 'saw all three shots hit' and that 'the second shot hit Connally and he agrees with me.'" (3-5-94 and 4-15-94 interviews with Palamara, as quoted in the Summer 1997 *Kennedy Assassination Chronicles*) (Kennedy) "Would have survived the first one, probably. The second shot hit Connally right in the back...I saw all three shots hit." (On the head wound) "He had no brain left. It was blown out...there was nothing left...the back of the head...I saw it hit and I saw his hair come out...I had brain matter all over my windshield and left arm, that's how close we were to it...It was the right rear part of his head, because that's the part I saw blown out. I saw hair come out, the piece blow out, then the skin went back in--an explosion in and out." ((*The Kennedy Detail* by Gerald Blaine, 2010) "Follow-up car driver Sam Kinney's responsibility was to maintain his focus on the President's car. He saw Kennedy's reaction to the first shot and then saw Clint (Hill) leap onto the pavement a split second later. He immediately turned the follow-up car to the right to clear a path for Clint to reach the President and First Lady. His eyes were still focused on President Kennedy when he heard the second

shot and saw Governor Connally slump toward his wife...In the driver's seat of the follow-up car, Sam Kinney clearly heard the loud crack of the third shot. Like Jack Ruby, his gaze was transfixed on Kennedy's head." **Analysis:** Kinney's initial statement was that the second shot caused the President's hair to fly up. He then backtracked and said he was not sure if it was the second or third. In his next report he simply claimed that after a second of pause two more shots were heard. He thereafter tried to connect the second shot to Connally's wounds, not realizing that Connally had been hit long before JFK fell toward Jackie. Even so, it's interesting that Gerald Blaine, in his book *The Kennedy Detail*, a book written to convince the public the Secret Service was not involved in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy, and that Kennedy was not even killed by a conspiracy, chooses to use Kinney's latter day statements--which are in DIRECT conflict with his earliest statements--to support a three shots/three hits scenario. Clearly, he saw that, in order to not dismiss Kinney, he would have to either trust his earliest statements--which suggest the last two shots were fired closely together and that there was more than one shooter--or his latter statements--which completely undermine the single-bullet theory. It's interesting he chose the latter. Perhaps Blaine, like Governor Connally and Warren Commissioners Russell and McCloy before him, simply failed to fathom that without the single-bullet theory, the single-assassin conclusion was sunk. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot probably after the head shot).**

Emory Roberts sat next to Kinney in the front seat of the back-up car. He was directly behind the President. (11-22-63 report, 18H739) "at 12:30 PM, two or three shots were fired, at which time I saw the President lean over on Mrs. Kennedy. I knew he was hit. Just as the second or third shot was fired, Hill ran from follow-up car to president's car... I could not determine from what direction the shots came, but felt they had come from the right side. I immediately asked everyone on car to look to see if they could determine where the shots came from, no one seemed to know." (11-29-63 report, 18H733-738) "12:30 PM: First of three shots fired, at which time I saw the President lean toward Mrs. Kennedy. I do not know if it was the next shot or third shot that hit the President in the head, but I saw what appeared to be a small explosion on the right side of the President's head, saw blood, at which time the President fell further to his left... Just after the third shot was fired, I picked up the car radio and said "Halfback (code name for SS. follow-up car) to Lawson, the President has been hit." (4-28-64 signed statement in the Secret Service report on the behavior of the presidential detail on the night before the shooting, 18H679) "Special agents Ready, Lawton, McIntyre, Bennett and myself arrived at the Texas Hotel on November 21, 1964, at approximately 11:50 P.M., (which was a few minutes after the president arrived) and I went directly to my room where I remained until I got up to report for duty. (Note: Roberts reported for duty at 7:20 A.M., 18H679) (12-4-64 and/or 4-26-65 interview with William Manchester, as reported in the TV documentary "The Kennedy Assassination: 24 Hours After," 2009) "I looked at the President. He was leaning to the left, toward Mrs. Kennedy. Then the other shot hit him in the back of the head. I saw what appeared to be a small explosion on the right side of the President's head. And there was never any doubt in my mind that he was dead." (12-4-64 and 4-26-65 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Emory Roberts recognized Oswald's first shot as a shot." (On the head shot) "From his seat beside Kinney, Roberts had seen the last shot strike Kennedy's skull. He was certain the wound was mortal, and he had assessed the implications at once." (Interview with Kennedy Detail author and fellow SS agent Gerry Blaine on Kansas City radio station 98.9, 11-12-10) (On whether any shots came from the front) "You know, one of the strange things, the driver of the follow-up car and the shift leader were not called before the Warren Commission and both of those gentleman watched each shot hit its mark." (4-15-11 article in *Dome Magazine*) "Emory Roberts, in his initial report of the event, a report uncharacteristically shared with son Doug, wrote that "two or three shots were fired," Doug recalls. "I asked him, 'How come you don't know whether it's two or three?' And he answered me, 'Because the brain is not a tape recorder.'" **Analysis:** Roberts, as Kinney, was being deliberately vague. If there had

been a five second gap between the second and third shots, he would certainly have noted it and reported it. He knew that it was after the third shot that he picked up the radio. For him to express any confusion about the second and third shots is therefore an indication that the shots were bunched together. His interview with Manchester certainly suggests as much; for there, he only described two shots. Blaine's assertion many years later is also of interest. Presumably, Roberts told others on the detail he saw the second shot hit Connally. But, if this was so, why did he, as Kinney, fail to say as much in their official reports? Perhaps then, the most we can take from Blaine's comment is that members of the Kennedy detail never bought into the single-bullet theory, and felt the Warren Commission's avoidance of Kinney and Roberts--two of the closest witnesses--was not a coincidence. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot possibly after the head shot).**

By now, what we first described as a pattern has become the dominant scenario. This dominant scenario is in direct opposition to the LPM scenario on a number of points; 1) The first shot did not miss, but, instead, hit the President; 2) The second and third shots were fired close together; and 3) The last shot quite possibly was fired after Kennedy had already been struck in the head.

Clint Hill rode on the outside of the back-up car by the driver's door. (11-30-63 report, 18H740-745) "On the left hand side was a grass area with a few people scattered along it observing the motorcade passing, and I was visually scanning these people when I heard a noise similar to a firecracker. The noise came from my right rear and I immediately moved my head in that direction. In so doing, my eyes had to cross the Presidential automobile and I saw the President hunch forward and then slump to his left. I jumped from the follow-up car and ran toward the Presidential automobile. I heard a second firecracker type noise but it had a different sound—like the sound of shooting a revolver into something hard. I saw the President slump more toward his left. I jumped onto the left rear step of the Presidential automobile. Mrs. Kennedy shouted, "They've shot his head off;" then turned and raised out of her seat as if she were reaching to her right rear toward the back of the car for something that had blown out. I forced her back into her seat and placed my body above President and Mrs. Kennedy. SA Greer had, as I jumped onto the Presidential automobile, accelerated the Presidential automobile forward. I heard ASAIC Kellerman call SA Lawson on the two-way radio and say, "To the nearest hospital, quick." I shouted as loud as I could at the Lead car, "To the hospital, to the hospital." As I lay over the top of the back seat I noticed a portion of the President's head on the right rear side was missing and he was bleeding profusely. Part of his brain was gone. I saw a part of his skull with hair on it lying in the seat...At approximately 2:45 A.M., November 23, I was requested by ASAIC to come to the morgue to once again view the body. When I arrived the autopsy had been completed and ASAIC Kellerman, SA Greer, General McHugh and I viewed the wounds. I observed a wound about six inches down from the neckline on the back just to the right of the spinal column. I observed another wound on the right rear portion of the skull. Attendants of the Joseph Gawler Mortuary were at this time preparing the body for placement in the casket." (3-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H132-144) "Well, as we came out of the curve, and began to straighten up, I was viewing the area which looked to be a park. There were people scattered throughout the entire park. And I heard a noise from my right rear, which to me seemed to be a firecracker. I immediately looked to my right and, in so doing, my eyes had to cross the Presidential limousine and I saw President Kennedy grab at himself and lurch forward and to the left... I jumped from the car, realizing that something was wrong, ran to the Presidential limousine. Just about as I reached it, there was another sound, which was different than the first sound. I think I described it in my statement as though someone was shooting a revolver into a hard object--it seemed to have some type of an echo." (On what he saw upon arrival at Parkland) "The right rear portion of his head was missing. It was lying in the rear seat of the car. His brain was exposed. There was blood and bits of brain all over the entire rear portion of the car. Mrs. Kennedy was

completely covered with blood. There was so much blood you could not tell if there had been any other wound or not, except for the one large gaping wound in the right rear portion of the head." (When asked if he saw any wound other than the head wound at the autopsy) "I saw an opening in the back, about 6 inches below the neckline to the right-hand side of the spinal column." (When asked if he had an impression of the direction from which the second shot had been fired) "It was right, but I cannot say for sure that it was rear, because when I mounted the car it was--it had a different sound, first of all, than the first sound that I heard. The second one had almost a double sound--as though you were standing against something metal and firing into it, and you hear both the sound of a gun going off and the sound of the cartridge hitting the metal place, which could have been caused probably by the hard surface of the head. But I am not sure that that is what caused it." (Signed statement in the **5-5-64** Secret Service report on the behavior of the presidential detail on the night before the shooting, 18H685) "I departed the Texas Hotel between 1:15 A.M. and 1:30 A.M. and went to the Press Club, Fort Worth, arriving there about five minutes after departure from the Texas Hotel. While there I consumed the (?) glass of scotch and water and purchased two packs of cigarettes. I departed the Press Club at approximately 1:45 A.M. I then went to a place known as "The Cellar, arriving there at approximately 1:50 A.M. While at The Cellar I was served a beverage which I can best describe as grape fruit juice and soda. It was called a 'Salty Dick.' I did not drink the entire drink. I departed The Cellar at approximately 2:45 A.M. and returned to my room in the Texas Hotel." (Note: Hill reported for duty at 8:05 A.M.) (**11-18-64 and 5-20-65** interviews with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Lawson, Kellerman, Greer, Ready, and Hill all thought that a firecracker had been exploded."

(**December, 1975** interview with Mike Wallace shown on CBS' program 60 Minutes) (When asked if there were multiple shooters) "There were only three shots. It was one gun. Three shots." (When asked if he was satisfied that Oswald acted alone) "Completely." (Television interview found on Youtube as Clint Hill Interview 1, apparently taken from the History Channel program *The Secret Service*, **1995**) "I heard a sound from my right rear. I was on the left-hand front of the follow-up car. As I began to turn to my right toward that sound, my eyes crossed the back of the presidential car. And I saw the president grasp at his throat and lurch a bit to his left. And I realized something had happened. And I got off the car as quickly as I could and ran to the presidential car. By the time I got there two more shots had been fired and he had been hit in the head." (Television interview found on Youtube as Clint Hill interview 2, apparently taken from the Discovery Channel program *Inside the Secret Service*, **1995**) "We made a left-hand turn, and shortly after we made a left-hand turn there was an explosion to my right rear that sounded a bit like a gun shot or a firecracker. And I responded by looking to my right and as I did so my eyes went across the back of the presidential car. And I saw the president grab at his throat and lurch to the left. And I jumped from the car and ran to the presidential car. Before I got there he had been shot again in the head." (Interview conducted for the National Geographic Channel program *Inside the Secret Service*, first broadcast **10-24-04**. Note that this is, in fact, a compilation of two different edits of the interview as found on Youtube. The sections found in the DVD are in italics.) "We traveled along this open area which was on my left and then made a left turn, but it wasn't a 90 degree left turn, it was like a 120 degree left turn. The open area was still on my left, and *shortly after we got into that turn and started on that street, I heard a sound--which I wasn't sure what it was--whether it was a gunshot or a firecracker. I turned to see what was happening, and as I did I saw President Kennedy grab at his throat and lurch forward. I knew something was wrong. Before I could get to the presidential limousine, another shot had been fired and hit President Kennedy in the head. About that time I reached the back of the presidential limousine and tried to get on. I was trying to get my foot up on the back of the car. And I slipped. I had to run three or four more steps before I could get up. By that time Mrs. Kennedy had come out onto the trunk. It appeared to me she was searching for something, trying to retrieve something. But I got up on the back of the car and placed her back in the*

seat. The President at that time had slumped down into her lap. And I could see the back of his head. And there was a gaping hole above his right ear about the size of my palm. And there was white brain matter and red blood throughout the entire car. We then--the car jolted forward and we sped off to Parkland Hospital."

(Foreword written by Hill for The Kennedy Detail, **2010**) "I would be very pleased if the results of the Warren Commission and its investigation would be accepted as the final word." (Interview on Fox News Network promoting the release of The Kennedy Detail, **11-12-10**) "I heard the first shot, saw the President grab his throat, and lurch left. I knew something was wrong so I ran out to the car. I tried to get up on the trunk. The driver accelerated. I slipped. When I gained my footing, I got up on the trunk of the car. About that time, Mrs. Kennedy started up on the rear of the trunk. She was trying to retrieve something that came off the President's head. She didn't know I was there. I helped her get back in the back seat and the President fell to the left in her lap." (When asked what he believes happened) "What happened was a single shooter fired three shots from an elevated position to the rear of the motorcade. All three shots hit what they were aimed at. The first one hit President Kennedy. The second one hit Governor Connally. The third one hit President Kennedy in the head. That's the fact. The rest of it is just theory. Unlike fact." (Interview on Free Johnny Dare radio program on 98.9 The Rock in Kansas City, **11-12-10**) (When asked what happened after he saw the president react to the first shot) "Well, I tried to get there as quick as I could. I came off the follow-up car, ran to the presidential vehicle. I could not hear the second shot 'cause I was running. By the time I got close the third shot had hit the president in the head. Some material came off the right rear. Mrs. Kennedy came out of her seat and onto the trunk to try to retrieve that material. I slipped, I tried to regain my position. I got up on the trunk. She did not know I was there. And I grabbed her, and put her back in the seat when the president fell to his left onto her lap." (When asked what he saw when he climbed up onto the trunk and looked at the president) "I saw that there was a portion of his skull removed from the upper rear above the right ear about the size of my palm, and brain material and blood was all over the back of the car including myself." (When asked if the president was still breathing when they got to the hospital) "Well, I couldn't tell if that was the case. His eyes were fixed, and a hole was in the upper right portion of his head. So it appeared that he was fatally wounded." (London Daily Mail Online article stupidly entitled "What have they done?": Jackie's words as JFK was shot are revealed by secret service agent who *breaks silence* after almost 50 years", **11-14-10**) "'I heard the first shot, saw the president grab his throat, lurch left and I knew something was wrong," he recalled, his voice halting. "When I got to the presidential vehicle, just as I approached it, a third shot rang out, hitting the president in the head, just above the right ear, and left a hole about the size of my palm. There were blood and brains spewed about over myself and the car. I helped Mrs Kennedy get in the back seat and the President fell into her lap. I was quite sure it was a fatal wound. The First Lady was in shock. She was doing the best she could, she was covered in blood." On the way to Parkland Hospital, where the president would be certified dead there was little conversation. But, according to Mr. Hill, Mrs Kennedy "said something about, 'Oh, Jack, what have they done? What have they done?'" (Oral History interview performed for the Sixth Floor Museum, **11-18-10**) "About 50-60 feet down Elm Street, I was looking to my left, to a grassy area. There were very few people in that area. Some people there were taking pictures and that sort of thing. I heard an explosive noise to my right rear. I had been looking to my left, and so I scanned from my left to my right. When I did that my eyes had to go across the back of the President's car. And I saw the President grab at his throat and lurch to his left. So I knew something was wrong, something had happened. So I jumped from the car and ran toward the Presidential vehicle. Now I didn't hear any shot when I was running, but they tell me there was a shot at that time. But just before I reached the Presidential vehicle, I heard another shot and I felt the results, because the shot hit the President in the head, to the upper right rear of his head, above the right ear, and material came out of that wound, spewing over the back of the car, and over myself. I tried to get up on the back of the car. The driver

started to accelerate more. I slipped. I ran a few more feet then got up on the car. About that time Mrs. Kennedy was coming out on the trunk. She looked like she was reaching for something that had come off the right rear of the car from the President's wound. I don't know what it was. She did not know I was there. I helped her as best I could to get back into the back seat of the car. When she got into the back seat and sat down, the President's body fell to its left onto her lap. When he fell like that, the upper right portion of his head was exposed, and I could see that a portion of his skull was missing, that it appeared someone had taken a scoop into the brain matter and removed portions of it, and scattered it around because there was brain and blood matter over the entire interior of the rear of the car, including Mrs. Kennedy. I noticed that his eyes appeared thick. I assumed that it was a fatal wound."

(11-20-10 interview of Hill and Gerald Blaine by Gary Mack at the Sixth Floor Museum, broadcast on CSPAN2, 12-12-10) (When Mack offers "You heard three shots.") "The three shots all came from the same location." (When Mack asks if the three shots were evenly spaced) "I didn't hear the second shot, so I only heard two shots. The first shot came from my right rear. And I was looking to the left of the grassy area on the left hand side of Elm Street when I heard the shot. My vision took me to the right toward that shot. In so doing my eyes went across the back of the President's car. I saw him grab at his throat and he started to lurch to his left. He didn't move too far but he was trying to go to his left. I knew something was wrong. So I jumped off the car and started running to the President's car, trying to get there in time to get on top and cover--what we try to do is cover and evacuate. I was trying to get there to cover up so nobody would impart further damage to the President or Mrs. Kennedy. About the time I got to the car, just before I got there, the third shot--that I heard, and I felt--because it hit the President in the head just above the right ear, right up in here (he places his hand just above his right ear, with some of his fingers to the back of the his ear), and blood and brain matter were spewing all over the place, including on me. About that time Mrs. Kennedy came out of her seat out onto the trunk of the car. She was trying to retrieve something that had come off the President's head and went to the right rear. I slipped at first while trying to get onto the car 'cause Bill Greer the driver accelerated the car. I gained my footing again, got up on the car, and helped her get back in the seat. When I did that the President fell over to his left onto her lap and I could see the upper right portion of his head (he again places his hand above his right ear, only this time he places it directly above the ear, about an inch forward of where he'd placed it only 30 seconds before) had a large hole about the size of my palm. It looked like somebody had taken a scoop and removed brain matter and just thrown it around the car--blood and brain matter and bone particles all around the car. His eyes were fixed. I was quite sure it was a fatal wound." (When Mack points out to him that the scenario Hill has been pushing in his recent interviews entails three shots and three hits) "That is correct." (When Mack points out that this puts Hill at odds with the conclusions of the Warren Commission) "I recognize that. But the two of us believe that the second shot hit Governor Connally. The other person who said that, Nellie Connally, was sitting right beside him when he was hit. So I think I'm in pretty good company in believing that the second shot hit the Governor and that the third shot was the fatal wound to the President."

(Article by Hill in the New York Times, **11-22-10**) "We were traveling through Dallas en route to the Trade Mart, where the president was to give a lunchtime speech, when I heard an explosive noise from my right rear. As I turned toward the sound, I scanned the presidential limousine and saw the president grab at his throat and lurch to the left. I jumped off the running board and ran toward his car. I was so focused on getting to the president and Mrs. Kennedy to provide them cover that I didn't hear the second shot. I was just feet away when I heard and felt the effects of a third shot. It hit the president in the upper right rear of his head, and blood was everywhere. Once in the back seat, I threw myself on top of the president and first lady so that if another shot came, it would hit me instead." (Interview with Bob Barnard on WTTG, Washington D.C.'s channel Fox 5, and subsequently posted on the website promoting The Kennedy Detail, **11-22-10**) "I was scanning the left side of the street in Dealey Plaza, and I heard an explosive noise from my right rear. And so I scanned from my left to my right going

toward that noise. When I did so I scanned across the back of the car. What I saw was the president grab at his throat, and lurch to his left. And I knew something was wrong. So I jumped from the car and ran, ran toward the presidential vehicle. Now there was another shot, the second shot, I did not hear that because I was running. Just before I got to the car there was a third shot, and it hit the president in the head, causing an explosion to the upper right of his head, and brain material and blood spattered all about, including on myself. Mrs. Kennedy at that had come out on the trunk. She was apparently trying to retrieve something that had come off the president's head, and had gone to the right rear. She didn't know I was there. And so I grabbed her as best I could and put her into the back seat. And as I did that the president fell to his left onto her lap, with his right side of his head exposed. I could see his eyes, they was fixed, with a hole in his head about the size of my palm above his right ear." **(11-22-10** CNN.com report by Dugard McConnell and Brian Todd) "'After the first shot hit the president,' former agent Clint Hill says, 'I saw him grab at his throat and lean to his left. So I jumped and ran.' Hill is the man seen running toward the limousine in the famous film of the shooting, captured by a bystander named Abraham Zapruder. Hill jumped onto the back of the presidential car, in a desperate attempt to protect the president. 'Just before I got to the car, the third shot hit him in the head.' Hill says. 'It was too late.' (Unidentified book store appearance captured in Youtube video US Secret Service Agent Clint Hill Recalls Dallas, uploaded **11-24-10**) 'About 50 feet or 60 feet down Elm Street I heard an explosive noise from my right rear. Now I had been looking to my left over the grassy area. So when I looked back toward that explosive noise my vision took me across the back of the President's car. When I did that I saw the President grab at his throat and go left. And I knew something was wrong. So I jumped from the car and ran to the presidential limousine. I didn't hear another shot. They tell me there was a shot that occurred while I was running. By the time I had just about got to the car--I was a few feet from it--there was another shot. It hit the President in the head above the right ear. It removed a portion of his skull about the size of my palm. And there was blood and brain matter spewing about the entire area, including on myself.' (Interview on C-Span program Q & A, **11-28-10**) (Hill's comments while watching the Zapruder film) 'When the third shot hit--which is right about now--I was just about to get onto the car. And I slipped. Then I regained my step. Then I got up on the car. Mrs. Kennedy at that time was coming out onto the trunk. She was coming out on the trunk to try to retrieve something that came off the President's head that went off to the right rear. She did not know I was there. When I got up on the trunk, I pushed her as best I could back into the rear seat. When I did that, the President fell down into her lap with the right side of his head up, exposed. I could see that his eyes were fixed and that there was a large hole above the right ear--just to the rear--above the right ear, about the size of my palm. That part of the skull was missing and there was brain matter--it looked like somebody'd taken an ice cream scoop and gone in there and removed a whole portion of the brain and thrown it around the back of the car. The back of the car and she were covered in blood and brain.'

(BBC 4 audio interview published online, **12-1-10**) "Well, we were turning left onto Elm Street in Dallas. And as we progressed down Elm Street I heard a sudden explosive noise from the right rear of the motorcade. And so my vision changed from looking left to looking toward that sound, which took my vision across the back of the presidential vehicle. And when I did that I saw the president grab at his throat and lurch to his left. And I knew something was wrong. And so I jumped from the follow-up car which was immediately behind the presidential vehicle and ran toward the presidential vehicle, attempting to get there to throw my body up on top of the car to form a shield between the president and Mrs. Kennedy and whoever was shooting at them." (When asked how many shots he heard) "I only heard two because while I was running apparently the second shot was fired. The third shot which I heard and felt because I was near the presidential vehicle when that happened hit the president in the head--upper right rear of the right ear--and it spewed blood matter, brain matter, and bone fragments out over the car and myself. And then I was getting up on the back of the car and Mrs. Kennedy was trying to come off out on the trunk of the car to retrieve something that had come off the president's

head to the right rear. She did not know I was there. I pushed her back into the seat. And then the president's body fell to its left onto her lap." (When asked if at that time he knew Kennedy was dead) "Well, his right side of his face was up. I could see his eyes were fixed, that there was a hole in his skull above his right ear to the rear about the size of my palm. And I was quite sure that the shot had been fatal." (When asked if he felt the shots had come from the same place) "Yes I believe they all came from an elevated position to our right rear of the motorcade--it turned out to be the Texas School Book Depository--that they were all fired by the same rifle, and that they were all fired by one individual." (Interview in Discovery Channel program The Kennedy Detail, first broadcast **12-2-10**) "The driver had to slow the car considerably in order to make the turn. Instead of going the 10-12 miles an hour we had been going he had to cut the speed at least in half. About that time, as I was scanning the left area from Elm Street, there was a large explosive noise to my right rear. I thought it was a fire cracker. My eyes passed over the back of the presidential car. And I saw the President grab at his throat and lurch slightly to his left. And I knew something was wrong. (Moments later in the program) Just before I got to the presidential vehicle I heard another large sound from the right rear. And then I heard the sound of an impact like a bullet hitting something hollow. Now Mrs. Kennedy was out on top of the trunk of the car trying to retrieve something she'd seen come off the President's head. I was trying to get up on the car. The driver all of a sudden accelerated. I grabbed the handle, pulled myself up, grabbed Mrs. Kennedy, put her in the back seat. The President slumped over into her lap. I looked down and realized how severe the President had been hit. Above the right ear, there was an area about the size of the palm of my hand that was gone. The skull was gone. It looked like an ice cream scoop had gone in and removed all the brain in that area. There was brain matter, skull, and blood throughout the entire car... (Later in the interview) On the way to Parkland, I had seen Governor Connally's chest covered in blood. That was the first that I realized that he'd also been shot."

(**12-3-10** appearance at Warwick's Bookstore, New York City, posted on Youtube) "We had just started to straighten out the vehicle as as we started down Elm Street toward the Stemmons Freeway. At that point, I was scanning to the left, which was a grassy area. I heard an explosive noise to the right rear of the motorcade to my right ear. My eyes took me to the right rear toward that sound. In so doing, I had to scan across the presidential vehicle. When I did that I saw the President grab at his throat and move to his left, and I knew something was wrong. So I jumped from the follow-up car and I ran toward the presidential vehicle. My intent was to get on top of the presidential vehicle and place myself between the President and Mrs. Kennedy and whoever was shooting at them. I ran, and apparently, in that time I ran there was a second shot. I did not hear it. As I approached the vehicle there was a third shot. It hit the President in the head, upper right rear of the right ear, caused a gaping hole in his head, which caused brain matter, blood, and bone fragments to spew forth out over the car, over myself. At that point Mrs. Kennedy came up out of the back seat onto the trunk of the car. She was trying to retrieve something that had gone off to the right rear. She did not know I was there. At that point I grabbed Mrs. Kennedy, put her in the back seat. The President fell over into her lap, to his left. His right side of his head was exposed. I could see his eyes were fixed. There was a hole in the upper right rear portion of his head about the size of my palm. Most of the gray matter in that area had been removed, and was scattered throughout the entire car, including on Mrs. Kennedy. I turned and gave the follow-up car crew the thumbs-down, indicating that we were in a very dire situation. The driver accelerated; he got up to the lead car which was driven by Chief Curry, the Dallas Chief of Police . . ." (When later asked, by someone claiming to have been given permission to inspect the autopsy photos in 1979, about his description of a wound on the right rear of the head) "Above the right ear. (At this point he touches his head above his right ear and slides his hand back behind his ear) It's hard for me to describe so that people like you can understand it." (He places his hand back on his head and turns his back to the audience. The palm of his hand is above his ear and his fingers stretch to the crown of his head.) "Right in here. That portion of the skull was gone. About the size of this..." (He shows the audience his palm.)

"My palm. It was an entry wound from the rear (He points to the EOP area of his skull, where the autopsy doctors claimed the bullet entered.) and it caused the entire area of that skull to lift up." (4-16-11 article by Dan Rozek on the Chicago Sun-Times website, reporting on a 4-16 appearance by Hill at Anderson's Bookshop in Naperville Illinois) "Within seconds of shots being fired at President John F. Kennedy, Secret Service Agent Clint Hill climbed onto the president's still-moving, convertible limousine and saw Kennedy slumped over with a 'gaping' wound in his head. 'I assumed the wound was fatal. I turned, I gave a thumb's down to the follow-up car,' Hill said Saturday, as he recounted the traumatic Nov. 22, 1963 assassination in Dallas of the nation's 35th president." (Later) "Hill described how he jumped off his car and ran toward the presidential limousine, reaching the vehicle just as a bullet struck Kennedy in the head. As soon as he saw Kennedy's injuries, he realized the president likely was dead. 'I could see that his eyes were fixed, there was a gaping hole in the upper right rear of his head about the size of my palm,' said Hill, struggling to hold his composure."

(4-19-11 article in the Chicago Daily Herald on the 4-16 appearance by Hill at Anderson's Bookshop in Naperville Illinois) "Hill, one of the agents closest to Kennedy when shots were fired, told the assassination story from his point of view. On what was a warm November day in Dallas, windows were open at the high-rises surrounding the streets where the president's vehicles proceeded to a campaign stop, Hill said. He was scanning a building to his left when he heard an "explosive noise" from his right, which turned out to be the first gunshot fired from a sixth-story window by Lee Harvey Oswald. After the first shot: 'What I saw was the president grabbing at his throat and moving to the left,' Hill said, speaking quickly, as though his words were memorized and well-practiced. 'I knew he was in trouble and something was wrong.' After the second shot: Hill said he tried to 'cover and evacuate,' a Secret Service technique that would have allowed his body to block those of the president and Jackie Kennedy. After the third shot: Hill saw a 'gaping hole' in Kennedy's head as blood, brains and bone sprayed out from the gunshot wound, covering his clothing as well as Jackie Kennedy's. 'I assumed the wound was fatal,' Hill said." (10-9-11 article on Hill on the Fargo--Moorehead Inforum) "During the motorcade, Hill was positioned behind Jackie Kennedy on the follow-up car and was scanning people taking photos from a grassy area off to the left. Then he heard an explosive noise over his right shoulder, and his eyes scanned past the presidential vehicle. 'I saw the president grab at his throat and kind of move to his left. I knew something had happened,' Hill said. 'I jumped from the follow-up car and ran toward the presidential vehicle,' he said. 'My attempt was to get on the back of the presidential car and place my body above the president and Mrs. Kennedy so that I would shield them from anything that was a possibility of happening. There was a second shot, apparently, but I didn't hear it because I was running. Then the third shot happened just as I was approaching the presidential vehicle. I slipped, had to regain my steps, got up on the car. The president had been hit in the upper right rear of his head with that third shot. There were blood and brain matter and bone fragments throughout the entire area, including myself. He slumped to his left. Mrs. Kennedy came up from her seat onto the trunk of the car trying to grab some of the material that came off his head. I grabbed her and put her back into her seat. When I did that, the president's body fell into her lap. The right side of his face was up, and I could see his eyes were fixed. There was a hole in the upper right rear of his head. It appeared to me that he was dead.'"

(Mrs. Kennedy and Me, co-written with Lisa McCubbin, published **March, 2012**) (On p. 290) (On his reaction to the first shot) "We turned left onto Elm Street. It was an unusually sharp turn, and because 100X was no ordinary vehicle, Greer had to slow down considerably. Halfback had similar problems and Kinney maneuvered slowly through the turn. The vehicles straightened out and began to return to our normal parade pace of about ten miles per hour. I was scanning to the left at the grassy area when I heard a sudden explosive noise, over my right shoulder, from the back of the motorcade. I turned my head toward the noise, and as my eyes moved across the president's car, I saw President Kennedy grab at his throat and lurch to his left. I jumped off the running board and ran toward 100X. I wasn't

thinking, only reacting. Somebody had fired a shot at the President, and I had to get there. I had to get on the car and get myself between the shooter and the president and Mrs. Kennedy. I was running as fast as I could. Nothing else mattered. I have been told there was a second shot which occurred at this time. I did not hear it. My feet were hitting the pavement; the motorcycle engines were loud in my ears. *I'm almost there. Mrs. Kennedy is leaning toward the president. I'm almost there.* I was almost there and then I heard the shot. The third shot. The impact was like the sound of something hard hitting something hollow--like the sound of a melon shattering onto cement. In the same instant blood, brain matter and bone fragments exploded from the back of the president's head. The president's blood, parts of his skull, bits of his brain were splattered all over me--on my face, my clothes, in my hair. My legs were still moving. I assumed more shots were coming. I reached for the handhold and grabbed it. Just as I grabbed it the car lurched forward. Bill Greer had stepped on the gas and the car reacted with a jolt. I slipped. I was gripping with all my strength, my feet now back on the pavement. My legs kept moving, as I held on, trying to keep up with the rapidly accelerating car. Somehow--I honestly do not know how--I lunged and pulled my body onto the car, and my foot found the step. In that same instant, Mrs. Kennedy rose up out of her seat and started climbing onto the trunk. What is she doing? What is she doing? The car was accelerating; we were really speeding up. Good God, she's going to go flying off the back of the car! Her eyes were filled with terror. She didn't even know I was there. She was reaching for something. She was reaching for a piece of the president's head. I thrust myself onto the trunk, grabbed her arm, and pushed her back into the seat. When I did this the president's body fell into her lap. As I peered into the backseat of the car, I saw the president's head in her lap. His eyes were fixed, and I could see inside the back of his head... I could see inside the back of the president's head..."My God! They have shot his head off!" Mrs. Kennedy screamed. Blood was everywhere. The floor was covered in blood and brain tissue and skull fragments. "Get us to a hospital! Get us to a hospital." I screamed at Bill Greer." (Later, on p. 305-306, when discussing the autopsy) "I took a deep breath, as Kellerman opened the door. Lying on a table, covered with a white sheet, was the body of President Kennedy, only his face was exposed and it looked like he was sleeping. Bill Greer was there and Dr. Burkley and General Godfrey McHugh, the President's Air Force aide. There were additional people I did not recognize. A man in a white coat stood beside the table. I'm sure they told me his name but it didn't register. The man gently lowered the sheet just enough to expose the president's neck, and he began describing the wounds to me. A wound in the front neck area where a tracheotomy had been performed at Parkland Hospital in an effort to revive the president. He said it covered an exit wound. Then, rolling the president gently over to one side, he pointed out a wound in the upper back, at the neckline, quite small. This, he said, was the entry wound that corresponded to the exit wound at the throat. Moving the body back and slightly to the left he pointed out the wound in the upper right rear of the head. I swallowed hard, listening closely, as the doctor explained what had happened. It appeared that the impact of the bullet hitting the president's head was so severe, it caused an explosive reaction within the makeup of the skull and brain, so portions of the brain erupted outward, and a portion of the skull with skin and hair attached became like a flap. The image of what I saw when I was wedged up above the backseat came flashing back into my mind. The head wound was exposed to me and I could see into his brain, part of which had exploded outward. It looked like somebody had flipped open the back of his head, stuck in an ice-cream scoop and removed a portion of the brain, then scattered it all over Mrs. Kennedy, the car, and myself. It was a horrific sight. And I couldn't get it out of my mind. "Yes Doctor," I said "That is exactly what happened. I know I saw it. I was five feet away from the president when the impact occurred." *If only I had run faster, reacted a little quicker...* The explanation by the doctor and my observation of the body was concluded. I thanked the doctor and returned to the seventeenth floor."

(Interview with Savannah Guthrie broadcast on NBC's Today Show, **4-5-12**) "That's the one thing I can't get out of my mind. The picture of him lying on her lap, with his head exposed to me...looking

into the back of his head, into his brain, his eyes fixed, blood and brain and bone fragments all over the car, over Mrs. Kennedy, and myself." (On Jackie's climb onto the back of the limo) "There was some material from the President's head that had gone off to the right rear. And she had come up on the back of the car trying to retrieve that material." (4-5-12 interview with Piers Morgan on CNN) (When asked when he realized the President was gonna die) "After I got up on the car, Mrs. Kennedy came up on the trunk to retrieve some material that had gone off to the right rear from the President's wound in his head. I put her back in the seat. When I did that, his body fell into her lap, face up. And I could see that his eyes was fixed. There was a wound in the upper right rear of his head. I could see into his brain. Part of his brain was missing. There was brain matter, and bone fragments, and blood spattered all over the rear of the car, including on myself and Mrs. Kennedy. And I was sure at that time that the shot had been a fatal shot." (On his sense of guilt) "I've always felt a sense of guilt. I was the only agent present who had an opportunity to do anything because of the way everything happened. When the shots came in from the right rear, because I was on the left running board, my vision took me across the back of the President's car. I saw the President grab at his throat and lunge to his left. I knew something was wrong. None of the other agents could do that because when they looked toward the shot they looked away from the President's car. So I was really the only one who had a chance." (When asked if he felt it was Oswald acting alone) "Yes, I have no question but what it was Lee Harvey Oswald. There were three shots. They all came from the sixth floor of the school book depository. And that was it." (4-6-12 interview with Megyn Kelly on Fox News Network) (On what Mrs. Kennedy was doing when he got to the limousine) "She was trying to retrieve some material that came off the president's head, from the wound which he had suffered. The wound was so severe that portions of the bone matter, blood and brain matter were scattered all over the car. And she was trying to retrieve it." (4-6-12 interview on the Opie and Anthony radio show, on satellite radio station Sirius/XM) (On his disputing those claiming the first shot missed) "The first bullet hit him in the middle of the back way up there at the neck line and came out through the throat. The second shot did not hit him. Mrs. Connally was sitting next to her husband. She said the second shot was the shot that hit her husband. That is where the magic bullet theory comes in--which I don't believe in either." (On the first shot) "I wasn't sure exactly what it was. I heard the explosive noise. But when I saw him react, then I realized that something had happened. And I jumped and ran. And while I was running there was a second shot, apparently. I didn't hear it." (On the direction of fire) "From the right rear." (On his climbing onto the limo) "When the President was hit in the head with the third bullet, the explosion was so severe in the head that bone fragments and blood and brain matter erupted from the wound. Some of it came off and went to the right rear, across the trunk of the car. She saw that and she was trying to reach some of that material. And then I grabbed her and I put her in the back seat. And then his body fell into her--his head--in her lap." (On whether he knew it was a fatal wound) "I thought it was as soon as I saw him lying in her lap, because his eyes were fixed. I could actually see into his head from the wound. And I could see a lot of the brain matter was gone." (On the sound of the impact) "A bullet hitting something hard but hollow, something like a melon--similar. And it caused the wound to open up and then it caused a flap. The skin from the exterior of the skull didn't actually come off. Part of it was intact, and so it just kinda made a flap forward." (On conspiracy theorists) "They're very annoying, but I've gotten to the point where I just ignore them, because most of it is so foolish and stupid that it's just not believable to anybody." (He then proceeds to mock the "Greer did it" and "Hickey did it" theories) (On why people believe in a conspiracy) "They can't believe that one person did this." (On his strongest memory) "The picture of the President lying in Mrs. Kennedy's lap, the right side of his face up, the eyes fixed, with a hole in the right rear of his head. And my knowing that he was dead." (On his reaction after first seeing the Zapruder film) "I was really surprised at what I did see, because I had no idea what it looked like." (The year he first saw it) "Sometime in 1964." (4-13-12 article on the 10news.com website, the website of KGTV, presumably reporting on a televised interview) "'I saw the president grab his throat and I knew something was wrong,' he said when describing the shooting. Hill threw his body over the back

of the presidential car to form a human shield. 'Mrs. Kennedy had come out of the back of the car and she was trying to retrieve part of the president's head. I put her back in the seat. You could see his eyes were still. There was a hole in his head and his brain was missing,' said Hill."

(5-4-12 interview with Chris Matthews on MSNBC program Hardball) (On what happened after he heard the first shot) "Well, I raced to the car, but just before I got there the third shot was fired. I didn't hear the second shot because I was running. The third shot was fired just as I was approaching the car. It hit the President in the head--upper right rear. And it was a tremendous wound, causing blood and brain matter to come out of the wound over myself and the car. About that time Mrs. Kennedy come up on the trunk of the car. She was trying to retrieve material which came off the President's head--off the right rear. And I got up on the car and pushed her back into the seat. And when I did that the President's body fell over into her lap." (On whether the car was still moving at this time) "The car was continuously moving, and began to accelerate just as I got there." (On whether or not there was a conspiracy) "One shooter, three shots, all from the same rifle." (5-9-12 interview on MyFOXNY) (On his memories) "What I see in my head is what happened that day, and the president lying in Mrs. Kennedy's lap in the back seat of the car with his head blown open and blood and brains all over the back of the car and over myself and everybody else." (On the limousine slow-down) "At the time the shots were fired we weren't going at the normal speed which would have been 10-12 miles per hour. And he gradually started to speed up a little bit. But then he heard the first shot, and he thought one of the tires had blown. And if you watch the Zapruder film real close you'll see that the brake lights come on. He tapped the brake to see if he could get any response from the tires because he thought he'd blown a tire. So he did slow down slightly at that time, but he never stopped, and he kept on going. And then he started to accelerate just before I got there." (On the question of conspiracy) "Three shots, all fired from the same location by the same person, Lee Harvey Oswald." (5-22-12 interview with Dan Rea on WBZ radio, CBS Boston) "When we got to the point on Elm Street below the school book depository, I was scanning over to my left, which is a grassy area. There weren't a lot of people there, but there were some. And at that point I heard an explosive noise from over my right shoulder, to the right rear of the motorcade. And when that happened, I looked toward that noise, and in so doing my eyes passed across the back of the Presidential car. And so I saw what happened. I saw the President grab at his throat, move to his left. I knew he was in trouble. So I jumped and ran." (On the question of conspiracy) "There was only one shooter. There were only three shots. They all came from the same place, the sixth floor of the school book depository. And the shooter was Lee Harvey Oswald."

Analysis: Hill's description of the second shot he heard's strange sound is suggestive that he heard the third shot, but processed it as an echo of the second shot. When one reflects that Hill was running past Bobby Hargis towards Jacqueline Kennedy at the time of the head shot, and that they also heard but two clear shots, it should make us suspicious that all three heard the third shot, but processed it as an echo of the second shot. If one makes that jump, then all three of these witnesses can be added into the first shot hit 190 (or afterward) category. There is certainly nothing in their statements to make us believe that the first shot missed. Hill, in particular, states that he heard the first shot while he was looking to his left and that he saw the President react to this shot after he looked to his right. Between the Betzner photo at Z-186 and the Willis photo at Z-202, Hill seems to have begun to look to his right. By Zapruder frame 223, he is clearly looking at the President. By the Altgens photo at Z-255, he has turned to the President. That he recalls hearing only one shot by this time is a strong argument against the LPM scenario. It is also quite interesting that Hill wants the public to accept the conclusions of the Warren Commission, while he himself rejects the conclusion central to its conclusions: the single bullet theory. This shows that he, as Governor Connally, suffered from a cognitive disconnect, and could never bring himself to understand that without the single-bullet theory, the single-assassin conclusion promoted by the Warren Commission was at odds with the evidence. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190.**

Kenneth O'Donnell, a Kennedy assistant, rode in the back-up car in the middle seat behind the driver. (5-4-64, 6-4-64, 8-6-64, and 11-23-64 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (Manchester's narration for the aftermath of the shooting) "In the jumps seats, Ken O'Donnell and Dave Powers have heard the sickening impact of the fatal bullet, and Dave has seen it. O'Donnell crosses himself. Powers whispers 'Jesus, Mary, and Joseph...'" (5-4-64, 6-4-64, 8-6-64, and 11-23-64 interviews with William Manchester, regarding the possibility Kennedy was killed by Texas oilman, as represented in *The Death of Lancer*, the original draft of *The Death of a President*, as quoted in an article by Edward Jay Epstein in the July 1967 issue of *Commentary Magazine*) "They did it. I always knew they'd do it. You couldn't expect anything else from them. They finally made it." (5-18-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H440-457) "We turned—I remember the overpass. And then the shots occurred--which, at that time, I did not know were shots. My first impression was it was a firecracker. And then either somebody said "He has been hit," or I noticed the slump—he had been waving out the right side of the car and I noticed him slump over toward Mrs. Kennedy, and I realized then that they had been shots. But as fast as that realization occurred, I saw the third shot hit." (When asked how close the back-up car was to the limousine) "My guess would be 5 to 8 feet...I would presume they were just about turning to step up the speed a little bit, because there would be no crowds from there. (When asked if the Secret Service car had completed its turn onto Elm Street) "My recollection is they had, just about. I don't recollect a separation of this nature. It was a slight sloping turn, as I remember, and I thought we were right together." (When asked what Kennedy was doing with his hands prior to the time of the shooting) "He was waving. We had just left the mass of crowds. But as we turned on the grass plot, there were four or five people there, and I believe he waved to them." (When asked how many shots he heard) "Three" (When asked the time span of the shots) "I would say 5-6 seconds." (When asked if the shots came in a pattern) "Yes. The first 2 came almost simultaneously, came one right after the other. There was a slight hesitation, then the third one." (Asked his reaction) "My reaction is in part a reconstruction and is that they came from the right rear. That would be my best judgment." (When asked how others reacted) "The agents all turned to the rear...I would think watching the President when the shot—the first shots hit—that it would be automatic it would have to have come from the rear. (When asked again about the agents' reactions) "The reaction I note would be right rear. And again, looking at the manner of the President's movement I would think you would have to feel the thrust of the shot was from the right rear...He was leaning out waving. He may have just been withdrawing his hand. And the shot hit him, and threw him to the left. He slumped on Mrs. Kennedy. (When asked which shot this was) "It was not the third shot. Whether it was the first or second, I would not know...If I had to pick one of the two, I think it might have been the second shot." (A 1968 conversation with Congressman Tip O'Neill, as recounted in O'Neill's autobiography *Man of the House*, 1987) "I was surprised to hear O'Donnell say that he was sure he had heard two shots that came from behind the fence. 'That's not what you told the Warren Commission,' I said. 'You're right,' he replied. "I told the FBI what I had heard, but they said it couldn't have happened that way and that I must have been imagining things. So I testified the way they wanted me to. I just didn't want to stir up any more pain and trouble for the family...The family--everybody wanted this thing behind them." (Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye, co-written with Dave Powers, published 1972) "I had just finished speaking when we heard shots, two close together and then a third one. There must have been an interval of at least five seconds before the third and last shot because, after the second shot, Dave said to me, "Kenny, I think the President's been shot." I made a quick sign of the cross and said "What makes you think that?" "Look at him!" Dave said. "He was over on the right, with his arm stretched out. Now he's slumped over toward Jackie, holding his throat." While we both stared at the President, the third shot took the side of his head off. We saw pieces of bone and brain tissue and bits of his reddish hair flying through the air...I said to Dave, "He's dead." (6-15-75 article in the *Chicago Tribune*. This article reported that a source within the CIA had told the Church Committee that Kennedy aides Kenneth O'Donnell and David Powers had been pressured by the FBI into leaving their

suspicious that shots came from the front out of their statements. It also quoted O'Donnell's response to this allegation.) "The story is an absolute lie," O'Donnell declared in a phone interview. "I'm not accusing the reporter, but whoever gave that story is lying. It's an absolute, outright lie." (Later in the article) "I spent four hours before the commission and my testimony is quite clear," O'Donnell said in the phone interview. "I told them exactly what I saw. I was in charge of the whole operation so I know what happened. I arranged the whole trip..." "I testified under oath and I stand by it." O'Donnell recalled he told the Warren Commission he heard two shots, the first of which he initially thought was a firecracker. Both came from behind, he said. And Powers, O'Donnell said, recalled hearing three shots, all from the same direction. He denied that either he or Powers ever had suspicions that the shots came from anywhere but the depository. Further, O'Donnell asserted he was never pressured or asked to change or omit anything from his testimony, either by the FBI or CIA. "I met with them every day (while working for President Johnson on the investigation)" O'Donnell said. "Not one of them ever even raised the question. They worked for me. I didn't work for them." (Interview with O'Donnell's son, Kenneth O'Donnell, Jr. by David Talbot, as reported in *Brothers*, published 2007) (On the source of the shots heard by his father) "He said there was fire from two different directions." (Quoting his father on his father's impressions of the Warren Commission) "I'll tell you this right now, they didn't want to know"... (It was) "the most pointless investigation I've ever seen."

Analysis: from his jumping to the third shot in his testimony, it seems likely that O'Donnell decided that the "firecracker" he heard was in fact two separate shots. His subsequent statements that the first two shots rang out "simultaneously" and "one after another," and that there was a space of five seconds before the head shot, confirm this suspicion. That the quickness of these first two shots troubled O'Donnell, furthermore, is suggested by his subsequent recollection that he'd only testified to hearing two shots. His testimony that he thought Kennedy may have been hit by the second shot--a shot fired only a split second after the first shot, mind you--is therefore of little help to the LPM scenario. It is, in fact, an argument against it. More concretely, O'Donnell's recollection that Kennedy was waving to a small group of people at the time he was hit, and that this happened near a "grass plot," suggests the first shot was heard around frame 190. Since Powers later confirmed O'Neill's recollection about O'Donnell's impression of the source of the shots, moreover, we should suspect O'Donnell's denial of this to the Chicago Tribune in 1975 was, in fact, a lie. His misrepresentation of Powers' impression of the shots--that they all came from behind, when Powers from the earliest claimed he'd had an impression the final shot came from the front--suggests, unfortunately, that he was not above such behavior. **First shot hit 190. First two shots may have been bunched.**

David Powers, another Kennedy assistant, rode in the middle seat to the right of O'Donnell. (4-8-64, 8-10-64, 10-21-64, 3-17-65, and 5-24-65 interviews with William Manchester, as reported in the TV documentary "The Kennedy Assassination: 24 Hours After," 2009) "I am looking at the Presidential car. His hand was waving and now he put his hands slowly to his throat and slumps towards Jackie. And I say to Kenny 'I think the President's been hit.' Kenny and I not only saw the next one we heard it. We just saw that handsome head get blown off. We heard the shot and we heard the impact of the shot. It was the most sickening thing--like a grapefruit being thrown against a brick wall." (4-8-64, 8-10-64, 10-21-64, 3-17-65, and 5-24-65 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On his response to the first shot) "Powers, in Halfback's right-hand jump seat, shouted at O'Donnell, 'I think the President's been hit!'" (Manchester's narration for the aftermath of the shooting) "In the jumps seats, Ken O'Donnell and Dave Powers have heard the sickening impact of the fatal bullet, and Dave has seen it. O'Donnell crosses himself. Powers whispers 'Jesus, Mary, and Joseph...'" (On whether or not Rufus Youngblood actually climbed into the back seat of LBJ's car, or simply turned around, as purported by Senator Ralph Yarborough) "Dave Powers, who glanced back, confirms the Senator." (5-18-64 affidavit, 7H472-474): "the first shot went off and it sounded to me as if it were a firecracker. I noticed then that the President moved quite far to his left after the shot from

the extreme right hand side where he had been sitting. There was a second shot and Governor Connally disappeared from sight and then there was a third shot which took off the top of the President's head and had the sickening sound of a grapefruit splattering against a wall...My first impression was that the shots came from the right and overhead, but I also had a fleeting impression that the noise appeared to come from the front in the area of the triple overpass." (A **1968** conversation between Ken O'Donnell and Tip O'Neill recounted in O'Neill's memoir *Man of the House*, 1987) "I was surprised to hear O'Donnell say that he was sure he had heard two shots that came from behind the fence. 'That's not what you told the Warren Commission,' I said. 'You're right,' he replied. 'I told the FBI what I had heard, but they said it couldn't have happened that way and that I must have been imagining things. So I testified the way they wanted me to. I just didn't want to stir up any more pain and trouble for the family...The family--everybody wanted this thing behind them.' Dave Powers was with us at dinner that night, and his recollection of the shots was the same as O'Donnell's. Kenny O'Donnell is no longer alive, but during the writing of this book I checked with Dave Powers. As they say in the news business, he stands by his story." (**5-13-76** interview on WGBH TV, as quoted in L.A. Free Press Special Report Number 1: JFK Murder Solved, published 1976) "If the bullet that wounded the President was not the same bullet that wounded John Connally, and I testified that it wasn't, and John Connally testified that it wasn't, then there would have had to be more than one assassin."

(**11-19-78** UPI article found in the Reading Eagle) "I was in the Secret Service car," said Powers, "Me and Kenny O'Donnell. When I saw the first bullet hit him as he was waving, I turned to Kenny and said 'My God, they've shot our president.' Kenny blessed himself. Then I saw the second bullet hit the back of his head..." and the voice trails off into silence. Then, very softly, Powers adds, "Every day I think about it. Every day I get a pain in the back of my head where I saw the president get hit." (A **1980** conversation with Gary Mack, as recounted in a series of emails from Mack to John McAdams, posted online by John McAdams, 4-9-03) "Powers told me he and O'Donnell both thought one of the shots might have come from the front. When they told the FBI, the agents didn't take them seriously. Dave was quite insistent on that." (In a follow-up email posted by McAdams at the same time, Mack clarified) "Powers may have told me one or two of the shots might have come from the front--my note to you was not taken from any notes I took at the time. This was a long conversation we had by phone around 1980. Powers told me they didn't know that shots came from the front, just that they thought one or two might have. He never said or hinted they were intimidated to change their story or to keep quiet. But they were disappointed that no one they told the story to seemed very interested in what they thought." (**11-20-83** article by Thomas Farragher on Powers found in the New London, Connecticut Day) "The time the first shot was fired, I was 7 yards away from the President. I'm looking at the President. The Secret Service are trained to look elsewhere. And he had been waving to the people on the right side. His hand was way over. And I saw him bring his hand in and then fall toward Jackie. Now a bullet travels faster than the speed of sound. So I saw this happening and then I heard that noise at the same time that I would have thought was a firecracker. But I didn't see the President react that way and I turned to Ken O'Donell (another JFK aide). He's in the jump seat beside me. And I said 'Ken, our President has been shot.' And I remember Kenny made the sign of the cross. I believe that the second shot hit John Connally, and then while we're riding, we're praying. 'You see it's happening behind the agent driving the car--Bill Greer. Great guy. Loved the President. And we're doing about 12 mph but it's happening behind him and he's not aware of it. It seemed to me it was about five seconds from the shot that wounded the President and the one that killed him.'"

(**5-30-87** AP article featuring an interview with Powers found in The Evening News) "On November 22, 1963, Powers was in the car directly behind Kennedy's when he heard two shots ring out in succession and saw the President slump down. Then, a few moments later, a third shot ripped open the President's head." (**8-31-87** AP article by Christopher Callahan on Tip O'Neill's just published claims

about O'Donnell and Powers, found in the New London, Connecticut paper The Day) "Powers, in a telephone interview last week, said O'Neill's version is incorrect. Powers, curator of the JFK Library in Boston, said he did not want to address O'Neill's points directly. 'It's too painful to talk about,' said Powers." (Interview in **1988** TV documentary JFK: The Day The Nation Cried) "Coming down from that short flight from Fort Worth to Dallas, I'm talking to the President and Jackie in the back of the plane and I said 'Mr. President, you wave to the Texans on the right, and Jackie'll wave to the ones on the left.' And this is exactly what's happening when the first shot was fired... I had heard the noise. I'm looking at the President at the same time, and he had pulled his hand up toward his throat and he fell over toward Jackie. There's a second shot, and now Governor Connally is out of sight. The first two sort of came close together, but now we're riding and praying. And now we see the shot that hit the President in the head." (**6-5-91** interview with Lamar Waldron and Thom Hartmann, as recounted in Ultimate Sacrifice, 2005) "We were shocked when Dave Powers, head of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library in Boston and a close aide to JFK, vividly described seeing the shots from the "grassy knoll." Powers said he and fellow JFK aide Kenneth O'Donnell clearly saw the shots, since they were in the limo right behind JFK. Powers said they felt they were "riding into an ambush"--explaining for the first time why the driver of JFK's limo slowed after the first shot. Powers also described how he was pressured to change his story for the Warren Commission." (**11-7-91** article in the L.A. Times) "I heard the first shot, positively above and behind me," says Powers, who was riding behind Kennedy's car. 'I'm looking at the President like I always did, and I saw him bring his hand in and kind of fall toward Jackie. I said 'Our President's been shot!' and now I see that terrible thing that hit the President on the head, and you never talk about it,' he says, his voice tightening. 'And now the car begins to accelerate.'"

Analysis: as the leftward shift of the President noted by Powers as a response to the first shot occurred just after frame 190, it is clear he felt the first shot occurred at this time and that it struck Kennedy. His appraisal of the second shot is far less clear. While he indicated this shot came shortly after the first, he also claimed the gap between the first and third shots was but five seconds and that he'd talked to O'Donnell just after the first shot. O'Donnell, as we've seen, heard no shots between Powers' comments on the first "firecracker" sound, and the head shot. This suggests that Powers was talking to O'Donnell when he thinks the second shot was fired, and that he didn't actually hear this shot. His statements to Manchester certainly suggest as much, for there he described but two bursts of gunfire. Powers' associating the second shot with Connally's disappearing from sight, which did not occur till just before the head shot, moreover, suggests that he wasn't sure when he heard a third shot, and only tried to make sense of it later. Since Powers associated the second shot with an occurrence just before the head shot, moreover, he may also have heard the last two shots bunched together, and then moved the second shot closer to the first so he could correlate his recollections with O'Donnell's. Although O'Donnell clearly lied about his own impression of the shots, that Powers' original statement suggests there may have been a shot from the front, suggests that neither of them were actually pressured to change their impression. It seems likely then that O'Donnell changed his story on his own, for reasons all his own. That Powers told Waldron he'd been pressured into changing his story as well, however--when his story doesn't appear to have actually been changed--outside his addition of a shot that hit Connally--is indeed a bit curious. Perhaps he'd said they were uninterested in what he had to say, and Waldron had misinterpreted or misrepresented his words. Or perhaps Powers was simply exaggerating. **First shot hit 190-224. Possibly heard but two shots. Last two shots possibly bunched together.**

John Ready rode on the outside of the right side of the back-up. (**11-22-63** report, 18H750) "I heard what sounded like firecrackers... The shooting occurred as we were approaching the Thornton Freeway... There appeared to be no spectators on the right side of the roadway... After the initial shot I attempted to locate the area from where they had come from but was not able to. It appeared that the

shots came from my right-rear side.” (Undated report, presumably collected with the **11-29-63** reports of the other agents in the detail, 18H 749) “I heard what sounded like firecrackers going off...I immediately turned to my right rear trying to determine the source but was unable to determine the exact location.” (**12-8-63** signed statement in the Secret Service report on the behavior of the presidential detail on the night before the shooting, 18H690) “I departed the Texas Hotel, Fort Worth, Texas, at about 12:20 A.M. Friday, November 22, 1963, walking 10-15 minutes to the Fort Worth Press Club...While there I had two cans of beer and left this club between the time of 1:15 A.M. and 1:30 A.M. I arrived at The Cellars, a Fort Worth coffee house, about 1:45 A.M. Here I had two, a third which I consumed partially, fruit drinks. I remained here until about 3:15 A.M., then departed, and walked to the Texas Hotel.” (Note: Ready reported for duty at 7:20 A.M., 18H679) (**5-24-65** interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) “Lawson, Kellerman, Greer, Ready, and Hill, all thought that a firecracker had been exploded.” (**3-1-78** interview with HSCA investigator, file #180-10071-10165) “He thought the first shot was a firecracker thrown from behind them. He said that the second and third shots were closer in time than the first and second shots. He heard someone say either “He’s hit,” or “He’s shot,” but doesn’t remember when it was said, relative to the second or third shot.” **Analysis:** while Ready’s statement is incredibly vague, the Zapruder film shows his head begin to turn to its right after frame 190. By the time of the Altgens photo, Z-255, he is totally turned around. His grouping of the last two shots completes the picture. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

William McIntyre rode on the outside of the driver’s side of the limousine, behind Clint Hill. (**11-22-63** report, 18H748) “As we approached the underpass leading to the Thornton Freeway, there was little if any crowd present. I heard three shots fired...I recall a rolling lawn to the right of the area where the President was shot, and seem to also recall an expanse of lawn to the left of the Presidential vehicle.” (**11-29-63** report, 18H746-747) “The Presidential vehicle was approximately 200 feet from the underpass when the first shot was fired, followed in quick succession by two more. After the second shot, I looked at the President and witnessed his being struck in the head by the third and last shot. By that time, Mr. Roberts had used the radio in our car to direct the vehicles to a hospital.” (**1-31-78** interview with HSCA investigator, file #180-10082-10454) “As they were approaching the overpass, McIntyre heard the first report, which he described as “very loud.” He said that he had no doubt that it was a shot. There was a pause and then two more shots in succession. McIntyre stated that at the first two shots, he was scanning the area to try to determine where they were coming from. He stated that the President was directly in his vision when the third shot was fired and he saw the President struck in the head. He remembers saying to Jack Ready ‘What the hell was that?’ He feels certain that Clint Hill left the running board and ran to the limousine before the third shot was fired.” (**11-23-03** article in the Bucks County Courier-Times, purportedly written by an old friend of “Tim” McIntyre’s, and relating what McIntyre purportedly told this friend in December 1963) “By the time the motorcade turned onto Elm Street, the security detail was beginning to feel some relief. Now, in just a few seconds, the motorcade would be on a freeway and picking up speed. Then Tim heard the first rifle report. But was it actually gunfire or just a firecracker? The ominous clue was the unusual activity in the president’s car. A second or two later came another loud crack and Tim remembered instinctively turning to his right, the direction of the now-threatening sounds. Quickly glancing back toward the president, he heard still another loud report and was horrified to witness what he described as the back of the president’s head exploding.” **Analysis:** the limousine was far more than 200 feet from the underpass at the time of the first shot under any scenario, but McIntyre’s statement is particularly damaging to the LPM theory, which holds the President was barely off of Houston Street. His description of the rolling lawn is certainly more in line with the first shot occurring at frame 190 or afterwards than frame 160. The article by his supposed friend is also of interest in that it suggests McIntyre thought the first shot hit. Still, it is a second-hand report, 40 years removed from the supposed conversation, and of little

value. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Paul Landis stood along the right side of the back-up car behind John Ready. (11-27-63 report, 18H758-759) "At this point the President's car and follow-up car had just completed its turn and both were straightening out. At this moment, I heard what sounded like the report of a high powered rifle behind me. My first glance was at the President, as my eyes were almost straight ahead at that time. I did not realize that the President was hit at that point. I saw him moving and thought he was turning in the direction of the sound. I immediately returned my gaze to the building which I had observed before, at a quick glance saw nothing and dropped my eyes to the crowd, scanning it quickly from right to left....I think I recall Special Agent Jack Ready saying, "What was it? A firecracker?" I remarked "I don't know. I don't see any smoke." All during this time I was returning my gaze to the President's car. ...I looked at the front right tire of the President's car and saw it was alright...I glanced back towards the President, he still appeared upright in his seat, leaning slightly towards Mrs. Kennedy. It was at this moment that I heard a second report and saw the President's head split open and pieces of flesh and blood flying through the air." (11-30-63 report, 18H751-757) "As the President's car continued around the corner, I continued to survey the crowd along the righthand side of the road and noticed that it was fairly scattered, with hardly enough people to form a single line. I continued to look ahead to an overpass over the route we were traveling. At approximately this point, I would say, the President's car and the Follow-up car had just 'completed their turns and both were straightening out. At this moment I heard what sounded like the report of a high-powered rifle from behind me, over my right shoulder. When I heard the sound there was no question in my mind what it was. My first glance was at the President, as I was practically looking in his direction anyway. I saw him moving in a manner which I thought was to look in the direction of the sound. I did not realize that President Kennedy had been shot at this point. I immediately returned my gaze, over my right shoulder, toward the modernistic building I had observed before. With a quick glance I saw nothing and immediately started scanning the crowd at the intersection from my right to my left. I observed nothing unusual and began to think that the sound had been that of a fire cracker but I hadn't seen any smoke. In fact, I recall Special Agent Jack Ready saying, "Oh, what was it? A fire cracker?" I remarked, "I don't know; I don't see any smoke." So far the lapsed period of time could not have been over two or three seconds. All during this time I continued to scan the crowd, returning my gaze towards the President's car. It must have been another second or two before the next shot was fired because, as I recall having seen nothing out of the ordinary, I then thought that maybe one of the cars in the motorcade had had a blowout that had echoed off the buildings. I looked at the right front tire of the President's car and saw it was all right. I then glanced to see the right rear tire, but could not because the Follow-up car was too close. I also thought of trying to run and jump on the President's car but did not think I could make it because of the speed at which we were traveling. I decided I had better stay where I was so that I would at least be near the First Lady, to whom I am assigned. I think that it was at this point that I thought, "Faster, Faster, Faster," thinking that we could not get out of the area soon enough. However, I don't have any idea as to how fast we were then moving. I had drawn my gun, but I am not sure exactly when I did this. I did leave my suit unbuttoned all during the motorcade movement, thinking at the time that I could get to my gun faster this way, if I had to. I glanced towards the President and he still appeared to be fairly upright in his seat, leaning slightly toward Mrs. Kennedy with his head tilted lightly back. I think Mrs. Kennedy had her right arm around the President's shoulders at this time. I also remember Special Agent Clinton Hill attempting to climb onto the back of the President's car. It was at this moment that I heard a second report and it appeared that the President's head split open with a muffled exploding sound. I can best describe the sound as I heard it, as the sound you would get by shooting a high powered bullet into a five gallon can of water or shooting into a melon. I saw pieces of flesh and blood flying through the air and the President slumped out of sight towards Mrs. Kennedy. The time lapse between the first and second report must have been about four or five seconds. My immediate

thought was that the President could not possibly be alive after being hit like he was. I still was not certain from which direction the second shot came, but my reaction at this time was that the shot came from somewhere towards the front, right-hand side of the road. I did not notice anyone on the overpass, and I scanned the area to the right of and below the overpass where the terrain sloped towards the road on which we were traveling.”

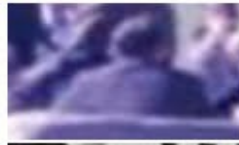
(Signed statement in the **5-5-64** Secret Service report on the behavior of the presidential detail on the night before the shooting, 18H687) "I arrived at the Press Club at approximately 1:15 A.M., where I had one scotch and soda. I departed the Press Club at approximately 1:45 A.M. I arrived at The Cellar at approximately 2:00 A.M., where I had two drinks which I believe were call 'Salty Dick.' I departed The Cellar at approximately 5:00 A.M." (Note: Landis reported for duty at 8:05 A.M., 18H679) (**11-20-83** AP article found in the Elyria Ohio Chronicle-Telegram) "I used to hunt a lot and you know a gunshot sounds pretty familiar. You know what that's like. I knew it came from over my right side, or right shoulder" Landis, who was assigned to protect Jacqueline Kennedy, did not see the first shot hit the President...He recalls seeing fellow agent Clint Hill, also on the First Lady detail, jump from the left front bumper and run forward..." I turned and just as I turned to look at the President's car, that's when I heard the second shot, and saw him get hit in the head," Landis said. "I saw the piece of flesh or head fly off. It was right all about that point that the cars were accelerating and a lot going on. People were diving all over the place." (Interview in Discovery Channel program The Kennedy Detail, first broadcast **12-2-10**) "I head a sound over my right shoulder which I immediately recognized as a gunshot. I'd been a hunter. I'd fired high-powered rifles. And I knew what the sound was like. (For the next sentence, Landis is off camera) I heard a second report. (He is then back on camera) I remember seeing Clint jump off the running board going for the President's limo. I just kept thinking 'C'mon, Clint, go, go, go. (Moments later) "I saw the president's head explode just like a melon, that would've, just a lot of blood." (**5-5-11** article on Landis by Leon Bib, found on the WEWS website) "I heard the gunshot," said Landis. "It came over my right shoulder." Landis was within a few feet of the presidential limousine, the top of which had been removed at the president's request. Movies of that day show Landis and several other secret service agents trailing the limousine as each man watched for any unusual movement in the crowds of people who had lined Dallas streets to get a view of the nation's chief executive. Landis said when he heard the first shot, his eyes turned toward where he thought the shot had originated. Still searching the crowd, there came another shot in quick succession. "And when my eyes came back to the president again, it was a third shot and that was the one that hit him in the head," Landis remembered."

Analysis: Landis only heard two shots: one early shot striking the President, and the head shot, which he initially thought may have come from the knoll. As Hill, he makes note of the unusual sound of the last shot. Was this the two shots heard by others heard as one? It is also worth noting that the Discovery Channel, in The Kennedy Detail, hid Landis' only hearing two shots from its viewers by inserting his stating he heard a second report into their program BEFORE Clint Hill and then Landis described the head shot. They failed to reveal that the second report heard by both Hill and Landis, the witnesses on the program, WAS the head shot. While Hill claimed he'd failed to hear what the program's producers would have us believe was the second shot because he was focused on running to the limo, Landis had no such excuse. And so, presto change-o, with some creative editing, the program's producers had Landis mention a second report when the program's producers wanted him to say there was a second shot--before he noticed Clint Hill running to the limo and saw Kennedy's head explode--even though he'd never prior to this program claimed to hear such a shot. Shame shame shame. That Landis was a witting participant in this deception is suggested by his later words to Leon Bib, in which he suddenly claimed to hear a third shot. Shame and shame again. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

George Hickey sat on the driver's side of the rear seat of the back-up car. (**11-22-63** report, 18H765)

“As 100-X made the turn and proceeded a short distance, I heard what seemed to me that a firecracker exploded to the right and rear. I stood partially up and turned to the rear to see if I could observe anything. Nothing was observed and I turned around and looked at the President’s car. The President was slumped to the left in the car. I heard what appeared to be two shots and it seemed as if the right side of his head was hit and his hair flew forward.”(11-30-63 report, 18H761-764) “Just prior to the shooting the Presidential car turned left at the intersection and started down an incline toward an underpass followed by 679x. After a very short distance I heard a loud report which sounded like a firecracker...I stood up and looked to my right and rear in an attempt to identify it. Nothing caught my attention except people shouting and cheering. A disturbance in 679X caused me to look forward to the President’s car. Perhaps 2 or 3 seconds elapsed from the time I looked to the rear and then looked at the President. He was slumped forward and to his left, and was straightening up to an almost erect sitting position as I turned and looked. At the moment he was almost sitting erect I heard two reports which I thought were shots and that appeared to me completely different in sound from the first report and were in such rapid succession that there seemed to be practically no time element between them. It looked to me as if the president was struck in the right upper rear of the head. The first shot of the second two seemed as if it missed because the hair on the right side of his head flew forward and there didn’t seem to be any impact against his head. The last shot seemed to hit his head and cause a noise at the point of impact which made him fall forward and to his left again. Possibly four or five seconds elapsed from the time of the first report and the last. At the end of the last report I reached to the bottom of the car and picked up the AR 15 rifle, cocked and loaded it, and turned to the rear. At this point the cars were passing under the over-pass and as a result we had left the scene of the shooting. I kept the AR 15 rifle ready as we proceeded at a high rate of speed to the hospital.” (6-15-78 HSCA interview, as reported by Joe Backes in his 1-30-96 article The 12th Batch) "After they made the turn from Houston onto Elm, the Presidential limousine was about 20 feet ahead when Hickey heard what he thought sounded like a firecracker coming from his right rear. He stood up and looked towards the right rear but observed nothing. He heard excited talking in the front of his car and turned to the front. He observed that the President had slumped forward and to the left. Mrs. Kennedy appeared to be aiding him and he was coming to an upright position. Hickey then heard two reports sounding like gunfire and saw what he described as a cloud of dust appear from the right rear of President Kennedy's head. Hickey stated that he would guess at about 3 to 4 seconds between the first and second shots. He stated that the second and third shots were almost simultaneous." **Analysis:** As Hickey makes a rapid turn to his right in the split second between the Betzner photo (z-186) and the Willis photo (z-202), and as he states he turned to the right after hearing the first shot, his statements are exceptionally helpful. His statement that the last two shots came in together but that he thought the first one merely brushed past Kennedy’s hair is also informative, and is indicative that the first of these two shots struck the President. Hickey, not surprisingly, was not called to testify by the Warren Commission. **First shot hit 190. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot probably after the head shot).**

Isolating Bennett



At left and below: blow-ups from the Willis photo at far left and the Altgens photo at bottom left. Both show Glen Bennett, in the back seat of the follow-up car, looking to his right.



While the Warren Commission and its defenders have long used the statements of Secret Service agent Glen Bennett to suggest the first shot missed, they have been quite wrong to do so. Bennett reported that he heard a shot and immediately looked toward the President, only to notice a shot hit the president in the back and then a second one hit him in the head. While Bennett's notes and subsequent report show some changes, and make his actual recollections unclear, the Willis photo taken at frame 202 of the Zapruder film shows him looking to his right, and the Altgens photo taken at frame 255 of the Zapruder film, less than 3 seconds later, shows him still looking to his right. This makes it extremely doubtful he saw Kennedy hit circa frame 224 of the Zapruder film, as pushed by so many.

Isolating Bennett

Glen Bennett sat on the right side of the rear seat of the back-up car. (notes written on **11-22-63**, 24H541-542) "We made a left hand turn and then a quick right. The President's auto moved down a slight grade and the crowd was very sparse. At this point I heard a noise that immediately reminded me of a firecracker. I immediately, upon hearing the supposed firecracker, looked at the boss's car. At this exact time I saw a shot that hit the boss about 4 inches down from the right shoulder. A second shoot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the boss's head. I immediately hollered to Special Agent Hickey, seated in the same seat, to get the AR-15. I drew my revolver and looked to the rear and to the left--high left--but was unable to see any one person that could have rendered this terrible tragedy." (**11-23-63** report, 18H760) "The motorcade entered an intersection and then proceeded down a grade. At this point the well-wishers numbered but a few, the motorcade continued on down this grade en route to the trade mart. At this point I heard what sounded like a firecracker. I immediately looked from the right/crowd/physical area and looked towards the President who was seated in the right rear seat of his limousine open convertible, At the moment I looked at the back of the President I heard another firecracker noise and saw the shot hit the President about four inches down from the right shoulder. A second shot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the President's head. I immediately hollered "he's hit" and reached for the AR-15 located on the floor of the rear seat. Special Agent Hickey had already picked-up the AR-15. We peered towards the rear and particularly the right side of the area. I had drawn my revolver when I saw SA Hickey had the AR-15. I was unable to see anything or one that could have fired the shoots." (Signed statement in the **5-5-64** Secret Service report on the behavior of the presidential detail on the night before the shooting, 18H682) "I arrived at the Press Club about 12:30 A.M. and joined agents at a table...I had two beers, thanked the hostess for the club's hospitality and departed about 1:30 A.M....I arrived at The Cellar about 1:40 A.M. and had two

grape fruit drinks. I departed The Cellar at approximately 3:00 A.M. and went directly to the hotel." (Note: Bennett reported for duty at 7:20 A.M.) (1-30-78 interview with HSCA investigator, file # 180-10082-10452) "He remembers hearing what he hoped was a firecracker. He then heard another noise and saw what appeared to be a nick in the back of President Kennedy's coat below the shoulder. He thought the President had been hit in the back...he believes the first and second shots were close together and then a longer pause before the third shot...he does not recall any agents reacting before the third shot. He believes he called out to no one in particular, after the third shot, 'he's been hit'.... he believes he saw the nick in the President's coat after the second shot."


Analysis: due to Bennett's suggestion, in his 11-23 report, that the President was hit in the back by the second shot, Bennett is a star witness for LPM theorists. He is not deserving of this star status, however. One problem is that he said the bullet struck Kennedy 4 inches below his shoulder—too low to support the single-bullet theory. He also said the limo was heading down a grade when the first shot rang out, and that the crowd was very sparse—a description far more in line with a shot at 190-224 than at 160. He also said the third shot immediately followed the second. While Bennett was later to tell the HSCA that there was more space between the second and third than between the first and second, there is reason to believe this was simply his adjusting his memory to fit the single-assassin scenario. After all, if he'd really witnessed the second bullet striking Kennedy at Z-224 but didn't yell "he's hit!" until after the President was shot in the head five seconds later, he would have to have been the worst secret service agent in history. There's also the problem that the Willis photo at Z-202 shows Bennett still staring to his right. If there'd been a shot at Z-160 and had Bennett immediately turned to his left, as pushed by those claiming Bennett's statement the Rosetta Stone, he should already be looking at Kennedy in the Willis photo. This suggests instead that Bennett heard a shot at 190, not 160. Another problem, as pointed out by researcher Robert Harris, is that the Altgens photo shows Bennett still looking to his right at Z-255. This might make one suspect he heard an early shot, turned to face the President after Z-255, and heard two more shots ring out, associating the first shot with the "nick" in the president's back he first noticed at this time, and the second with the bullet striking Kennedy in the head. This possibility is further supported by the fact that Bennett—in opposition to most every other witness to the president's first being struck—failed to note his subsequent lurch to the left or lean forward. It is also supported by the fact that when speaking to the HSCA's investigator, Bennett backtracked from claiming he saw the bullet hit Kennedy and said instead that he'd noticed a nick in the back of the President's coat. There's another possibility, however. In Bennett's original notes he does not say that he saw the second shot hit the president, or that he heard a shot when he looked at the President and noticed his back wound. He says he saw "a shot that hit the boss". He then writes that "A second shoot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the boss's head". This suggests the possibility that when Bennett looked at the President he saw "that a shot *had hit* the boss" and that he then saw a second shot hit Kennedy in the head. This would mean that he'd heard but two shots, which puts his words in line with fellow Secret Service agents Clint Hill and Paul Landis. Should one doubt that Bennett would change his impressions overnight, and go from hearing two shots to the by-then politically-correct three shots, or that someone else would write his 11-23 report and correct his impression, one should consider that in his original notes, Bennett asserted that he'd yelled to Hickey to get the AR-15 rifle, and that only a day later he reported that he tried to get the rifle himself, but Hickey beat him to it. The notes written before Bennett knew the official story also reflect that he turned to his left upon hearing the shots, while the typed up report the next day leaves this out, and says instead that he looked at "particularly the right side of the area." These changes then reflect either Bennett's confusion or his desire to bring his story in alignment with what he'd been told. Maybe someone typed-up Bennett's 11-23 report based on his notes, and made a few changes. No matter what, we just can't be sure what he saw. **Possible LPM scenario. Possible first shot hit 190, with the last two shots bunched together. Possibly heard but two shots.**

After looking at the testimony of but **19** motorcade witnesses--5 in the limousine, 4 on motorcycles, 10 in the follow-up car, we can notice that the pattern established by the earwitnesses is continuing. There are **10** motorcade witnesses now whose statements confirm there was an early hit followed by two shots bunched together. There are **3** others who failed to comment on the bunching but who described the first shot in such a manner that we can conclude that it hit. There are **4** others whose statements fit this same scenario provided they heard the last two shots as one, or missed hearing the last shot. While an LPM theorist might say that the statements of these last four are also consistent with there being a first shot miss at frame 160, the fact is that this would mean speculating that these witnesses didn't hear a shot that NO ONE who heard three shots has yet described. It is undoubtedly much more logical, when comparing those who heard two shots against those who heard three shots, to assume that those who heard only two shots missed hearing a shot that was *heard* by those who heard three shots. It is also much more logical to conclude that those witnessing a man's head explode would not make note of a sound a second or two later, than that 13 of the closest witnesses, men all well familiar with guns, would believe they heard two shots after Kennedy was first hit when there was but one. It is also significant that there are convincing reasons to doubt the accuracy of the statements of the only two witnesses to suggest the first shot missed. For these reasons and more, I submit that the LPM theory is garbage and should be buried. Those already convinced and bored with this may want to jump ahead a few chapters. Those still curious or still subscribing to the LPM scenario should read on.


Chapter 6: Pieces on the Road

A continuation of our look at the eyewitness statements, with a focus on the witnesses in the motorcade


Finding The Right Time




Above: Z-160




Above: a crop from the Altgens photo taken at Z-255.
Below: a crop from Z-193.




Above: a crop from Z-193.







Below: a crop from Z-223.



Above: a crop from Z-202.





At left: Z-202

Finding the Right Time

As noted in the discussion of the eyewitness testimony of those in the follow-up car, an analysis of the Zapruder film can help us put the testimony of the eyewitnesses in context. In frame 193, agent George Hickey is looking to his left, but by frame 202, less than half a second later, he has turned to his right. By frame 202, agent John Ready has also turned to his right. By frame 223, agent Clint Hill is turning to his right. We can study bystanders as well. In frame 160, 10-year old Rosemary Willis can be seen running beside the limousine. In frame 193 we can see that she is still running. By frame 202, on the other hand, she has come to a complete stop. As she said she stopped after hearing the first shot, this helps us place the first shot around frame 190. It seems more than a coincidence that her actions correlate to a shot being fired circa frame 190, the moment for a first shot established by the photographs and statements of both Phil Willis and Hugh Betzner. Even so, LPM theorists use young Rosemary as proof the first shot was fired circa frame 160. In one of the many misleading statements in his hugely influential book, *Case Closed*, Gerald Posner writes "By frame 187, less than 1.5 seconds later (that is, after Posner's proposed moment for the first shot) the (Zapruder film) enhancement clearly shows she (Rosemary Willis) had stopped, twisted completely away from the motorcade, and was staring at the School Book Depository." As you can see by looking at her legs in the slide above, Miss Willis was still running at frame 193, and didn't come to a stop until frame 202. Posner was bluffing (aka lying).

The long-term effects of this bluff have been palpable. That Willis stopped immediately after a shot fired circa frame 160 of the Zapruder film has become so widely accepted among single-assassin theorists that no one even blinked when someone as supposedly evidence-based as Larry Sturdivan inaccurately asserted (in his book, *The JFK Myths*, no less) that "At frame 165, Rosemary rapidly begins to slow her running steps and comes to a complete stop before frame 190."

But don't take my word for it. Richard Trask, a fair-minded single-assassin theorist, conducted a book-length study of the Zapruder film entitled *National Nightmare on Six Feet of Film*, in which he concluded that Miss Willis turned and faced the direction of her parents, with the school book depository in the background, "around Z200". At the bottom of this page, moreover, was an image of Z193, with a caption declaring that Miss Willis was still running in this frame.

Heck, even the HSCA, which concluded the first shot came at 160, and was searching for evidence of this shot, believed Miss Willis continued running past Posner's stopping point of 187. The HSCA report dealing with this issue, posted online by researcher Barb Junkkarinen, reads, in part, "there was not a reaction on the part of anyone except Governor Connally to a sharp noise or other attention-seizing distraction. However, a young girl, recently identified as the daughter of Willis (who made one of the important still photographs of the Presidential limousine) can be seen running or trotting across the grass beyond the far curb of the street where the limousine was traveling. She appears to be running in the same direction as the motion of the limousine, from about frame 165 to beyond frame 190. At frame 190 she begins a sudden stop, and by frame 195 she has turned, sharply to her right. However, her position at the time she stops is about 10 to 12 feet behind and to the left of the limousine. So, the position of her head after completing the turn, at frame 195, indicates that she is looking back up the street in a direction well behind the limousine itself. This action can be interpreted as a response to some sharp noise or other noticeable distraction."

Unfortunately, the HSCA failed to match the Zapruder film with the eyewitness testimony. If they had, they would have realized that the light-blue Vice-Presidential limousine was just making the turn at frame 160, with its Secret Service back-up car in close-pursuit, and that there was no way an audible shot was fired at this point. As demonstrated below...

Hurchel Jacks was the driver of the light blue Lincoln transporting Vice-President Johnson. (11-28-63 statement to the Secret Service, 18H801) "We had just turned from Main onto Houston, drove one block, and turned left. My car had just straightened up from making the left turn. I was looking directly

at the President's car at that time. At that time I heard a shot ring out which appeared to come from the right rear of the Vice-President's car. Mr. Rufus Youngblood, the Secret Service Agent riding in my car asked me what that was and at the same time he advised the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson to get down. He climbed to the rear of the seat with the Vice President and appeared to be shielding the Vice president with his own body. At that time I heard two more shots ring out." (Interview with CBS broadcast 6-26-67) "The car in which I was driving which occupied the Vice-President had just completed its turn and I felt a blast of which appeared to be a rifle shot came from behind me. I turned and looked up to the school book depository... I heard three shots and I could feel the concussions from all three." **Analysis:** as Jacks said the limousine had completed the turn before the first shot, and as Jacks only heard one early shot, his recollections are completely at odds with the LPM theory. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Rufus Youngblood sat in the front seat of the Vice-Presidential car. (11-27-63 AP article found in the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald) "An agent for 13 years, Youngblood was riding with Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, two cars behind the presidential car, when he heard the shots that mortally wounded President John F. Kennedy and seriously wounded Texas Governor John B. Connally. He could not be positive that the reports were shots, but Youngblood, from his position next to the driver, turned and pulled Johnson to the floor and shouted 'get down,' and half-sat and half-sprawled on top of him. 'It could have been a firecracker, a bomb, or a shot,' Youngblood, 39, said in an interview. 'I recognized it as an abnormal sound and realized some action had to be taken. I saw quick, unnatural movements in the President's car.'" (11-28-63 New York Times article) "I heard three explosions but I think the quick unusual movements in the President's car also made me react. I'm not sure I reacted on the first shot, between the first and second, or on the second. I had no idea where the shots came from." (11-29-63 report, 18H766-772) "The motorcade then made a left turn, and the sidewalk crowds were beginning to diminish in size. I observed a grassy plot to my right in back of a small crowd...I heard an explosion...I noticed that the movements in the Presidential car were very abnormal, and, at practically the same time, the movements in the Presidential follow-up car were abnormal. I turned in my seat and with my left arm grasped and shoved the Vice-President, at his right shoulder, down and toward Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough. At the same time, I shouted "get down!" I believe I said this more than once and directed it to the other occupants of the rear seat. They all responded very rapidly. I quickly looked around again and could see nothing to shoot at, so I stepped over into the back seat and sat on top of the Vice-President. I sat in a crouched position and issued orders to the driver. During this time I heard two more explosion noises...I am not sure that I was on top of the Vice-President before the second shot—he says I was. All of the above related events—from the beginning of the sound of the first shot to the sound of the third shot, happened within a few seconds." (3-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission 2H144-155) "Well, the crowd had begun to diminish; looking ahead and to the right the crowd became spotty. I mean it wasn't continuous at all like it had been. As we were beginning to go down this incline, all of a sudden there was an explosive noise. I quickly observed unnatural movement of crowds, like ducking or scattering, and quick movements in the Presidential follow-up car. So I turned around and hit the Vice President on the shoulder and hollered, get down, and then looked around again and saw more of this movement, and so I proceeded to go to the back seat and get on top of him. I then heard two more shots. But I would like to say this. I would not be positive that I was back on that back seat before the second shot. But the Vice President himself said I was. But--then in hearing these two more shots, I again had seen more movement, and I think someone else hit a siren--I heard the noise of a siren... Well, there wasn't too much difference in the noise of the first shot and the last two. I am not really sure that there was a difference. But in my mind, I think I identified the last two positively as shots, whereas the first one I thought was just an explosive noise, and I didn't know whether it was a firecracker or a shot. It seems, as I try to think over it, there was more of a crack sound to the last two shots. That may have been distance, I don't know... There seemed to be a longer

span of time between the first and the second shot than there was between the second and third shot.” (11-17-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Emory Roberts recognized the first shot as a shot. So did Youngblood." (On his reaction to the first shot) "Youngblood was less positive than he seemed. In the back of his mind he was thinking that if he was wrong this was going to be very embarrassing. But his voice was firm. He snapped at Johnson, 'Get down!'" (On the speed at which Youngblood moved to protect Johnson) "According to Johnson, Rufus Youngblood hurled him to the floor before the fatal shot. Youngblood himself doubts that he moved that quickly."

(11-22-73 article in the *Dallas Times Herald*) "It was an explosive noise. It wasn't the backfire of a motorcycle...I spun around in the seat. With my arm I hit him (Johnson) on the shoulder and told him to get down. Then I proceeded to climb into the back seat. There were two more shots...Johnson says I jumped on him before the second shot. I never said it. I wouldn't say it now." (20 years in the Secret Service, published 1973) "We had straightened on Elm now and were beginning to move easily down the incline in the wake of the cars ahead. Suddenly there was an explosive noise--distinct, sharp, resounding. Nothing that could be mistaken for the incessant popping and backfiring of the motorcycles, but in the instant I heard it I could not be certain if it had been a firecracker, bullet, bomb or some other explosive. I looked around quickly but saw nothing to indicate its source. But the movements in the President's car were not normal. Kennedy seemed to be falling to his left and there was sudden movement among the agents in the car directly ahead of us. I turned instinctively in my seat and with my left hand I grasped Lyndon Johnson's right shoulder and with all the leverage I could exert from a sitting position I forced him downward. "Get down!" I shouted. "Get down!" The vice-president reacted immediately. Still not seeing the source of the explosion, I swung across the back seat and sat on top of him. There were two more explosions in rapid succession, only seconds after the first. From my crouched position I saw a grayish blur in the air above the right side of the President's car. George Hickey, standing in the follow-up car just ahead of us, was poised with the AR-15 rifle, swinging back toward the building we had just passed. People along the sides of the street were scattering in panic." (Article by Gary Goettling on Youngblood in the **Spring, 1992** issue of *Georgia Tech's* magazine) "As the procession crawled into Dealey Plaza, Youngblood glanced up at the clock on the roof of the Texas School Book Depository. It flashed 12:30. Less than a minute to the freeway, and only five minutes to the Trade Mart, he thought. That instant, piercing through the shouts of the thinning crowd, and the stuttering and backfiring of police motorcycles, Youngblood heard the shattering crack! of a rifle. His reaction was immediate and instinctive. "Get down!" he yelled. "GET DOWN!" And in the time it takes to pull the bolt of a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, Youngblood had vaulted over the back of the limousine seat onto Vice President Johnson, pushing him to the floor of the Lincoln convertible and shielding Johnson's body with his own. Johnson, in his statement to the Warren Commission, said that Youngblood reacted immediately after the first shot and was sitting on top of him by the time the second shot and fatal third shot were fired into Kennedy. Youngblood's heroic action earned him the Treasury Department's highest honor, the Exceptional Service Award, presented by President Johnson on Dec. 4, 1963. In his own testimony before the Warren Commission, Youngblood said: "As we were beginning to go down this incline, all of a sudden there was an explosive noise. I quickly observed unnatural movement of crowds, like ducking or scattering, and quick movements in the presidential follow-up car. So I turned around and hit the vice president on the shoulder and hollered, 'Get down,' and then looked around again and saw more of this movement, and so I proceeded to go to the back seat and get on top of him." From his position, Youngblood noticed "a grayish blur in the air above the right side of the president's car light after the third shot. "There were shouts from ahead, then the cars in front of us lurched forward toward the underpass." **Analysis:** the first shot as described by Youngblood was certainly not at frame 160. Not only did he claim he was traveling down Elm Street at the time, as opposed to just turning onto Elm, he said he observed unusual

movement in the presidential limousine and back-up car just afterward. He also described two more shots, grouping them together in a manner suggestive they were bunched together, and not five seconds apart. He also marked on Exhibit CE 354 his impression of the Vice-Presidential limo's location at the time of the first shot. It was far down the road from its location at Z-160, and was probably closer to its location at Z-224. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Senator Ralph Yarborough sat the on the back seat behind the driver of the Vice-Presidential car. He discussed the shooting with reporters outside Parkland Hospital while most everyone else went inside. (11-22-63 AP article found in the Long Beach Press-Telegram) "The horror of the assassination was mirrored in an eye-witness account by Sen. Ralph Yarborough, D-Tex., who had been riding three cars behind Kennedy. "You could tell something awful and tragic had happened," the senator told newsmen before Kennedy's death became known. His voice breaking and his eyes red-rimmed, Yarborough said: "I could see a Secret Service man in the President s car leaning on the car with his hands in anger, anguish and despair. I knew then something tragic had happened." Yarborough had counted three rifle shots as the presidential limousine left downtown Dallas through a triple underpass. The shots were fired from above — possibly from one of the bridges or from a nearby building." (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times-Herald) "To the Texas Senator, it sounded like an explosion. 'There was this bang. It wasn't bang-bang-bang. It was like someone was taking aim.' The Senator, Vice President Lyndon Johnson, and Lady Bird Johnson were in the third car. 'After the second shot, a Secret Service man told the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson to get down. The President's car ran off at a terrible rate of speed. This is horrible.' ...Sen. Yarborough said it seemed to him that the shots came from the right rear of the motorcade. He said 'there were three definite reports, the last one came after a pause.'" (11-22-63 report on NBC television, at approximately 1:45 PM) "Yarborough said he was in the third car behind the President. It seemed to him, he said, that at least two of the shots were fired from the right rear. He said he couldn't say anything about the third shot." (11-23-63 article quoting Yarborough in the San Antonio Light)) "The shots were louder than a pistol. At first we thought they were cherry bombs." (11-23-63 article in the Chicago Sun-Times, quoting Yarborough's words outside Parkland Hospital) 'I heard three loud explosions like a deer rifle,' he said. 'You could smell powder on our car nearly all the way here (to the hospital). I was in the car with the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson. After the second shot, the Secret Service man had us to lie over so we wouldn't project on the seat. He said 'Get down! Get down! Get down' 'It seemed the shots came from the right rear.' He said there seemed to be a pause of a few seconds between the first and second shots. And then, he said, there was an even longer pause between the second and third shots. The third shot he heard might have been a Secret Service man returning the fire, he said. Yarborough said he saw a Secret Service man beating his fists against the side of the President's car, presumably 'in frustration, anger, and despair. He said his view of the President's car was partially blocked by a Secret Service car immediately ahead, but he could see no movement in the President's car after the shots. Then the President's car started off at a 'fast rate,' he said, and 'we knew something was wrong.'" (11-29-63 article in The Texas Observer, quoting Yarborough's words outside Parkland Hospital) "I heard three loud explosions, like a deer rifle. You could smell powder all the way here. I thought it was rifle shots....After the second shot, the Secret Service man had us lie over so we wouldn't project over the seat. He said "get down, get down, get down." The shooting ended...There was a slight pause between the shots... "Bang"...a pause of two or three seconds... "bang"...And then a longer pause before the third shot." (11-30-63 AP article found in the 12-1-63 Washington Star, presumably quoting Yarborough's words outside Parkland Hospital) "Senator Yarborough, Democrat of Texas, said the sound was 'bang-bang-bang.' The Senator, a war veteran, said it sounded like measured fire, not a fusillade. He described the sounds before the type of rifle was known by him." (The Truth About the Assassination, 1967, by Charles Roberts of Newsweek, quoting Yarborough's words outside Parkland Hospital) "'I smelled the gunpowder...It clung to the car nearly all the way to the hospital.'" (On Yarborough's response to Roberts' question about the location of Kennedy's head wound) "'I can't

tell you,' he answered, unconsciously holding his hand to the right side of his head, where he had seen blood streaming from the President. 'This is a deed that's indescribable.'"

(**4-6-64** interview with William Manchester, as recounted in *The Kennedy Assassination: 24 Hours After*, 2009) "At the first shot, I knew right away it was a rifle shot. I began to smell it before the second shot, and I thought that was odd. The reason I smelled it is that we were right under the trajectory--right in front of the muzzle blast." (**4-6-64, 11-11-64, and 5-26-65** interviews with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Most of the hunters in the motorcade--Sorrels, Connally, Yarborough, Gonzalez, Albert Thomas--instinctively identified it as rifle fire." (On what came next) "In the Vice Presidential car, Yarborough thought he smelled gunpowder. 'My God! he yelled. 'They've shot the President!'" (On whether or not Youngblood climbed into the back seat) "Ralph Yarborough goes further: he insists that Youngblood never left the front seat. It is the Senator's recollection that the agent merely leaned over the seat and talked to Johnson in an undertone. He contends that there was insufficient space in the rear for Youngblood." (**7-10-64** affidavit, 7H439-440) "as the motorcade went down the slope of Elm Street toward the railroad underpass, a rifle shot was heard by me; a loud blast, close by....When the noise of the shot was heard, the motorcade slowed to what seemed to me a complete stop (though it could have been a near stop). After what I took to be about three seconds, another shot boomed out, and after what I took to be one-half the time between the first and second shots (calculated now, this would have put the third shot about one and one-half seconds after the second shot...) a third shot was fired. After the third shot was fired, but only after the third shot was fired, the cavalcade speeded up....I saw people fall to the ground on the embankment on our right, at about the time or after the second shot, but before the cavalcade started up and raced away."

(**3-28-75** article in the *Dallas Times-Herald*, quoting an ABC TV report from the evening before) "Yarborough, riding two cars behind the President, said he, too, heard three shots, but he believed some had been fired from in front of Kennedy and not from the Texas School Book Depository where Oswald allegedly fired the shots that killed Kennedy. 'You don't smell gunfire unless you are upwind from it, and it blows in your face,' said Yarborough, who has urged the reopening of the investigation. He said he could not have smelled the gunpowder if the shots had been fired from behind the motorcade." (**12-27-78** letter to the HSCA, HSCA vol. V, p.698) "In the motorcade in Dallas, the first explosion was so distinct in its nature that my mental processes immediately registered "rifle shot" — it was an immediate mental reaction without conscious thought process on my part. On many occasions since, I have stated that there were definitely three explosions (this while the FBI was expounding its two shot theory), but during all these years I have been troubled by the fact that the two subsequent explosions did not sound like that first clear sound of indisputable rifle fire, clear as a signal. I assumed that the difference might have been caused by the changed position of the car, or other movement. The recent revelations of a possible fourth shot possibly clear up that doubt as to the reason for the difference in sound between the different explosions." (**11-13-83** UPI article found in the *Paris Texas News*) "He remembers the sharp crack of rifle fire and the smell of gunsmoke drifting down above his right shoulder as Johnson's car rolled past the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository. "I've hunted all my life, I handled all kinds of weapons in the Army, and I knew it was rifle shots, and there were only three," he says." (Interview with Jim Marrs published in *Crossfire*, **1989**) "I thought 'Was that a bomb thrown?' and then the other shots were fired. And the motorcade, which had slowed to a stop, took off. A second or two later, I smelled gunpowder. I always thought that was strange because, being familiar with firearms, I never could see how I could smell the powder from a rifle high in that building." (**1-18-92** Interview with Deborah and Gerald Strober, published in *Let us Begin Anew*, 1993) "And then the shots rang out. I knew that the first one was a rifle shot. And I knew that the third one was a rifle shot. And I was kind of dumb-fussing about the middle one, because there were three distinct explosions. That Warren Report that there were two was just a lot of bunk. The third

one caused my confusion there. Immediately after the first shot the motorcade slowed up--slowed up to just nearly a walk. I thought it stopped. And I could smell smoke--gunsmoke --'cause it's coming down from that rifle right over us; we were in the back seat, behind it, that second shot, then it came. It was just like counting: one, two, three. I thought: My goodness. Was there a bomb? What's that smoke up there? And what are they stopping for? Was I mistaken? Was that a bomb, instead of a rifle? And then, after the third shot, they took off. Well, after the confusion of the second shot, I just assumed it was all in one place. I was very much concerned about that second shot, because I was smelling smoke. Somebody--one of the Lyndon Johnson men--was trying to discredit me; he said I was so excited I thought I smelled gunsmoke. I told the Dallas police later--I was by there later and saw them--and they said, "We all smelled that gunsmoke." Let me tell you one thing that didn't happen: that cock and bull story he (Johnson) told about Youngblood pushing him down and jumping over and sitting on him. It's just plain--a fabrication. It didn't happen at all. Youngblood turned around. He had a little box--I guess it was an information box from the radio--and he leaned over. See, we had a small car; you couldn't have pushed big old Lyndon down there. So Youngblood leaned over and looked right in Johnson's eyes, and Johnson looked straight ahead and didn't look at anything." **Analysis:** Yarborough's statements regarding the spacing of the shots and the sound of the shots were inconsistent and quite literally all over the map. He was more consistent on some of the other aspects, however, and these aspects suggest that Yarborough heard the shots much as most everyone else. As Yarborough notes that the motorcade slowed down after the first shot, and as the motorcade only slowed down after agent Greer turned around to look at the President circa frame 255 of the Zapruder film, his statements are inconsistent with a first shot miss at frame 160 and a second shot hit around frame 224, as proposed in the LPM scenario. His statement that people dived to the ground after the second shot, when, as we shall see, none of the close-by witnesses recalled diving to the ground before witnessing the head shot, suggests as well that the second shot was the head shot, and that a third shot followed. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Lady Bird Johnson sat next to Yarborough in the middle of the back seat of the Vice-Presidential car. (Transcription from a tape recording started on **11-30-63**, and then added to over the next two days, 5H564-567) "we were rounding a curve, going down a hill and suddenly there was a sharp loud report—a shot. It seemed to me to come from the right, above my shoulder, from a building. Then a moment and then two more shots in rapid succession. There had been such a gala air that I thought it must be firecrackers or some sort of celebration. Then, in the lead car, the Secret Service men were suddenly down. I heard over the radio system "Let's get out of here," and our Secret Service man who was with us, Rufus Youngblood I believe it was, vaulted over the front seat on top of Lyndon, threw him to the floor and said "Get down." (Interview with Ruth Montgomery conducted a few weeks after the assassination, as quoted in Montgomery's **1964** book *Mrs. LBJ*, and serialized in the 5-7-64 *Milwaukee Sentinel*) "I had never thought that there would be anything worse than a hurled tomato, or egg, or an ugly sign, but suddenly in that brilliant sunshine there was a sharp rifle shot. It came, I thought, from over my right shoulder. A moment passed. And then there were two more in rapid succession. I could see in almost the same instant that everybody in the lead car went down. Rufus Youngblood, the Secret Service man who was in the front seat of our car, simply vaulted across to the back. I don't see how he got over in that crowded space, but he fell on top of Lyndon and pushed him to the floor. Mr. Youngblood is the politest of men, but he just said to Senator Yarborough and me, in a pre-emptory voice, "Get down." (**3-1-64** L.A. Times article by Frances Spatz Leighton, presumably built upon discussions with Mrs. Johnson) "12:30 PM: She heard three shots. Firecrackers, she thought, still smiling. 12:31 PM: a voice on the intercom car radio said sharply 'Let's get out of here!' Secret Serviceman Rufus Youngblood had thrown himself over her husband and said in a commanding voice 'Get down, get down, get down!' She obeyed, crouching far down as she felt the car lurch forward." (**6-15-64** interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the

last thing she noticed before hearing the first shot) "Lady Bird had been gazing idly at the red brick of the Dal-Tex Building and then the rust-colored brick facade of the Book depository." (On what happened after the first shot) "In the Vice Presidential car, Yarborough thought he smelled gunpowder. 'My God! he yelled. 'They've shot the President!' Lady Bird gasped, "Oh, no, that can't be!" (On whether or not Youngblood climbed into the back seat) "Lady Bird and Hurchel Jacks--Jacks could see the back seat in his rear-view mirror--agree that Youngblood's head and shoulders were in the rear, with Johnson beneath him. 'Get down!' the agent kept shouting in his Georgia drawl. Lady Bird leaned to the left, against Yarborough. She was thinking, There isn't much down to get." (Interview in PBS documentary "LBJ", broadcast **1997**) "It all began so hopefully, but the feeling in Texas was not good for Kennedy and so, of course, we were uptight. And we were going along and I was heaving a sigh of relief, "Thank the Lord, everything's going to be all right," and then came that shot. The Secret Serviceman suddenly vaulted over Lyndon and pushed him to the floor." **Analysis:** Mrs. Johnson's recollections regarding the shots themselves are in line with those of Jacks and Youngblood. Her statements that they were "rounding a curve"—not "making a turn"—and "going down a hill" place the limousine further down the street than it was at frame 160. While her statement that the shot came from her right led Vince Bugliosi and others to cite her statement as evidence that she was saying the shot came from the sniper's nest as early as frame 160, the building to the right of Mrs. Johnson at frame 160 was not the school book depository, but the Dal-Tex Building. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Vice-President Lyndon Johnson sat on the right-hand side of the back seat of the Lincoln. (**11-23-63** letter to Secret Service Chief James Rowley) "Upon hearing the first shot, Mr. Youngblood instantly vaulted across the front seat of my car, pushed me to the floor and shielded my body with his own." (**6-24-64** written response to William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Above the car radio Lyndon Johnson had heard what he knew to be an explosion. Before he could define it further he saw Youngblood coming over the front seat toward him" (On whether or not Youngblood climbed into the back seat while shots were still being fired) "According to Johnson, Rufus Youngblood hurled him to the floor before the fatal shot." (**7-10-64 statement**, 5H561-564) "The motorcade proceeded down Main Street and then turned right on Houston. It then turned into Elm, which is a block, I believe, beyond the intersection of Main and Houston. The crowd on Elm Street was smaller. As the motorcade proceeded down Elm Street to the point where the assassination occurred, it was traveling at a speed which I should estimate at 12 or 15 miles and hour. After we had proceeded a short way down Elm Street, I heard a sharp report. The crowd at this point had become somewhat spotty. The Vice-Presidential car was then about three car lengths behind President Kennedy's car, with the Presidential followup car intervening. I was startled by the sharp report or explosion. but I had no time to speculate as to its origin because Agent Youngblood turned in a flash, immediately after the first explosion, hitting me on the shoulder, and shouted to all of us in the back seat to get down. I was pushed down by Agent Youngblood. Almost in the same moment in which he hit or pushed me, he vaulted over the back seat and sat on me. I was bent over under the weight of Agent Youngblood's body, toward Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough. I remember attempting to turn my head to make sure that Mrs. Johnson had bent down. Both she and Senator Yarborough had crouched down at Agent Youngblood's command. At some time in this sequence of events. I heard other explosions. It was impossible for me to tell the direction from which the explosions came." (**8-19-69** tape prepared for Johnson's memoir *The Vantage Point*, as transcribed and published by Michael Beschloss in the December, 2001 issue of *Texas Monthly*) "I was very impressed and very pleased with the crowds. Then we heard shots. It never occurred to me that it was an assassination or a killing. I just thought it was firecrackers or a car backfiring. I had heard those all my life. Any politician—any man in public life—gets used to that kind of sound. The first time I knew that there was anything unusual was when the car lunged forward. And at the same time, this great big old boy from Georgia said, "Down!" And

he got on top of me. I knew then that this was no normal operation. Something came over the radio. No—I don't know whether I really heard this or whether I've just read it and it impressed me so much that I assume I heard it. Anyhow it said, "We're getting out of here." (The Vantage Point, 1971) "Just after our car made a left turn at the top of Elm, I was startled by an explosion...I did not know what it was. Before the echo had subsided, before the noise had completely registered on my consciousness, Agent Youngblood spun around, shoved me on the shoulder to push me down, and shouted to all of us, "Get down!" Almost in the same moment, he vaulted over the seat, pushed me to the floor, and sat on my right shoulder to keep me down and protect me. "Get down!" he shouted again to all of us...I still was not clear about what was happening...At some time in the sequence of events, I heard other explosions. It was impossible to tell where they were coming from and I still was not certain what they were. Then a voice came crackling over the radio system: 'Let's get out of here.'" **Analysis:** as the limousine was just turning onto Elm Street at frame 160, and as President Johnson described proceeding down Elm Street "a short way" before hearing the first shot, his statement is suggestive the first shot was heard after frame 160. His contention that Youngblood climbed on top of him after the first shot, when Youngblood is still in the front seat of the Lincoln at Z-255, is more than suggestive that there had only been one shot by that point, which must have hit, and that two shots followed. His description of "other explosions" is suggestive that these explosions were closely spaced, but is too vague to come to a conclusion. **First shot hit 190-224.**

Joe Henry Rich drove the Vice-Presidential back-up car. (11-28-63 statement to the Secret Service, 18H800) "We turned off of Houston Street onto Elm Street and that was when I heard the first shot. I noticed a lot of confusion up ahead of me, motorcycle policemen and in the President's car and the President's security car. This Secret Service man in the front seat made the remark "What the hell was that?" and about that time I heard two more shots. The cars ahead of me started up then at a fast pace." **Analysis:** Rich's statement is short but to the point. They were on Elm, which places the shot after 160. The last two shots are mentioned together, which at this point we can assume means they were bunched together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Cliff Carter sat in the front seat of the back-up car beside Rich. (5-20-64 affidavit, 7H474-475) "At approximately 12:30 PM our car had just made the left hand turn onto Elm and was right along side of the Texas School Book Depository Building when I heard a noise which sounded like a firecracker. Special Agent Youngblood, who was seated on the right hand side of front seat of the Vice-President's car immediately turned and pushed Vice-President Johnson and in the same motion vaulted over the seat and covered the Vice president with his body. At that instant, Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough who were riding in the back seat along with the Vice President, bent forward. Special Agent Youngblood's action came immediately after the first shot and before the succeeding shots. I distinctly remember three shots." (10-1-68 oral history interview with the Johnson Library) "this first shot that was fired came right over my right shoulder. My immediate reaction--I thought it was a cherry bomb-type firecracker. I thought somebody had popped a firecracker. But then quickly I saw Rufus Youngblood in the Vice-President's car just immediately ahead reach over and shove Mr. Johnson down and jumped in the back seat himself and put himself over Mr. Johnson's body. And about this time I saw something also going on up in the first car--in the President's car...It was about three quarters of a block before--maybe a block, I don't remember--from the corner of the Depository to the underpass that we were fixing to go under. And then I saw something happening in the President's car also. About that time the second shot was fired. The next thing I noticed Mrs. Kennedy was trying to get out of the President's car. She had jumped out of the seat and had jumped out on the back--the rear end of the car and was trying leave; it looked like she had been hit. By the time the second shot was fired, of course, I realized by this time that someone was firing at the cars and she had made a movement that looked like she almost vaulted out of the back seat out on the back end of the car and was trying to get off the car...I had seen President Kennedy slump over, but we couldn't tell, at this

minute, couldn't tell how bad anything was...There were three shots fired, Dorothy, and there is no question. I heard three and the timing is very clear in my mind even today. And I have fired--when I was in the Army, I fired rifles--there's no question that one man could easily do this. In my mind there's no question but what one man did do it. I don't know whether it was Lee Harvey Oswald or who it was, but moving at the slow speed that our motorcade was, everybody in there was an easy target. Anybody that can half-way fire a rifle would have no trouble picking off any target he wanted to. One, it was a very easy shot. And secondly, it was very easy to flip the emptied shell out and load a new one and fire again. It was done, I think, in six or seven seconds, they say, and it could be very easily done. And all the firing came right over my right shoulder. There was none in front or back or any place." **Analysis:** since the car was on Elm at the time of the first shot, the first shot must have come after frame 160, when the car was just turning onto Elm. Furthermore, since Carter says there had been but one shot at the time agent Youngblood vaulted into the back seat and since the Altgens photo at frame 255 shows this event had not yet taken place, there were not two early shots. Carter's statements to the Library are also of interest. Here, he confirms that the shot forcing Jackie to get out of the car was the second shot. His insistence that the shots were easy and that they all came from the depository is also intriguing. In the early 1980's a former crony of Carter's and Johnson's named Billie Sol Estes came forward with a story implicating Carter and Johnson in Kennedy's death. That Carter is the one person in the motorcade, outside Johnson, implicated in Kennedy's murder, and he's also the one motorcade witness to insist the shots were easy and that there was but one shooter, only adds to the intrigue. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot probably after the head shot).**

Jerry Kivett sat on the right side of the front seat of the VP back-up car. (11-29-63 report, 18H776-781) "the motorcade was heading slightly downhill toward an underpass. As the motorcade was approximately 1/3 the way to the underpass, traveling between 10 and 15 miles per hour, I heard a loud noise—someone hollered "What was that?" As I was looking in the direction of the noise, which was to my right rear, I heard another report—then there was no doubt in my mind what was happening—I looked toward the Vice Presidential car, and as I did so, I could see the spectators—approximately 25-50, scattering—some were falling to the ground, some were running up a small hill, and some were just standing there stunned—here I heard the third shot." **Analysis:** Kivett heard the first shot as they were already on Elm, so no first shot miss at 160. As with Yarborough, Kivett saw people scatter after the second shot. As none of those who scattered reported doing so before the head shot, this indicates there was a shot after the head shot. **First shot hit 190 -224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Warren Taylor sat in the back seat of the VP back-up car behind the driver. (11-29-63 report, 18H782-784) "Our automobile had just turned a corner (the names of the streets are unknown to me) when I heard a bang which sounded to me like a possible firecracker—the sound coming from my right rear. Out of the corner of my eye and off slightly to the right rear of our car, I noticed what now seems to me might have been a short piece of streamer flying in the air close to the ground...I opened the door and prepared to get out of the car. In the instant that my left foot touched the ground, I heard two more bangs and realized they must be gun shots. Also at that instant, the car paused slightly and I heard something over the radio to the effect that something or someone had been shot. At that moment the car picked up speed and I pulled myself back into the car." **Analysis:** as Taylor describes the car as having already turned the corner when the first shot rang out, and the car had not turned the corner by frame 160, his report indicates the first shot came afterward. As he heard the second and third shots as he put his foot on the ground, and as the Altgens photo circa Z-255 shows his door opened but no foot on the ground, it also follows that shots two and three were bunched together around the time of the head shot. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Thomas (Lem) Johns sat on the right side of the back seat of the VP back-up car. (11-29-63 report,

18H773-775) “at approximately 12:35 PM CST, I heard two “shots,” not knowing whether they were firecrackers, backfire or gun shots. These two shots were approximately two or three seconds apart, and at this time we were on a slight downhill curve to the right. On the right hand side of the motorcade from the street, a grassy area sloped upward to a small 2 or 3 foot concrete wall with sidewalk area. When the shots sounded, I was looking to the right and saw a man standing and then being thrown or hit to the ground, and this together with the shots made the situation appear dangerous...I jumped from the security car and started running for the Vice President’s car...Before I reached the Vice president’s car a third shot had sounded and the entire motorcade then picked up speed and I was left on the street.” (8-8-78 interview with HSCA investigator, file # 180-10074-10079) “I heard two shots. They seemed close together. They were shots, not backfires, or firecrackers. Our car was moving very slowly, and my door was open so I jumped out on the street. Before I could begin to move towards the VP’s car I heard the third shot. The first two sounded like they were on the side of me towards the grassy knoll but then that’s because of the confinement of the backseat and opening to that side plus the fact that people falling to the ground on the grassy slope made me feel that the shots were from that direction. I never got a fix on the third shot because I was running toward LBJ’s car, which was now some distance away from us and picking up speed.” (2-21-99 article by Michael Dorman in Newsday, when discussing the possibility the fibers found on the bullet nose were fibers from JFK’s tie) “Lem Johns, a former assistant Secret Service director in charge of all the agency’s protective operations, was an agent riding in the Dallas motorcade. ‘If you get the tie nicked by a different bullet, you’ve got a second gunman - simple as that,’ Johns said. ‘I’ve never thought that was out of the question.’” (12-30-11 article by Rick Watson on 280living.wordpress.com, built upon an interview with Johns) “I was in the right rear seat of the car following the vice president’s limo, and I heard a shot that came from the right,’ he said. Johns was riding in the third car in the motorcade with his door cracked, and the instant he heard the shot, he bolted from the vehicle and raced toward Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson’s limo.” **Analysis:** although the closeness in time of the first two shots described by Johns gives the appearance he is describing the LPM scenario, this fails to hold up under close examination. For one, he indicates the back-up car was already on Elm when the shots rang out, when the car at frame 160, when the LPM scenario holds the first shot was fired, was in the middle of the turn onto Elm. For two, he claims he bolted from the car after the second shot, after seeing a man fall to the ground. Well, seeing as one can look and look at the photos and films and find no evidence anyone fell to the ground before the head shot, this suggests the second shot Johns heard was the head shot, and not the single-bullet shot, as in the LPM scenario. His vague recollection of hearing a third shot after this point, moreover, is in keeping with what many others remembered. Johns’ most recent statements only add to the confusion. He suddenly claimed the first shot came from his right--which, due to his position at Z-160--suggests the LPM scenario. This fails to hold up, however, when one reads his earlier statements, and sees that he originally thought the shots were coming from where people were falling down--at his right front, on the knoll. **Possible LPM scenario. Possible first shot 190-224. Possible shot after the head shot.**

Milton Wright was the driver of the next car in the motorcade, the car of Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell, which was yet to make the turn onto Elm in frame 160. (11-28-63 statement, 18H802) “The car I was driving had just turned onto Elm Street and approximately 30 feet from the intersection when I heard the first shot. When the second shot was fired I noticed a number of people running away from the motorcade and I saw several Dallas motorcycle policemen had their guns drawn. Then the motorcade speeded up and we went toward the hospital.” (8-28-98 letter to Vince Palamara quoted in JFK: The Medical Evidence Reference and featured in Palamara’s Youtube video JFK Assassination Rarities Part 2) “As we were turning in front of the book depository, the first shot was fired. When the second shot was fired I believed that it came from the book building. I stopped and was looking at the building when the third shot was fired. I did not see the rifle because I was too close to the building and the

shooter was inside the building. If you read the Warren Report you probably saw that Mrs. Cabell stated she saw the rifle being pulled back into the building after the third shot. That was impossible because of our position and she was riding in the left rear. After the first shot she slid down in the seat with her back to the building. I gave an affidavit to the Secret Service but my testimony was not usable. Mrs. Cabell was flown to Washington to testify. That's how her husband got to be a congressman.

While I was thinking about this, I tried to recall who the third passenger was in my car. Do you know?"

Analysis: Wright's initial statement that he was 30 feet down Elm at the time of the first shot and that people were running away from the motorcade after the second shot could indicate he missed the first shot and only heard the last two bunched together. His more recent statements to Palamara, however, indicate he heard three shots. If this is so, then he heard a shot after the head shot, as he initially said he saw people running after the second shot. Since even in this statement, he claims they were turning in front of the building at the time of the first shot, we can rule out a first shot miss at frame 160. **First shot 190-224. Last two shots possibly bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Congressman Ray Roberts sat in the front seat next to Wright but never filed a report or gave an interview in which he described the shooting. If Wright was telling the truth in his letter to Palamara, it seems possible Roberts didn't want to say anything that would conflict with Mrs. Cabell's claim she saw the rifle. (7-13-64 testimony of Mrs. Earle Cabell before the Warren Commission, 7H485-491) (When asked how soon after the shots were fired was it that she first smelled gunpowder) "I cannot say for sure, because as I told you, the motorcade was stopped. And somewhere in there, Congressman Roberts said, "That is a .30-06." I didn't know what a .30-06 was." (When asked if she'd mentioned the gunpowder at the time) "No; because there was too much confusion. But I mentioned it to Congressman Roberts when we were in Washington a couple of weeks ago." (When asked if he'd told her he'd also smelled gunpowder) "As well as I remember, he said 'Yes.' We were in a group, a large group, and there was much conversation."

Mrs. Earle (Dearie) Cabell, the wife of the mayor, sat in the back seat on the left hand side. (7-2-64 AP article found in the Spartanburg Herald-Journal) "Mrs. Cabell earlier revealed that she saw the rifle of the assassin extending from a window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. She said she heard the first shot and then looked up, seeing the rifle immediately. The Cabells were in the fourth automobile behind the president's convertible. 'I never saw a person or even a person's hand on the rifle,' Mrs. Cabell said." (7-13-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H485-491)


"Congressman Roberts was sitting just as this lady is now, and turned the same way. I was turned facing him. The position of our car was such that when the first shot rang out; my position was such that I did not have to turn to look at the building. I was directly facing it...we were making the turn... Just on the turn...I heard the direction from which the shot came, and I just jerked my head up...I saw a projection out of one of those windows...I turned around to say to Earle "Earle, it is a shot" and before I got the words out, just as I got the words out, he said "Oh no; it must have been a ---" the second two shots rang out." **Analysis:** Mrs. Cabell's placement of the car as just on the turn is consistent with a first shot at Z-190. Her statement that the second two shots rang out implies they rang out together. **First shot hit 190. Last two shots bunched together.**

Mayor Earle Cabell sat in the back seat on the right side. (7-13-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H476-485) "Well we were just rounding the corner of Market and Elm, making the left turn, when the first shot rang out...I heard the shot. Mrs. Cabell said "Oh, a gun" or "a shot" and I was about to deny and say "Oh, it must be a firecracker" when the second and third shots rang out. There was a longer pause between the first and second shots than there was between the second and third shots." **Analysis:** despite mistakenly calling Houston "Market," Mayor Cabell confirms his wife's statements in every way. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

We have now looked at the statements of 32 motorcade witnesses, only three (Jackson, Bennett, and


Johns) who have made statements remotely supporting the LPM scenario. Even more convincing, the statements of all three of these witnesses, when compared to the photographic evidence, are equally suggestive of the scenario described by the bulk of the other witnesses. From this we can make the assertion that the eyewitness evidence supports a first shot hit, followed after a pause by two shots bunched closely together. This scenario is consistent with the words of most every witness so far. That CBS, the HSCA, Lattimer, Posner, Myers, and ABC have been able to convince so many there was a first shot miss is proof positive that myths and myth-making are not things of the past, but of the here and now. But let's continue on with this analysis and leave no stone unturned.

Where's Dearie?




215

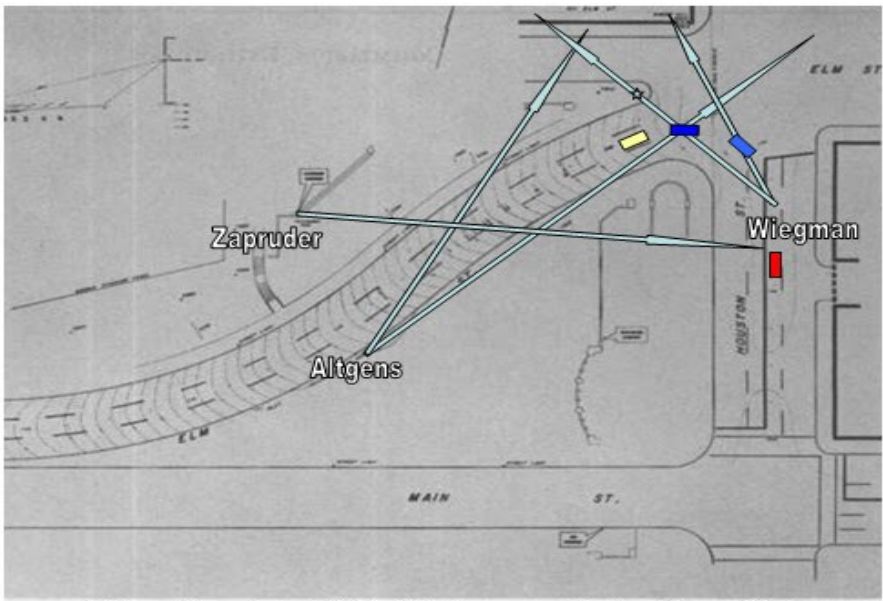
Above: Zapruder frame 215, with camera car #1 in the background.



The Altgens photo, taken at Zapruder frame 255.



First frame of the Wiegman film, roughly corresponding to Z-265.



Warren Commission Exhibit CE 883: a map of Dealey Plaza, with the added-in locations of the Vice-Presidential back-up car in the Altgens photo (yellow rectangle), the two cars in the Wiegman Film, (blue rectangles) and camera car #1 in the Zapruder film (red rectangle).

Where's Dearie?

As previously discussed, Zapruder frame 160 does not show the car of Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell making the turn onto Elm Street. This is a blow to the LPM scenario, as the passengers in the Cabell car all reported hearing the first shot ring out as they negotiated this turn. Unfortunately, it is difficult to figure out just when this car did make negotiate the turn. When I looked at the Altgens photo, which shows the Elm/Houston intersection circa Z-255, I fully expected to see the Cabell car back behind the Vice-Presidential back-up car. But it was nowhere to be seen. This led me to compare the Altgens photo to the first frame of the Wiegman film, which shows the Cabell car in the intersection and is widely reported as beginning at a point 3½ seconds before the Z-313 head shot, at approximately Z-247 (In 2007, Dale Myers published a comprehensive study of the assassination films and concluded it begins at Z-245). Something was wrong. If the Wiegman film really begins around frame 247, the Cabell car *should* be in the Altgens photo. Eventually, I concluded that the first frame of the Wiegman film I'd been studying--which showed both the Cabell car directly in front of the school book depository and a blue Impala press car in the middle of the intersection--correlated to frame 265 of the Zapruder film. (I later realized that there were a number of frames clipped from the beginning of the

Wiegman film I'd been studying, and that this accounted for much of the discrepancy.) Anyhow, this suggested that the blue Impala hard-top would have been just approaching the turn at the time of the first shot should it have been fired around Z-190, and would have still been on the straightaway of Houston Street should it have been fired around Z-160.

Merriman Smith, a reporter for UPI, sat next to the driver of the blue Impala. After the shots rang out, he picked up the car phone and called the Dallas UPI bureau. As a result his first reports were on the wire before the president's limo even reached the hospital. (11-22-63, 12:34, earliest UPI teletype) "Three shots were fired at President Kennedy's motorcade in downtown Dallas." (11-22-63, 12:39 UPI teletype) "Kennedy seriously wounded, perhaps seriously, perhaps fatally, by assassin's bullet." (11-22-63, 12:45 UPI teletype) "Reporters about five car lengths behind the Chief Executive heard what sounded like three bursts of gunfire. Secret Service agents in a follow-up car quickly unlimbered their automatic rifles. The bubble top of the President's car was down. They drew their pistols, but the damage was done. The President was slumped over in the backseat of the car face down. Connally lay on the floor of the rear seat. It was impossible to tell at once where Kennedy was hit, but bullet wounds in Connally's chest were plainly visible, indicating the gunfire might possibly have come from an automatic weapon. There were three loud bursts. Dallas motorcycle officers escorting the President quickly leaped from their bikes and raced up a grassy knoll." (11-22-63, 12:46 UPI teletype) "It was impossible to tell at once where Kennedy was hit, but bullet wounds in Connally's chest were plainly visible, indicating the gunfire might possibly have come from an automatic weapon. There were three loud bursts. Dallas motorcycle officers escorting the President quickly leaped from their bikes and raced up a grassy hill." (11-22-63, a 12:54 Smith dispatch to UPI) "Some of the Secret Service agents thought the gunfire was from an automatic weapon fired to the right rear of the president's car, probably from a grassy knoll to which police rushed." (11-22-63 statement regarding the number of shots while on the flight back from Dallas, as recalled by reporter Charles Roberts in *The Truth About the Assassination*, 1967) "Smith had heard three." (Smith's 11-23-63 Pulitzer-prize winning eyewitness account, published in hundreds of papers) "The procession cleared the center of the business district and turned into a handsome highway that wound through what appeared to be a park. I was riding in the so-called White House press "pool" car, a telephone company vehicle equipped with a mobile radio-telephone. I was in the front seat between a driver from the Telephone Company and Malcolm Kilduff, acting White House press secretary for the President's Texas tour. Three other pool reporters were wedged in the back seat. Suddenly we heard three loud, almost painfully loud cracks. The first sounded as if it might have been a large firecracker. But the second and third blasts were unmistakable. Gunfire. The President's car, possibly as much as 150 or 200 yards ahead, seemed to falter briefly. We saw a flurry of activity in the Secret Service follow-up car behind the Chief Executive's bubble-top limousine...Our car stood still for probably only a few seconds, but it seemed like a lifetime." (4-14-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) "Smith was not as astute a reporter as he seemed. Despite extensive experience with weapons he had thought the sounds in the plaza were three shots from an automatic weapon, and in a subsequent message he identified them as 'bursts.'" (11-14-66 UPI article found in the Sarasota Herald-Tribune. This version of the article was published in the 11-20-66 Washington Post as well.) "I was only a few hundred feet from John F. Kennedy when he was shot in Dallas. I would swear there were three shots and only three shots fired at his motorcade. The car in which I rode as a press association reporter was not far from the presidential vehicle itself, and in clear view of it. *We were at the point of coming out of an underpass* when the first shot was fired. The sound was not entirely crisp and it seemed for a split second like a firecracker, a big one. *As we cleared the underpass*, then came the second and third shots. The shots were fired smoothly and evenly. There was not the slightest doubt on the front seat of our car that the shots came from a rifle to our rear (and the Book Depository at this point was directly to our rear). We remarked about rifle fire before we knew what had happened to Kennedy, although we had seen him

slide from view in the rear of the open White House car...Clint Hill, the Secret Service agent who raced from the follow-up car to the presidential vehicle to shield the fallen leader and his shocked wife, Jacqueline, heard only three shots.” (11-14-66 UPI article found in the Bucks County Courier Times, with the references to the underpass removed from the more prevalent version above. Presumably, an alert editor at this paper caught Smith's mistake.) "I was only a few hundred feet from John F. Kennedy when he was shot in Dallas. I would swear there were three shots and only three fired at his motorcade. The car In which I rode as a press association reporter was not far from the presidential vehicle itself, and in clear view of it when the first shot was fired. The sound was not entirely crisp and it seemed for a split second like a firecracker, a big one. Then came the second and third shots. The shots were fired smoothly and evenly. There was not the slightest doubt on the front seat of our car that the shots came from a rifle to our rear (and the Book Depository at this point was directly to our rear). We remarked about rifle fire before we knew what had happened to Kennedy, although we had seen him slide from view in the rear of the open White House car." **Analysis:** Smith's reporting of bursts and automatic weapon fire, and his subsequent representation of the last two shots together, indicates he probably heard the last two shots together. His dispatch stating that Connally's chest *wounds* indicated the use of an automatic weapon suggests, moreover, that he at least briefly suspected that shots had come from the grassy knoll. Intriguingly, given Smith's subsequent suicide, his 1966 article shows that either he'd "corrected" his impressions to match the official version, or was beginning to lose his mind. There was, of course, no underpass to "clear" which might account for the different sound of the first shot. Clint Hill, of course, had consistently claimed he'd heard but two shots, not three. The Texas School Book Depository "directly" to Smith's rear during the last two shots was, for that matter, in front of him or to his right as late as frame 265, the beginning of the Wiegman film. Smith's recollection that the depository was to his rear when the second and third shots were fired can therefore be taken as an indication that the second shot he heard was seconds after frame 265, and quite possibly the head shot. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff sat on the right side of the front seat of the "pool" car. (December 1963 audio recording found in the National Archives as Dialogue on Dallas, Group W, as presented in President Kennedy Has Been Shot, 2003) "We saw a flash of pink-which of course was Mrs. Kennedy. We realized she was doing something. I saw the Secret Service agent in the follow-up car raise the rifle. At that point we realized these were shots." (5-2-64 and 5-19-65 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in The Death of a President, 1967) (On the first shot) "Kilduff, in the pool car directly under the gun, asked 'What was that?'" (11-13-66 AP article by Merriman Smith) "Malcolm Kilduff of the White House press staff who was seated beside me in the front seat of the pool car heard only three shots." (11-22-66 AP article found in the Cedar Rapids Gazette) "Kilduff says he does disagree with the Commission's finding that the first bullet that struck Kennedy and passed through his neck was the one that wounded Texas Gov. Connally. A second shot in the head killed Kennedy. "In my mind," Kilduff said, "there were three shots fired. I have verified that with other people who were riding in the same car. I have verified it with Secret Service Agents."... Kilduff said he had talked to Connally who agrees he was hit by a separate bullet, that the governor said he heard the first shot and was turning to look back when he was hit." (11-24-66 newspaper column by Crosby S. Noyes in the Washington Star) "After the first shot he recalls that Merriman Smith of the United Press International asked, "What was that?" and that he replied, "It sounded to me like a firecracker." The second shot, according to Kilduff, came at least five seconds after the first. The third, which killed Kennedy, followed after a shorter interval." (Late 1966 interview with Lawrence Schiller recounted in The Scavengers And Critics of the Warren Report, published 1967) (on how many shots were fired) "Malcolm Kilduff heard three." (10-26-77 article by Scott Payton for the Knight-Ridder news service and found in the Michigan City News-Dispatch) ""The shots came over my right shoulder. There's absolutely no question they came from the Depository. I was riding in the right front seat--that put the

depository directly over my right shoulder. My first thought was that someone had thrown a firecracker. We immediately sped off. We couldn't tell what was happening. I think the last thing in the world anybody thought of was that the President had been shot.' After the race to Parkland Hospital (during which two reporters for the AP and UPI fought furiously over the single phone in Kilduff's car) he saw what had happened. 'His head was just a mass of blood,' Kilduff says. 'It looked like hamburger meat.'" (12-22-78 AP article by Bill Bergstrom on Kilduff found in the Kentucky New Era) "The press pool car in which I was riding on Nov. 22 1963 was directly under the window of the Texas School Book Depository when the shots were fired. I have never had any question in my mind from which direction the shots came or the number of shots fired. There were three shots and they came from above my right shoulder. From my vantage point I was looking directly at the now famous 'grassy knoll.' No one on the knoll was firing a gun." (11-11-83 AP article found in the Bowling Green Daily News) "I was the person in the motorcade closest to the School Book Depository. I was right under it in the pool car,' Kilduff recalled. Sitting by the open car window, he heard the shots clearly. 'My first thought was 'this is Thanksgiving week and they sell firecrackers in Texas' and somebody had thrown a firecracker. Then I saw that some of the Secret Service men had turned around, and a couple of them had pulled their guns," he said. 'There has never been any question in my mind that the shots came from that window,' Kilduff said. 'My reaction was to turn around and look upward over my right shoulder. If they had come from the so-called grassy knoll they would have been from off to my left.'" (11-21-88 AP article by Steve Robrahn found in the Lewiston Daily Sun) "Someone in the car said 'What was that?,' Kilduff recalled. 'I thought, this is the week before Thanksgiving and they sold firecrackers. I said, 'It sounded to me like a firecracker.' Another shot was fired and they realized it wasn't firecrackers.'" (4-17-91 interview with Harrison Livingstone published in High Treason 2) "I do not accept the so-called 'Magic Bullet' theory... It was a very short period of time between the second and third shot." (5-21-92 letter from William Neichter to Harold Weisberg found in the Weisberg Archives) "Mac Kilduff now lives in Kentucky. Recently he was on WHAS 840 AM with Jim Moore, Jim Marrs, and Judge Burt Griffin. It was amazing that Kilduff agrees with the Warren Commission, except that he says that he thinks 'there were three bullets, three hits.' That is a pretty big except!" (11-1-93 AP article found in the Williamson Daily News) "I was looking directly at the guy on the 'grassy knoll' and he was no more carrying a gun than I was,' Kilduff said, referring to reports that someone on a slight mound in front of the motorcade had fired. 'The shots came from my right shoulder and above me,' he said. 'What am I looking at? The window of the sixth floor of the depository, which is precisely what I've been saying for 30 years. Except that I haven't written a book.'" (4-16-93 oral history for The Sixth Floor Museum) "I heard this first noise and Merriman Smith said, 'What the hell was that?' And I said, 'Well, it sounded to me like a firecracker.' And then, the second shot, by that time, I had noticed that Clint Hill... had jumped off the Secret Service follow-up car and was running towards the president's car. But then I looked up to where the second shot came from and I was looking, of course, at the sixth—looking up at this building. Now I cannot say I was looking at the exact location it was coming from. I knew it was coming from above and over my right shoulder. It was not coming from the grassy knoll over there (looks right). It came from above and from my rear.' (When asked if at this time two shots had been fired) 'That's right. There was a longer space between the first and second than between the second and third shots.'" (11-23-99 article in the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram) "Former White House press aide Malcolm Kilduff remembers hearing the first bullet that hit President John F. Kennedy as he rode in a motorcade down Elm Street on Nov. 22, 1963. Kilduff, who was riding two cars behind Kennedy, said he thought someone had set off a firecracker. Six seconds later, he heard another shot and turned and looked above to 'that window' on the sixth floor of the old Texas School Book Depository" **Analysis:** by stating that Clint Hill (who is still on the back-up car at frame 255) began running for the limousine after the first shot, and by stating that the last two shots were closer together than the first two, Kilduff was describing a first shot hit, followed by two closely-bunched shots. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Jack Bell, a reporter for the Associated Press was in the back seat. (11-22-63 AP Bulletin, marked as 12:41 PCS) "Bell reported three shots were fired as the motorcade entered the triple underpass, which leads to the Stemmons Freeway route to Parkland Hospital." (11-22-63 news bulletin on WBAP, moments later) "Bell of the Associated Press says that three shots were fired as the motorcade entered the triple underpass which leads to the Stemmons Freeway route to Parkland Hospital." (11-22-63 news bulletin on WBAP, around 1:00) "Associated Press reporter Jack Bell says the President and Connally were shot as the motorcade entered a triple underpass that leads to the Stemmons Freeway. Bell said a man and a woman were scrambling on an upper level of a walkway that leads to the underpass." (11-23-63 AP article in the Christchurch Star. Christchurch is in New Zealand, 18 hours ahead of Dallas. This was an afternoon paper. As a consequence, this article must have been written within a few hours of the shooting.) "The assassination took place near a three-highway intersection close to the business area of the city. Within seconds of the shooting, Mr. Kennedy slumped over in the back seat of the car, face down. Mr. Connally lay on the floor of the rear seat. Three bursts of gunfire, apparently from automatic weapons, were heard. Secret service men immediately unslung their automatic weapons and pistols. Mrs. Kennedy and the Governor's wife, who was also in the car, both crouched over the inert forms of their husbands as the car sped towards the hospital." (11-22-63 eyewitness account written for the Associated Press, found in the 11-22-63 Spokane Spokesman-Review and the 11-23-63 New York Times) "There was a loud bang as though a giant firecracker had exploded in the caverns between the tall buildings we were just leaving behind us. In quick succession there were two other loud reports...The reports sounded like rifle shots. The man in front of me shouted 'My God, they're shooting at the president!' Our driver braked the car sharply and we swung the doors open to leap out. Suddenly the procession, which had halted, shot forward again...As my eye swept the buildings to the right, where the shots--if they really were shots, and it seemed unbelievable--might have come, I saw no significant sign of activity." (11-22-64 AP article found in the Ada Oklahoma Evening News) "As the motorcade made a right turn off the packed street, suddenly there were only a few waving spectators. Ahead, we rode toward a left turn into a street which led to an underpass. Nearby was a building with a sign which read: 'Texas School Book Depository.' The President's auto, four cars ahead, already had made the turn toward the underpass and we had just completed it when there was a loud report. My first thought was: Those Texans, now they're shooting off giant firecrackers. Then came two more reports, paced possibly five seconds apart. They had the ominous sound of rifle crack. The President's car had stopped. We reporters riding 'pool' scrambled to get out to run ahead. But at almost that instant, a Secret Service man, riding in the front seat of the presidential limousine stood up, phone in hand, and waved the preceding police cruiser on. In that numb moment we all sensed that something horrible might have happened." (4-19-66 Oral History interview performed for the Kennedy Library) "We turned a corner, and there was the Texas Book Depository. Then we turned another corner heading toward an underpass. I thought somebody had set off a cherry bomb. I thought to myself, 'My God, these Texans don't ever know when to quit. They've given the man everything they could. Here they are shooting off firecrackers and cherry bombs.' About three seconds later there was another report, and then there was a third one. By that time everybody thought this was a rifle shooting. So we started to jump out of the car...We started to get out. There was an assistant White House press secretary in there, too. He yelled out as we were just getting out, 'My God, they're shooting at the President!' We all thought this was probably true, but we didn't know. There was no way of finding out at this point what was happening because Kennedy's car was four cars ahead, and we couldn't see it clearly. And then the motorcade began to move, so we all jumped back in the car. It moved very fast." (11-23-66 AP article found in the Oil City Pennsylvania Derrick) "Three years ago in a sunny midday in Dallas I heard from the fourth car in a motorcade the sound of three rifle shots that killed a president and wounded a governor. There was the sound of three cadenced shots—no more, no fewer. As our car bearing four newsmen, a presidential press aide and a driver turned left in front of the Texas School Book Depository, the first of these rang out. The sound came from above and to our right. It echoed down the canyon-like block of

moderately tall buildings behind us. I remember thinking that some over-enthusiastic Dallasite must have exploded a cherry bomb. Then there was a second crack, unmistakably that of a rifle. It was followed in about five seconds by a third. Then there was a moment of awful silence, broken by shrill cries and screams. People scurried toward whatever protection they could find. As we scrambled back into our car, the motorcade, which had halted, was moving again. Up ahead I saw a man, looking fearfully back over his shoulder and the book depository building, push a woman down on the grassy knoll that led to an overpass and throw his body protectively over hers. The sounds of the three shots had come from above and to the right of us. To one who had been familiar with shooting ranges they sounded like the cadenced quick fire of an experienced rifleman squeezing off a shot, re-loading by bolt action, firing again and a third time..." **Analysis:** if the Christchurch article was written by Bell, his statement that the shots were apparently from automatic weapons is consistent with his early account of the shots being in quick succession, and sounding like firecrackers, and destroys the credibility of his later assertion that the three shots were "cadenced." Even if he didn't write that, however, his story is still at odds with the LPM scenario. For, even in his later writings, his assertion that the car in which he was riding had made its turn onto Elm when the first shot rang out places this shot well after frame 160. His early reports of activity on the overpass are also interesting, as they suggest he thought the shots came from the front. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Robert Baskin, a reporter for the Dallas Morning News, was also in the back seat. (11-23-63 article in the Dallas Morning News) "As the presidential motorcade approached the triple underpass, at the height of the paved hill at Elm and Houston, I was in the 'pool' car three cars back of the President. The President's car had just passed the Texas State Book Depository building when we heard a shot, off to the right. It seemed to come from rather high up. Then we heard two more shots, carefully measured, as though a calm, determined sharp shooter were at work. The Presidential caravan ground to a halt, and suddenly there was a great deal of activity around the President's car. But the impact of the awful act didn't register until we saw people falling down on the streets and frantically trying to find cover. Then we realized it was actual gun fire we had heard." (11-23-63 article in the Dallas Morning News, apparently a re-write of his original account) "Then came the approach to the triple underpass, with the leading cars picking up speed as the crowd thinned out. Over to our right loomed the gaunt structure labeled the Texas School Book Depository. It was 12:30 p.m. The sharp crack of a rifle rang out. But at that moment we couldn't believe it was just that. "What the hell was that?" someone in the car asked. Then there were two more shots, measured carefully. We saw people along the street diving for the ground. Several persons shielded children. Then we knew that the presidential party was under fire. The motorcade ground to a halt. There was a good bit of activity around the President's car, with Secret Service men running about. Before we could get out of our car, however, police sirens began wailing loudly. The President's car started up and quickly was going at breakneck speed." (5-15-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Bob Baskin, in his seat behind Kilduff, knew what it was; he was an infantry veteran of the 85th Division, and he looked around wildly for cover." (3-16-74 interview with the Johnson Library) "We heard the first shot ring out and...I instinctively thought it was a rifle shot. Then the other shots followed and I was convinced it was rifle fire. But then this commotion started around the President's car and people were falling to the ground over there. And our press car came to a halt and we were throwing open the back doors to get out, and all of a sudden the thing began to move, and we moved down fast to Parkland." (11-19-78 Dallas Morning News article on the 15th anniversary, based in part on a previously unpublished Baskin account from 1963) "We turned off Main Street and onto Houston for the last leg of the motorcade route to the Trade Mart at almost 12:30. We saw the President's car make the turn onto Elm in front of the Texas School Book Depository, gaining a bit of speed. The press car was halfway down the block before the left turn when the first shots rang out. "What the hell was that?" one of us asked. The motorcade kept moving and we had just turned the corner for the approach to the

triple underpass some four seconds later when a second and then a third shot were heard. We came to a halt. Ahead we could see considerable movement around the President's car but couldn't make out what it was all about." **Analysis:** while Baskin's "measured carefully" might lead some to put him in the LPM category, he also said the limo was past the book depository when the first shot rang out. Of course, he also said the depository was to his right when the first shot rang out. The book depository was straight ahead of him at Z-160, and even at Z-190. But he was a lot closer to making the turn at Z-190 than at Z-160. He confuses things further by later stating that the press car was only halfway down the block before the turn when the first "shots" rang out. This suggests a first shot seconds before frame 160. As he grouped the last two shots together, and didn't notice a commotion until after the last two shots were fired, it seems doubtful he heard the last two shots five seconds apart, as in the LPM scenario. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots possibly bunched together.**

Bob Clark, a reporter for ABC News, was in the back seat as well. (Phoned-in report on ABC, **11-22-63**) "Three shots were fired at the President's motorcade as it passed out of the downtown area of Dallas...The shots rang out as the motorcade had entered an open area just beyond the main downtown business district. It was impossible to determine where the shots had come from." (Phoned-in recap, broadcast around 2:10 PM, **11-22-63**) "We had just rounded the corner at the fringe of the business district when three shots suddenly rang out. They sounded at this stage like an automobile backfiring. They were extremely loud...We heard the shots very clearly but it was almost inconceivable at this stage that this was an assassination. Then three or four seconds elapsed before the car that the president was traveling in--this car came to an immediate stop. The Secret Service follow-up car--some of the agents piled out then almost immediately leaped back in." (**6-3-96** interview on C-Span) "When Oswald fired the shots, I was in the pool car, about the sixth car back from the President, about maybe 250 or 300 feet behind the President. But our car was just making the turn underneath the window where Oswald was firing. So in our car the sounds of the shots were very loud and very clear, and what was to become more significant historically, equally loud and clear. So we all felt after the first one, the first was just a loud noise--it might have been a firecracker or something. But with the next two shots we all knew they were shots and we all knew they came from very close to us, up above and again almost directly overhead." (**3-4-03** Interview conducted for President Kennedy Has Been Shot, 2003) "When (Merriman Smith) said those were gunshots, I think we all in the car just accepted they were gunshots. They were loud and clear and more significant—for the historical record—they were equally loud and equally clear and were clearly fired from almost over our head." (**11-20-03** article on Gwhatchet.com reporting on a meeting of the National Press Club) "'Right as we turned in front of the Texas School Book Depository I heard three extremely loud and clear shots,' said Clark, referring to the building from which suspected assassin Lee Harvey Oswald reportedly fired three shots. Clark told the audience of 100 that he and other journalists were unaware of exactly what happened because they could not see the presidential limousine." **Analysis:** it's interesting that Clark says all the shots sounded the same but that the only reason he knew they were shots was because Smith, who'd said the first shot sounded different than the others, told him so. It's also interesting that he says that they were turning as they heard the shots. As people claiming they heard something at a given time are most commonly implying that they heard the beginning of a sound or series of sounds at that time, and not the end of a sound or series of sounds at that time, this suggests the first shot heard by Clark was fired long after frame 160, when he was still three cars from the corner. **First shot hit 190-224.**

John Hoefen, an NBC sound technician, sat in the middle of the front seat of the following car, the first of three Chevrolet convertibles reserved for the Press. (**11-22-63** phoned-in report broadcast on NBC radio--WBAP in Dallas--at approximately 1:50) "We were just leaving the business district of Dallas when this shooting took place...We were making a sweeping curve here on a roadway approaching a freeway when the first shot rang out. Our first reaction was that some teenager had fired a cherry-bomb. When the second one rang out, we sort of felt that there was something wrong up there.

People started to drop down to the ground ahead of us, roughly 50 to 60 feet up near the President's car. Then there was a third and if I remember correctly a fourth shot. Immediately, after that last shot the President's car took off in a tremendous burst of speed followed by the Secret Service follow-up car..." (11-22-63 phoned-in report broadcast on NBC television, at approximately 2:00 PM) "We were approaching a drive which would put us on a freeway, where we would then drive to the Trade Mart...As we turned down this moderate curve here there was a loud shot. At first we thought it was a cherry bomb by some teenager. Then it was immediately followed by two or three more. Everybody said "duck" then there were people falling to the ground. We did not know who was shot. Ladies and men both were screaming..." (Hoefen's report as summarized by NBC in its 1966 book 70 hours and 30 Minutes) "Hoefen reports that he was in the motorcade with the Presidential party...A loud shot rang out; people ducked; men and women were screaming." **Analysis:** Even if one assumes Hoefen was wrong when he indicated there could have been four shots, his account is still at odds with the LPM scenario, as he reported that the first shot rang out as the car in which he was riding began its turn onto Elm. The subsequent concealment by NBC of Hoefen's suggestion there were more than three shots is also intriguing. This book, we should remember, misrepresented the words of Dallas DA Henry Wade and over-stated the case against Oswald. **First shot 190-224. Heard four shots?**

Dave Wiegman, an NBC cameraman, sat on the right side of the front seat, next to Hoefen. (Pictures of the Pain, p.371-372, Trask interview 3-18-89) "We were in a straight away heading down to what I now know as the Book Depository, and I heard the first report and I thought like everybody else that it was a good sized fire cracker—a cherry bomb. Then when I heard the second one, the adrenaline really started pumping because there was a reaction in the motorcade. I was sitting on the edge of the (car door) frame, which I sometimes did. I keenly remember right after the incident that my feet were on the ground during one of the reports. I don't think I was fast enough to react to the second, but I think on the third one I was running. The car had slowed down enough for me to jump out...I jumped and I remember running and I heard the third shot ... I'd done this before in other motorcades because a lot of times the President will stop and do something ...The motorcade has stopped, plus you heard a report. I don't think I thought on the first or second, but when the third one went off, I really thought I felt the compression on my face." (Interview on the Discovery Channel program Unsolved History, 2004) "I felt the third shot, actually the compression on my face, knew then it was not any cherry bomb. I decided that I've gotta run forward. This car's not going fast enough, so I swung my other leg out and ran very quickly—fast—and I turned on the camera figuring that the camera could see at least what I'm seeing." **Analysis:** Wiegman's statements are inconsistent. Did he start running on the ground before or after the third shot? As he began filming after noticing a reaction in the motorcade, and as the unedited film, according to Dale Myers, begins around Zapruder frame 245, and as Wiegman implies he'd heard two shots by this point, then perhaps he heard a missed shot at frame 160, or more than one shot between frames 190 and 224. In either scenario, he heard a shot heard by very few others. As the earliest interviews with Wiegman didn't take place for many years after the shooting, perhaps we should instead suspect his story was influenced by those who believed the first shot missed. Perhaps he really began filming after hearing only one shot, but after witnessing a reaction in the motorcade. He then heard shots two and three while preparing to get out of the car. As his film reveals that he was on the car or getting off of the car until a point in time 8 seconds or more after its inception (and more than 3 seconds after the head shot), his 1989 statement that he was running when he heard the third shot is almost certainly inaccurate. If even close to being true, however, it would indicate he heard a shot after the head shot. **Possible LPM scenario. Heard two early shots. Possible shot after the head shot.**

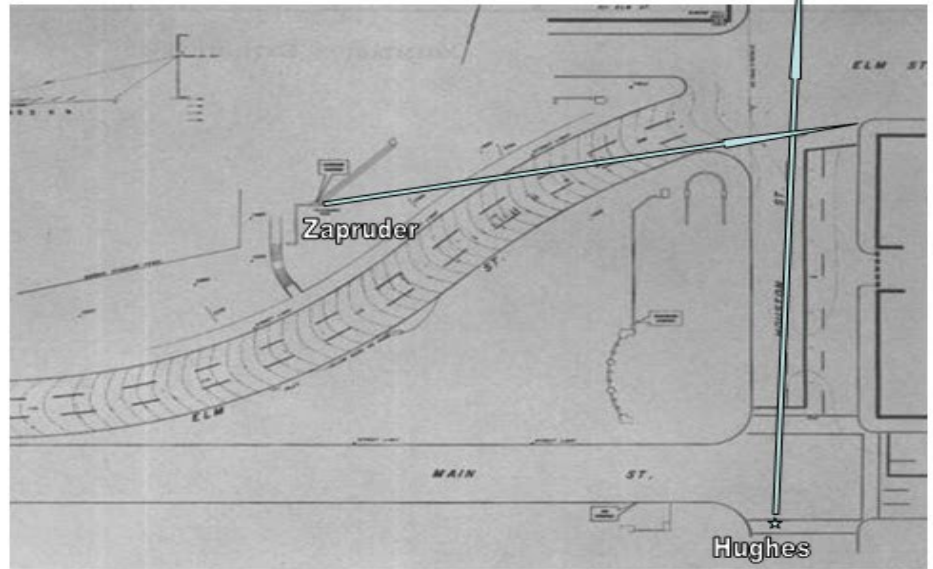
Thomas Craven, a cameraman for CBS News, sat on the left side of the back seat. (Pictures of the Pain p.371, Trask interview 5-23-85) "It was just as we were making the turn. We thought it was a motorcycle backfiring"...Craven believes he heard three shots, but adds," To tell the truth, I wouldn't be really positive. I could have sworn they were backfires." **Analysis:** as Craven's statement that they

were just making the turn could not refer to a first shot at frame 160, as Camera car #1 was mid-block at that point, it seems likely he meant the car was on approach to Houston and Elm, where it was circa frame 190 was referring to a shot's being fired at their approach to Houston and Elm. Additionally, as his car-mate Wiegman began filming as they were about to hit the intersection, Craven's statement can be taken as an indication that Wiegman began filming after the *first* shot, or after a second shot between frames 190 and 224. **Probable first shot 190-224.**

Cleve Ryan, an electrician assigned to the press pool, sat in the middle of the back seat. No comments by Ryan on the shooting have been located.

Thomas Atkins, a cameraman working for the White House, sat on the right side of the rear seat. (As quoted in the tabloid *Midnight*, **3-1-77**) "The car I was in had just made the little right turn. I was facing the Texas School Book Depository and Kennedy's car had just made the left turn heading toward the freeway entrance. Although I did not look up at the building, I could hear everything quite clearly. The shots came from below and off to the right side from where I was. I never thought the shots came from above. They did not sound like shots coming from anything higher than street level. They all sounded similar to me and did not seem to be coming from different points around the plaza. At first I thought it was a firecracker going off and I thought that whoever threw that thing at the motorcade is going to be in a heck of a lot of trouble with the Secret Service. Then when I heard the second shot, I realized it was gunfire. The third shot came very quickly after that, in less than two seconds, I'm sure. In thinking about it later, I got the distinct impression that it was almost like a little kid playing cowboys and Indians, the sounds came so close together. That is, between the second and third shots. It was bang...bang, bang. Like kids playing. That's exactly how I remember it." (Pictures of the Pain p.371, Trask interview **3-19-86**) "we came to the end (of Main Street) and made the right hand turn, and were going directly at the Depository. Just as we turned, I remember looking at my watch...as I looked at my watch I heard an explosion. The thought that ran through my mind, "Oh brother—somebody lit a cherry bomb"... And then immediately following there were two more quick explosions, and my stomach just went into a knot. The explosions were very loud, like they were right in front of me... (On describing the three shots) You know when kids play cowboys and Indians and they go Bam—Bam Bam! The last two clustered together." **Analysis:** although Atkins' statement that they had just made the turn might be taken as evidence for a shot earlier than Z-190, his more concrete observation that the last two shots were closely bunched together is a by-now familiar indication of the by now-dominant scenario. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Mo Motorcade



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 883, with the locations of Abraham Zapruder and Robert Hughes marked, and the direction of their cameras marked by blue arrows.

At left, in descending order: an early frame from the Hughes film demonstrating his position, a later frame corresponding to Zapruder frame 160, and Zapruder frame 160.

Mo Motorcade

While the film of the motorcade made by Robert Hughes was misrepresented by the HSCA to establish that Officer H.B. McLain was in position to record the sounds heard on a dictabelt recording, and has been used by single-assassin theorists and honest conspiracy theorists to debunk those findings ever since, few have used the film in conjunction with eyewitness testimony in an attempt to isolate the moment of the first shot. When one looks at the moment of the film widely interpreted to correspond to Zapruder frame 160, the moment of the first shot miss in the LPM scenario, one can see that the yellow Chevy containing Dave Wiegman has safely made the turn onto Houston Street and is approaching mid-block. Behind this car is Camera car #2. Once again, thanks to Richard Trask and his work in *Pictures of the Pain*, the memories of some of the passengers of this car have been recorded.

Clint Grant, a Dallas Morning News photographer, sat in the middle of the front seat. (*Pictures of the Pain* p.398, letter Grant to Trask **12-1-85**) "we had just turned onto Houston Street when we heard one shot—pause—two shots in rapid succession. I thought it was someone playing a prank—maybe a kid's cherry bomb." (**11-21-93** Reporters Remember journalism conference, as quoted in *Reporting the Kennedy Assassination*) "as we turned the corner at Main and Houston, I heard three shots ring out."

Analysis: by saying the first shot rang out when they had just turned onto Houston, Grant's words could be LPM compatible. But by saying that the last two shots were in rapid succession, he's telling us all we need to know. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Frank Cancellare, a UPI photographer, sat on the right side of the front seat. (*Pictures of the Pain* p.398, Letter Cancellare to Trask, (3) **1985**) "I did not know what happened. I knew something had been attempted and the police and secret service were doing all they could. Police ran their bikes up the bank towards the railroad overpass. I thought they were chasing the culprit." **Analysis: too vague.**

Cecil Stoughton, a photographer working for the White House, sat on the left side of the back seat. (**3-1-71** interview with the Johnson Library) "We hadn't gotten to the corner yet. When we did get to the

corner from Main turning onto Elm, the President's car must have just rounded the corner, and by the time we were halfway up that one block street, we heard these shots, which were obvious shots to my compatriots and I, sitting on the back of the convertible, wide open. We all looked around, and I made a remark to the extent: "These Texans really know how to give you a salute. They're probably firing off their .45's or firecrackers or something like that." It's just some kind of a noisy thing. But they were so definitely shots that it just worried me for a little bit." (Pictures of the Pain, p.38, based upon Trask interview **7-10-85**) "Just after Stoughton's car had made its turn at the Old Court House, he heard three very distinct, loud reports, which sounded like shots." (**5-31-98** article in the Victoria Advocate) "Just a few cars behind Kennedy in the motorcade, the Air Force captain wasn't quite certain what had caused Kennedy's car to race away. 'We had to ask someone on the side of the street what had happened,' Stoughton said." **Analysis:** Stoughton's statement that he was halfway up that one block street--Houston--when he heard the first shot suggests he was further up the street than he was at Z-160. At Z-160, the blue Impala in which he was riding had just straightened out from the turn. **Probable first hit Z-190-224.**

Arthur Rickerby, a Life Magazine photographer, sat in the middle of the back seat. (Danbury News Times, **11-23-63**, as quoted in Pictures of the Pain p. 398) "We heard what sounded like a giant firecracker go off. With that we saw people diving to the ground, covering up their children, or scurrying up the banks." (Letter, Mrs. Wanda Rickerby to Trask, **3-20-85**) "He often stated his disagreement with the number of shots that were reported in the press." **Analysis:** if he saw people dive to the ground after the first shot, then he didn't hear all the shots. Perhaps, then, his disagreement with the press was that he only heard two shots, one *after* the head shot, when people dived to the ground. Or maybe he thought he heard four shots. **Too vague.**

Henry Burroughs, an AP photographer, sat on the right side of the back seat. (Pictures of the Pain p.398, based on Trask interview **8-21-85**) "Burroughs remembers hearing four shots...'We came up to the scene of the shooting and people were running all over the place.'" (**10-14-98** letter to Vince Palamara quoted in JFK: The Medical Evidence Reference) "After the President's limousine turned the corner at the book depository we could not see him, but we heard the shots, and the motorcade stopped." **Analysis:** with his recollection of four shots, Burroughs' account is definitely LPM incompatible. Still it's hard to determine when he heard the first shot. **Heard four shots.**

Mo Mo Motorcade



Above: Zapruder frame 160.

Below: the final frame of the Houston sequence of the Hughes film, at approximately Z-190-195.



Above: frame in the Hughes film corresponding to Zapruder frame 160.

Below: Zapruder frame 193



Mo Mo Motorcade

When one looks at the frame in the Hughes film used by single-assassin theorists the world over to discredit the dictabelt evidence, one should notice that they are at the same time discrediting their beloved LPM scenario. In the LPM scenario, let's remember, there is a first shot miss around Zapruder frame 160. Since the Hughes frame they love corresponds to frame 160, the people in the film should be where the LPM scenario needs them to be when the first shot rang out. But they are not, not by a long shot. (Pardon the pun).

James Underwood, a cameraman for KRLD, sat in the front seat of camera car #3, which has just rounded the corner onto Houston Street at frame 160 of the Zapruder film. (11-22-63 CBS news report, broadcast about 30 minutes after the assassination) "As we made the turn here at the intersection of Elm and Houston I heard first a loud report. It sounded to me like a giant firecracker. Then in quick succession two more. Immediately in front of me, I saw people begin to fall on the grass and run for bushes in a park area here." (11-25-63 FBI report, CD5 p. 17) "Mr. Underwood states the car in which he was riding was approaching the corner of Houston and Elm Streets...when he heard a loud noise sounding similar to a gunshot. He states that upon hearing the second noise he realized it was a gunshot and that at the sound of the next shot the car in which he was riding was almost directly in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building. (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H 167-171) "After we turned onto Houston Street, the car I was in was about, as far as I can remember, about in the middle of the block or a little bit north of the center of the block, which is a short block, when I heard the first shot...I thought it was an explosion. I have heard many rifles fired but it did not sound like a rifle to me. Evidently it must have been the reverberations of the buildings or something. I believe I said to one of the other fellows it sounded like a giant firecracker and the car I was in was about the intersection of Elm and Houston when I heard a second shot fired and moments later a third shot fired and I realized they were by that time, the last two shots, I realized they were coming from

overhead ...By the time the third shot was fired, the car I was in stopped almost through the intersection in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building and I leaped out of the car before the car stopped...our car was in the intersection, in the intersection of Elm and Houston Street...It had partially made the turn or had just begun to make the turn.” **Analysis:** as he testified the car was significantly past the turn onto Houston at the time of the first shot, and the last shots were bunched, Underwood’s words are at odds with the LPM theory. They also suggest the last shot was after the head shot. As the car containing Dave Wiegman was at least 45 feet in front of the car containing Underwood, and Wiegman’s car was not quite in front of the building at Z-270, camera car #3 would have had to have averaged well over 13 miles an hour to get anywhere near the intersection by frame 313. And we know this didn’t happen because the motorcade was traveling at only 12 miles per hour, and had slowed down greatly for the turn onto Elm. For verification of this, there’s the Dorman film, which has multiple stops and starts and yet shows camera car #3 approaching Elm roughly 10 seconds after a frame closely corresponding to Z-133. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Tom Dillard, a Dallas Morning News photographer, sat in the right front seat of camera car #3. He took photographs of the school book depository after the shots. (11-25-63 FBI report, CD5, p.16) “Mr. Dillard stated the car in which he was riding had not approached the corner of Houston and Elm Streets when he heard a noise sounding like a “torpedo” (a large firecracker). He states upon hearing another sound similar to the first he realized it was gunfire. He states that upon hearing the third shot the car in which he was riding was stopped almost in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building.” (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H162-167) (When asked if he heard an explosion as they were driving north on Houston) “Yes, sir, I heard an explosion...I believe I said “My God, they’ve thrown a torpedo”...about 3 or 4 seconds, another explosion and my comment was “No, it’s heavy rifle fire”...I heard three, the three approximately equally spaced.” (When asked exactly where they were on Houston when they heard the first shots) “just a few feet around the corner and it seems we had slowed a great deal. It seems that our car had slowed down so that we were moving rather slowly and perhaps just passed the turn when I heard the first explosion.” (Report of an HSCA investigator's 2-8-78 interview of Dillard, found online) "The President's car turned left on Elm off of Houston and Dillard's car was about at the County Jail House. When Dillard heard the first shot, he said, "my God, they're throwing torpedos (fire crackers) at him!" When the second shot went off, Dillard knew it was a high velocity rifle. Dillard stated that they were just about to the corner of Houston and Elm when the third shot went off. Bob Jackson said, "there he is in the sixth floor window!" Dillard pointed his camera up and took a picture. Dillard jumped out of his car ran down Elm to take photos but could only get the rear of the vehicles as they sped off. Dillard then jumped back on his car and he did not know for sure that anyone had been hit...Mr. Dillard stated that there was no doubt that he heard three shots and all three shots came from the TSBD. He stated that as they got to the corner of Houston and Elm, he could smell gun powder very clearly." (7-19-93 oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum) “We were on Houston...sitting, chatting...and this gun went off. It was loud, and I said, "They're throwing torpedoes at him." In my mind, it was those things we threw as kids that hit the sidewalk and exploded. Then, in a matter of a second and a half, another shot. I said, "No, that's rifle fire." [After] the third shot, I said, "My God, they've killed him." (11-20-2000 eyewitness account in the Dallas Morning News) "The parade continued through downtown. My car had just turned north on Houston Street and was at the County Jail entrance when the first shot was fired. I said, 'They've thrown a torpedo.' At the second shot, 'No, it's heavy rifle fire.' and at the third shot I said, 'They've killed him.' The President's car had turned west on Elm before the shooting started, so we were unable to see what had happened around the corner. Bob Jackson, a photographer in my car, said, There's the rifle in that open window. In the three or four seconds it took me to locate the particular open window and make a picture, the rifle had been withdrawn. I made two shots of the building before we turned the corner to Elm. When we turned

the corner, there were people lying and crouched on the ground and others running up the grass slope. I jumped out of my car and made two pix of the area which by then was clear of people." **Analysis:** by saying they had perhaps just made the turn onto Houston when the first shot rang out, and that the shots were approximately equally spaced, Dillard's testimony is vague but consistent with the LPM scenario. His statement that the car was stopped almost in front of the school book depository building when the last shot was fired, however, is suggestive there was a shot fired after the head shot. His assertion that the car had slowed down for its entire journey up Houston only adds to this possibility. **Possible LPM scenario. Last shot possibly after the head shot.**

Jimmy Darnell, a cameraman for WBAP, sat on the back seat behind the driver. (12-2-63 FBI report, CD7 p.29) "stated he heard the first shot and thought it was a backfire from an automobile. The second shot he thought was a firecracker. He stated, however, after the second shot he realized from the confusion that something had happened and he jumped out of the car and ran towards the President's car...He said he noticed parents were throwing children to the ground and covering them with their bodies." **Analysis:** since he only mentions two shots, it's difficult to pigeon-hole Darnell's statements with absolute confidence. Still, as everyone else in the car made note of Robert Jackson pointing to the sniper's nest after the third shot, it's clear Darnell missed the third shot, probably while he was jumping from the automobile. As most of the witnesses in the Wiegman film seem oblivious when Wiegman begins filming at 270, the confusion mentioned by Darnell is most certainly the panic after the head shot. **Only mentioned two shots. Probable first shot hit 190-224. Second shot probably the head shot.**

Malcolm Couch, a cameraman for WFAA, was sitting in the middle of the back seat of camera car #3. He filmed the aftermath of the shots as the car crossed the Plaza. (11-22-63 eyewitness report on WFAA at approximately 1:45 PM) "Just as the President's car turned the corner, I heard a loud shot that sounded like at first a backfire. And then I heard another one. And then finally a third shot. We naturally took this third shot as a rifle shot because we figured by the third shot that this was not a backfire, that it was not a motorcycle backfiring, but it was actually someone taking a crack at the President. Just as our car rounded the corner we saw the President's car speed off. I had my camera in my hand and raised it to see an officer fall and pull his pistol. I took a shot of that, and then to my right, two ladies fell to the ground and one of them had fainted. People were running here and there, hither and yarn. Up in a window, I saw--I could not tell what the person looked like, but I saw the rifle being pulled back into the window. This was the fifth or sixth floor. There were people underneath the rifle who looked up to see where the shots had come from. One man started running down the street with his little boy, his little child. And police started running after him thinking he was the man that had fired the shots. There was much confusion around there. I noticed on the sidewalk, Walt, some blood. At this time, I do not know whose blood it was. But there was some blood on the sidewalk. Away from the street. It must not have been the President's blood." (11-22-63 eyewitness report on WFAA, at approximately 3:00 PM) "I was in the 8th car in the motorcade. There were 5 other newsmen, myself, in the car. We'd just rounded a corner and the President's car was heading out of downtown proper. We were at right angles to the President's car, about approximately 50-75 feet away. I heard this shot, or what had sounded like at the moment to be a motorcycle backfiring, and I heard another one, and by the third shot, it sounded by then, the men in the car realized it was not a motorcycle, but it was someone firing. Our car rounded the corner just as the President's car sped off down underneath an underpass and out onto what is known as Stemmon's Expressway. I looked to the left of me as a policeman fell, pulled a pistol. To the right of me two citizens dropped to the ground, and I had chance to take a quick shot of the window from which the assassin had fired his weapon." (11-27-63 FBI report, CD5 p.18) "He said they...were traveling the presidential route on Houston Street when he heard two loud noises about ten seconds apart which sounded like a motorcycle backfire. He said as they turned the corner onto Elm from Houston, he heard another noise, and Robert Jackson yelled to

look up at the window." (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H153-162) "we turned north onto Houston, and it was there that we heard the first gunshot...It sounded like a motorcycle backfire at first—the first time we heard it—the first shot." (When asked where on Houston they heard this) "I would say, uh, 15 or 20 feet from the turn—from off of Main onto Houston... We had already completed the turn...I was looking back to a fellow on my—that would be on my right—I don't know who it was—we were joking. We had just made the turn. And I heard the first shot...there was no particular reaction...And—uh—then—in a few seconds, I guess from 4-5 seconds later or even less, we heard the second shot...we began to look in front of us...By the third shot, I felt that it was a rifle...as I said the shots or the noises were fairly close together, they were fairly even in sound. (When asked where they were when they heard the third shot) I'd say we were about 50 feet from making—or maybe 60 feet—from making the left hand turn onto Elm." (11-22-64 WFAA program A Year Ago Today) "As we turned the fateful corner, our senses were numb and our hearts seemed to stop beating as we heard the shots ring out. The photographer from Dallas, who slammed his elbow into my right side, yelled 'Look up in the window, there's the rifle.' And straight in front of us we could see the Texas School Book Depository Building and almost to the top floor there was the gleaming gun barrel sticking out of a window. The next few seconds were frantic. People were running. People were screaming. People falling to the ground." (Article found in the Clifton Record entitled JFK Shooting Recalled: Local Resident, Former TV Reporter Remembers Kennedy Assassination. Couch's Memories Remain Clear 37 Years Later, 11-22-00) "We had reached the end of the narrow corridor where most of the crowd had gathered, and had just made a turn to the right to go down Houston Street. As cameramen, we could relax for a few minutes. Just 100 yards ahead, the president's car took a westerly turn down Elm Street to go beneath an underpass. Beyond the underpass was clear highway to the Trade Mart, where the presidential party would have lunch. Putting down my camera, I remarked, 'Boy, what a beautiful day for a parade!. Everything is going perfect, too.' Hardly had I finished when we heard a sharp CRACK. It sounded like a motorcycle backfiring, or a firecracker. Then a second or so later, another CRACK. People began to run and scream. The reporter next to me jabbed me in the ribs. 'Look,' he yelled, 'Up in the window...a rifle!' He was pointing straight in front of us to the Texas School Book Depository Building. There on the fifth or sixth story, I saw about a foot of a rifle being drawn back into a window. Then our car turned sharply down Elm Street. I began taking pictures of people running, falling to the ground, and screaming." (11-22-03 article in the Dallas Morning News) "Jackson had taken his last picture and handed his film to Jim Featherston, a reporter waiting to receive it at the corner of Main and Houston. When the heavyset reporter fumbled it and began to chase after it, the men in the car found themselves laughing. And then came the first shot. Couch remembers someone shouting: 'Look at the window—there's the rifle!' By the time the third shot rang out, Couch had spotted about eight inches of the rifle protruding from the sixth-floor window." (Oral History interview performed for the Sixth Floor Museum, 4-2-07) "As we were starting the turn, facing the building, we heard a ka-pow. At first, well it could be motorcycle backfire, because all these cops were around us on motorcycles. And then another second or so, ka-pow. And whoever was sitting by me--and I really want to get this straight--hollered "Look up at the window; there's a rifle!" And we were facing the building at that point. And I looked up for about a split second and saw about a foot of the rifle going back in the window. It wasn't sticking out of the window, but it was visible in the window. It was just almost like that. And then another ka-pow. Pardon me, another couple of ka-pows. By then, by the time of the second ka-pow, going to the third and fourth, we really started to realize something was wrong. And that's when I looked up and saw the rifle go in the window." **Analysis:** as the car in which Couch was riding had just turned onto Houston at frame 160, and as Couch said they were 15-20 feet up Houston when he heard the first shot, his words could be interpreted as supportive of the LPM scenario. His WFAA report that his car was only 50-75 feet from the limo at the time of the shots, suggests his car was further up the street, however. The FBI's report is also problematic, in that it suggests Couch initially believed he was turning onto Elm when the last shot rang out. Which would suggest he'd heard

a shot after frame 313. His supposedly clear recollections to his local paper in 2000 are, of course, also problematic, as they suggest the last two shots were fired within a "second or so" of each other.

Possible LPM scenario. Possible first shot 190. Last shot possibly after the head shot.

Robert Jackson, a Dallas Times Herald photographer, was sitting on the right rear seat of the car. (11-23-63 AP article) "When we heard the first shot, the president had already turned the corner. We had not made the corner yet. Then we heard two more shots." (11-23-63 AP article found in the L.A. Times) "Bob Jackson, a photographer for the Dallas Times Herald, heard one shot, then two rapid bursts as he rode in an open convertible in the presidential motorcade." (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p.15) "he advised the car in which he was riding was proceeding north on Houston Street...and the presidential car had already turned left on Elm Street...when he heard three loud reports which sounded like shots from a gun. He stated that there was a "pause" after the first shot, followed by the second and third shots in rapid succession. Jackson advised that upon hearing the three shots, he looked upward and straight ahead at a window in the Texas School Book Depository...in time to see the barrel of a rifle being pulled inside the window." (3-10-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H155-165) "I was in the process of unloading a camera and I was to toss it out of the car as we turned right onto Houston Street to one of our reporters...And that I did as we turned the corner...as I threw it out the wind blew it, caught it and blew it out into the street and our reporter chased it out into the street, and the photographers in our car, one of the photographers, was a TV cameraman whom I do not recall as his name, and he was joking about the film being thrown out and he was shooting my picture of throwing the film out... Well as our reporter chased that film out in the street, we all looked back at him and were laughing, and it was approximately that time that we heard the first shot, and we had already rounded the corner, of course, when we heard the first shot. We were approximately half a block on Houston Street...as we heard the first shot, I believe it was Tom Dillard from Dallas News who made some remark as to that sounding like a firecracker, and it could have been somebody else who said that. But someone else did speak up and make that comment and before he actually finished the sentence we heard the other two shots. ...We were still moving slowly, and after the third shot the second two shots seemed much closer together than the first shot, than they were to the first shot." (11-22-93 oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum) "And we had already made the turn as this was taking place and we heard the first shot...which put our car directly facing the Book Depository... We heard the first shot. Tom Dillard and I looked at each other. I think both of us, you know, the first thing we thought was it could be a gun. Then, we heard two more shots closer together, over a total span of about eight seconds maximum. I think we both realized that it was a rifle or a gun, not a backfire, especially after we heard the next two shots." (4-1-03 interview conducted for President Kennedy Has Been Shot, 2003) "I had unloaded the camera, put the film in an envelope, and as we turned the corner onto Houston I tossed the envelope out to a reporter. And that's when we heard the first shot, and then two more shots, closer together." **Analysis:** Jackson places the car well up Houston at the time of the first shot, when the car at frame 160 was barely past the turn. More importantly, he is consistent in stating the last two shots were bunched together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

H.B. McLain is the motorcycle officer riding at the left side of camera car #3 in the Hughes frame corresponding to Zapruder frame 160. (12-29-78 testimony before the HSCA, Vol. 5 p. 617-641) (When asked if he remembered hearing shots) "I only remember hearing one...I was approximately halfway between Main and Elm Streets on Houston...I just looked up the street and the only thing I saw was a bunch of pigeons flew out behind the school book depository. (The Kennedy Assassination Tapes, 1979) "Just after I had turned north onto Houston Street, I was moving very slow along the west side of the street...The motorcade seemed to stop at Elm and Houston as the crowd pressed in on the President. As the President got around onto Elm Street, I was approaching the middle of the block between Main and Elm. It was along there that I heard a shot. I suppose it was the first shot because I

looked up and saw the pigeons flushed from their roost on top of the building on the northwest corner of Elm and Houston. I was either stopped or stopping at the time. I looked around in an effort to determine what had happened. I don't recall ever hearing the other shots—just one which I guess was the first.” (No More Silence p.162-168, published 1998) “When I made the turn onto Houston on the left side, we had caught up with the cars in front of us, and I had stopped right by the side of the entrance to the old jail, which is about midway between Main and Houston Streets on Houston. I heard one very clear shot, threw my head out and it appeared that about 5,000 pigeons flew out from behind that building straight ahead....But I could see the limousine off to my left on Elm, and saw Mrs. Kennedy crawling on the back of the car.” (7-16-2003 oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum) (When asked if he heard but one shot) "That's all I recall hearing." (When asked if he then looked up at the depository) "Yeah, I looked over there after I looked up. I looked straight up when I heard the shot." (2006 interview with Seamus Coogan on youtube) "My thought was--when I heard the shot, all them pigeons flew out from behind that building, and I just said to myself 'somebody's shooting at the pigeons today.' It didn't even dawn on me they was shooting at him." **Analysis:** the shot heard by McLain was the last shot from the school book depository. He was too far up the street for the shot to have been at frame 160, and his claiming to have stopped before the shot makes it unlikely to have come before Z-224. That McLain heard but one shot at the end could be an indication the last two were very close together, and he perceived the second one as an echo. Or maybe he was just distracted by the pigeons. **Only heard one shot. No shot at frame 160.**

Marrion Baker rode on the east side of camera car #3. He can be seen in the last frame of the Hughes film 60 feet or so north of the north curb of Main Street. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 24 H199) "I was on Houston Street and the President's car had made a left turn from Houston onto Elm Street. Just as I approached Elm and Houston I heard three shots. I realized these shots were rifle shots and I began to try and figure out where they came from. I decided these shots had come from the building on the northwest corner of Elm and Houston.” (3-25-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H 242-270) "As we approached the corner there of Main and Houston, we were making a right turn, and as I came out behind that building there, which is the country courthouse, the sheriff building, well there was a strong wind hit me and I almost lost my balance...As I got myself straightened up there, I guess it took me some 20, 30 feet, something like that, and it was about that time that I heard these shots come out. (When asked how far up Houston he was when he heard the shots, as per his measuring the distance with counsel David Belin) "we approximated it was 60 to 80 feet there, north of the north curblin of Main and Houston...It hit me all at once that it was a rifle shot...I heard—before I revved up this motorcycle, I heard the, you know, the two extra shots, the three shots...It seemed to me like they just went bang bang bang; they were pretty well even to me.” (Interview with CBS, aired 9-27-64) "I heard those shots come off, and they seemed like they was high, and they were directly ahead of me. And as I tried to figure out which—where they came from—and the building that I had in mind was directly ahead of me. And that was the Texas School Book Depository.” (Summary of HSCA interview conducted, 10-25-77) "Baker said that when he turned from Main to Houston street a gust of wind almost upset his cycle. By the time he righted himself he heard three shots. 'They went bam, bam, bam. They were high. I figured they came from the Texas School Book Depository Building or the Dallas Texas Building. Pigeons flew off the Hertz sign on the roof of the Book Depository so I figured it had to be there.'" (HSCA Outside contact report, 8-17-78) "On Houston street when first of three rifle shots was fired, believes he was at the driveway to the old county jail. Felt reports came from straight ahead and high. Seemed to be from one of two buildings, 411 Elm--TSBD--or 501, just east of 411. Observed pigeons fluttering in area of TSBD roof, chose that building to check first..." (The Kennedy Assassination Tapes, 1979) Officer E. "A little past half way down (between Main and Elm) I heard the first shot. As I looked up I noticed all the pigeons flushed off the top of the building on the corner ahead of me. And in the same period I heard the

second shot, and then the third one.” (7-23-86 testimony in a televised mock trial, On Trial: Lee Harvey Oswald) (When asked what happened after the motorcade turned left on Elm) "At this time I heard three shots." (When asked to point out on a map where he was when the first shot rang out) "Okay, about this area right here." (He points to a location roughly 70 feet north of the northern curb on Main Street). (When asked if he had a sense where these shots came from) "This building here" (He points to the book depository). (When asked if this was the book depository) "Yes, sir." (Note the next and final question and answer from this program is reported in Vincent Bugliosi's Reclaiming History, but was not shown in the U.S. version of the program.) (When asked if he thought the timing of the shots was such that one person could have fired all the shots with a bolt rifle) "Yes." (Interview in The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "I had gotten about halfway between Main and Houston (Note: he clearly means Main and Elm) when I heard these three shots. Immediately I knew they were in front of me and high." (No More Silence, p.123-126, published 1998) "I was approximately 150 feet south of Elm Street traveling north on Houston... Suddenly I heard these three shots. It was my impression that they came directly in front of me and high... The first two were pretty evenly spaced, and the last was a little bit closer.” **Analysis:** Baker’s not very good with numbers. His most recent approximation of being 150 feet south of Elm is particularly confusing, as that’s almost the entire block. Still, when he was forced to march it off with Belin he came up with his being 60 to 80 feet north of Main at the time of the first shot. Single-assassin theorist Dale Myers, in an extensive study of the assassination films released in 2007, created an illustration of Baker's position at Z-150. In this illustration, he placed Baker approximately 36 feet north of the Main Street curblin. As Myers also asserted that Baker had traveled 19.5 feet over the previous 35 frames of the Hughes film, which was filmed at the same speed as the Zapruder film, it follows that, even in Myers' opinion, Baker was approximately 42 feet north of Main Street at Z-160, and would not have reached 60 feet north of Main Street until approximately frame 192 of the Zapruder film (assuming, of course, that he maintained his speed). **First shot 190-224.**

The placement of the witnesses in the next few cars is based upon the research of Todd Wayne Vaughn.

Congressman George Mahon was riding in the second VIP car. This is the car seen completing its turn onto Houston in the last frames of the Hughes film. Although he said Presidential Aide Larry O'Brien sat in the front seat, there is reason to believe he was mistaken. (11-23-63 article in the Chicago Sun-Times) "Rep. George H. Mahon (D-Texas) also said that the shots sounded as though they were fired from a deer rifle or some other heavy weapon." (8-16-72 interview with the Johnson Library.) "I was riding in the back seat of a car, top down of course, with Homer Thornberry, it seems to me, and Walter Rogers. Sitting in the front seat with the driver was Larry O'Brien, and we commented that we thought the people looked a little antagonistic and unfriendly... And then we went down a certain street and turned to the right, and shortly after we turned to the right and we were facing the building from which the shot was fired we later learned, we heard these shots fired... We just didn't know what happened. But we saw the cars at the corner and then we saw them race off." **Analysis:** as the car in which he was riding was just making the turn at 160, his description is more in line with a first shot at 190. **First shot 190-224.**

Congressman Walter Rogers is believed to have been in this car as well. No comments by him on the shooting have been located.

Congressman Homer Thornberry, a close friend of Vice-President Johnson's, rode in the same car as Mahon and Rogers. (12-21-70 interview with the Johnson Library) "We were riding along, and then we heard what were the shots. We didn't know for sure what it was at first, but you could sense that something was wrong. You could just sense that something ahead had gone wrong." **Analysis: too vague.**

Lawrence F. O'Brien, one of Kennedy's top aides, sat on the right rear seat of this car. (5-26-64

testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H457-472) (When asked where he was in the motorcade) "I was in one of those open cars--specifically, I don't remember the order of the car, but I remember the passengers I joined. And as I pointed out, this was rather a quick hop into the car that I made at that point. Congressman Mahon was in the front seat with the driver. Congressman Rogers of Texas, now Judge Homer Thornberry of Texas, and me in the back seat." (On the shooting) "As I recall our car was about to make that turn (onto Houston) and it would seem to me therefore that the President's car was in the process of making the left turn... We heard the shots very clearly... The first shot was fired... And I must have almost immediately said to the driver... 'What was that?' The driver replied 'I do not know. They must be giving him a 21 gun salute.' By the time the driver had concluded that sentence, we did not hear explosion number 4." (When asked if he thought the shots were evenly spaced) "That is my impression... I recall that just prior to this, which indicates to me that perhaps we had turned that corner before the shots, Judge Thornberry pointed to a building and said that that was where his offices had been... We were turning the corner, and that took place before the shots." (No Final Victories, published 1974) "We were rounding a corner—Homer Thornberry was pointing out a building where he'd once had an office—when we heard a shot. 'What was that?' I immediately asked our driver. 'I don't know,' he said. 'They must be giving him a 21 gun salute.' As he spoke we heard two additional shots. We had no idea what had happened." (Interview in JFK: A Time Remembered, broadcast 1988) "Suddenly, shots were fired, and my initial reaction was to say to the driver 'What was that?' And he said 'I don't know, perhaps it's a 21 gun salute.'" **Analysis:** with his impression that the shots were evenly spaced and his initial impression that he was on Main when the first shot rang out, O'Brien almost fell into the first shot 160 category. His last second recollection that he'd already made the turn, however, puts him back into the domain of first shot 190. **First shot 190.**

Congressman Albert Thomas sat in the middle of the front seat of the next car. (4-16-64 and 8-19-64 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in The Death of a President, 1967) (On the first shot) "Most of the hunters in the motorcade--Sorrels, Connally, Yarborough, Gonzalez, Albert Thomas--instinctively identified it as rifle fire." **Analysis: too vague.**

Congressman Jack Brooks sat in front seat, on the right side of Thomas. (Comments dictated to President Johnson's secretary Marie Fehmer aboard Air Force One, available on the LBJ Library website, 11-22-63) "Shooting was approximately 12:30... heard three shots... turned around and hurried to hospital... knew immediately they were shots... saw two people on grass near freeway... man and child lying flat on ground... dodging shots." (2-1-71 interview with the Johnson Library) "We were riding along and we heard this shot, I thought it was a shot--two or three of them. Somebody said it was firecrackers and I said, 'It sounded like shots to me.' It sure did, too! I looked ahead and saw those cars speeding up, so we speeded up and went on up to the hospital." (Article by Dan Wallach in the Beaumont Enterprise, as found in 11-20-93 Moscow-Pullman Daily News) "'I heard the shots' Brooks said. 'I knew they were shots. I couldn't see the President. He was making a turn, but I could see people standing there, in shock. I knew then the President, or somebody, had been shot.'" **Analysis: too vague.**

Congressmen Lindley Beckworth was on the left side of the back seat of this car. (7-22-71 interview with the Johnson Library) "I was in the motorcade when the shots were fired. We thought at first it was a salute. I know Representative Albert Thomas and Representative [George] Mahon and Representative Jack Brooks--we were all together in about the third car back. The thing that really signaled that there was something wrong was this: We had been going at a parade speed, then we had an acceleration that threw us forward in a rough manner. It was at that time that I personally felt that something very bad had happened. We'd been having a very wonderful time in that parade." **Analysis:** apparently, Beckworth thought Mahon was in the car instead of Wright. **Too vague.**

Congressman Olin Teague is believed to have been sitting in the middle of the back seat of this car.

No comments by him on the shooting have been located.

Congressman Jim Wright, a future Speaker of the House of Representatives, was on the right side of the back seat of this car. (12-31-78 article in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram) "I distinctly recall hearing three shots" (Undated letter published in Reflections on JFK's Assassination, 1988) "I was in the motorcade, several cars behind President Kennedy, when those terrible shots rang out. There were a few seconds of anxious confusion before I learned the magnitude of the tragedy that had befallen the nation." (Interview in 1988 TV documentary JFK: The Day The Nation Cried) "My first instinctive thought was somebody is trying to fire a 21 gun salute with a rifle. I thought that that is inappropriate and that they could have done better than that." (Balance of Power, 1996) "Jack Brooks, Dallas Congressman Earl Cabell, and I rode in the fifth or sixth car, separated from the presidential and vice-presidential vehicles by several cars of media representatives... The vehicle in which I rode had rounded the corner past the old courthouse and was heading north toward the Texas School Book Depository warehouse when the first shot rang out. We were startled, suddenly alert. Then a second crack from the same rifle, its echo reverberating... Then the third shot, the cadence slightly off." (11-22-03 article in the Dallas Morning News) "And then came the carnage. Not until the third shot did Wright believe it was someone trying to kill the president." (7-03-07 article in the Ft. Worth Weekly) "Wright was riding several cars behind Kennedy when gunshots rang out, and he wondered if a car had backfired or maybe somebody had fired celebratory shots into the air. But as the motorcade continued and Kennedy's car sped off down Elm Street, it quickly became clear what had happened. 'As we passed the crowd, I saw these looks of horror on people's faces, and I knew they had seen something terrible,' he said. Wright isn't big on conspiracy theories of multiple shooters. 'I could tell all three shots came from the same rifle,' he said." **Analysis:** as the car in which Wright was traveling, apparently the car behind the last car seen in the Hughes film, was still on Main Street at frame 160, the first shot described by Wright must have come afterward. Still, as Wright claimed Earle Cabell was a congressman in 1963, and was in the car with him, when Cabell was still Dallas' mayor, and had his own car, Wright's memory was definitely not 100%. His comment that the last shot was off cadence is nevertheless intriguing. **First shot 190-224.**

Congressman John Andrew Young sat on the right front seat of the next car. (6-25-64 interview of Henry Gonzalez by William Manchester, as represented in The Death of a President, 1967) (On the first shot) "'Is that a Motorcycle backfire?" asked Congressman Young. Henry Gonzalez, who had been hunting only last Sunday, cried, 'No, it's gunfire!' **Analysis:** another second-hand story.

Congressman Henry Gonzalez, sat on the left side of the back seat of this car. (11-23-63 UPI article found in the San Antonio Light) "'I have misgivings about coming into this city... coming in Dallas.' Gonzalez added: The terrain was such that it must have been carefully selected by the assassin. The motorcade moved down an incline and went under an overpass. It had slowed to a halt at this point. Part of the entourage was excluded from view of the other cars. The terrain was well selected for the act. It must have been carefully thought out. The whole party drove rapidly then to the hospital. 'Oh, this is a sad, sad day. I did not want this to happen.'" (3-16-64 UPI article found in the Brownsville Texas Herald) "Gonzalez said he was in the sixth car in the motorcade and was sitting on the left hand side of the car in the rear. The congressman said when the first shot was fired the car stopped just in the intersection of Houston and Elm streets." (6-25-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in The Death of a President, 1967) (On the first shot) "'Is that a Motorcycle backfire?" asked Congressman Young. Henry Gonzalez, who had been hunting only last Sunday, cried, 'No, it's gunfire!' The policeman driving their car immediately said 'You're right' and Gonzalez, who had been in Congress when Puerto Rican nationalists opened fire from the gallery, thought 'Can this be another Puerto Rico?'" (1-13-67 article by Seth Kantor found in the Pittsburgh Press) "Mr. Gonzalez was in the fourth car in the presidential motorcade--the car behind Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and Sen

Ralph W. Yarborough, Texas Democrat--when he heard three shots, 'and then the whole earth spun and churned.'" (Introduction to Coup D'etat in America, 1975) "I suppose I really had questions from the start as to why he died, who killed him, and what directions had the bullets come? I was in car number four of the motorcade, and distinctly heard three shots." (8-25-75 UPI article found in the Fort Pierce Florida News Tribune) "Gonzalez said he was in the motorcade in Dallas when President Kennedy was slain. 'I have never mentioned this to anyone before. But when the first shot sounded, the cars were already at a complete halt or just crawling. Odd that we should have come to a virtual stop even before the first shot, at the exact spot.'" (1-26-92 AP article by Michelle Mittlestadt, found in the Victoria Advocate) "Gonzalez was in the third car behind the president's as they rounded the bend next to the Texas School Book Depository on the west end of downtown Dallas. He distinctly recalls hearing only three bullets, but doesn't reject the possibility another bullet--or several bullets--were fired from a gun equipped with a silencer. 'I had rolled the window down and I heard 'Bam,' then a pause, and then 'Bam' and then a short pause, 'Bam,' he remembered. I said 'My God, that's rifle fire.' Gonzalez said he could not see Kennedy's car when the shots were fired, but a police officer quickly motioned them toward nearby Parkland Hospital." **Analysis:** the car in which Gonzalez was riding was nowhere near the intersection of Houston and Elm at frame 160 of the Zapruder film. He must have meant the intersection of Houston and Main. No matter. As demonstrated in the Hughes film the car in which he was riding did not reach the intersection of Houston and Main until after frame 160. It's safe to say then, that, in Gonzalez' approximation, the first shot rang out shortly thereafter. **First shot 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Texas State Senator Bill Patman is purported to have sat in the middle of the back seat. No comments from him on the shooting have been located.

Congressman Graham Purcell sat on the right side of the back seat of this car. (11-21-07 Ohmynews article by former Wichita Falls Times reporter Peter Hinchliffe) "In late afternoon on Nov. 22, I phoned our local Congressman, Graham Purcell. He was in that fateful motorcade through Dallas. Graham was a friend. In June of that year I married a Wichita Falls girl, Joyce Huggins (we're still together). Graham was a guest at our wedding. Graham was a great personal friend of Lyndon Johnson, staying at his fellow Texan's home for a month when he first went to Washington. He was a devoted supporter of President Kennedy. In a quiet choking voice he said, 'I cannot find the right words. This is the saddest day of my life.' There were four cars between the presidential car and the car in which Congressman Purcell was riding when the shooting occurred. 'I heard three shots: one shot, then a pause, then two more. I thought somebody was letting off firecrackers. Police around us started running. There were not many people about at the time. The presidential car suddenly shot away at high speed.'" **Analysis:** while Hinchliffe's story came a little too late to be credible, it is nevertheless intriguing that, in his recollection, Purcell noted that there had been a pause between the first and second shots. This is in line with the bulk of the other witnesses. While Hinchliffe puts Purcell's recollections in quotes, moreover, he fails to say he'd taken notes on their conversation. As a result, his account of Purcell's recollections can not be fully accepted.

Clyde Haygood rode a motorcycle beside the next car in the motorcade. (4-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H296-302) (When asked where he was when he first heard the shots) "I was on Main Street just approaching Houston Street....(When asked how the shots sounded) "The last two were closer than the first. In other words, it was the first, then a pause, and then the other two were real close." (Interview with Fox News Channel program JFK: Case Not Closed, broadcast 11-2003.) "There was one shot and there was seconds of pause and then there was two additional shots that was closer together." **Analysis:** Haygood had good ears. His words are presented here to help put the next witness' words in context. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

J.W. Courson rode in the motorcade opposite Haygood. (HSCA Report, p. 75) "Sergeant Jimmy

Wayne Courson was also interviewed on **September 26, 1977**. He stated that his assignment in the motorcade was in front of the press bus, approximately six or seven cars to the rear of the presidential limousine, and that as he turned onto Houston Street, he heard three shots about a second apart.” (The Kennedy Assassination Tapes, **1979**) Officer F “I had just turned off Main onto Houston and stopped... While waiting there for the press bus to complete its turn, I heard the shots. They definitely came from ahead of me, all three of them. The motorcade was backed up almost to a standstill. Then, people started running and falling. I looked toward where I would expect to see the President’s limousine but I couldn’t see it...I took off for the front of the motorcade to see what had happened. I passed people while I was doing this. I remember passing some of the motorcade vehicles...As I went down Elm Street, I noticed a motorcycle down at the curb, and an officer crawling on his hands and knees...I told the (HSCA) investigator that there were only three shots and that they had all come from Book Depository, but it seemed to me he didn’t believe me, or didn’t like what he heard.” (No More Silence, p.127-131, published **1998**) “All was going well until we had just made a right turn from Main onto Houston Street due to the limousine having to make the sharp left turn up ahead which slowed the motorcade. We had to stop, thus I was sitting on my motorcycle in the left lane on Houston looking more or less at the Book Depository. That’s when I heard the shots! I couldn’t tell exactly from where the shots came because of the echo pattern, but there were three very distinct shots. The first two were fairly close together then there was more space between the second and third. I could tell that they came from one location, but really I was concentrating more on the President and seeing if they needed help up ahead. I looked to my left...The limousine came to a stop and Mrs. Kennedy was on the back. I noticed that as I came around the corner on Elm. Then the Secret Service agent helped push her back in the car, and the motorcade took off at a high rate of speed. “

Analysis: Courson’s words can not be accepted at face value. First of all, the closest press bus to the President was the thirteenth car behind the limousine, and could not have been turning onto Houston by Z-230, the last possible moment for Courson to have heard the first shot. I suspect therefore that Courson heard the last two shots close together just after he turned onto Houston, and then convinced himself he heard a third shot, first stating it came right after the second shot, and then later telling Sneed it came after a pause. It’s also possible, of course, that he did hear a third shot, but just couldn’t remember where he was when he heard it. Should one consider it unlikely Courson’s memory could fade so badly, one should consider that Bobby Joe Dale, who rode six or more car lengths behind Courson and Haygood, told the Dallas Morning News in 1978 that he’d been riding "five vehicles behind the presidential limousine," and then later told author Larry Sneed that *he* was 40 feet north of Main on Houston Street when the *first* shot rang out. Courson’s inability to remember the shots in a consistent manner becomes more troubling, however, when one realizes that Courson was purported by Bowles to have sworn there were only three shots and that they all came from the book depository, and then later told Sneed he couldn’t even tell where the shots came from. It’s truly shocking how the unnamed witnesses in Bowles’ book said things that the witnesses they were obviously based upon completely contradicted when speaking for attribution. Still, if Courson’s 1979 statements are even close to being accurate they achieve Bowles’ desired effect, as they help debunk the dictabelt evidence so admired by the HSCA. As Courson said he passed a downed motorcycle and saw an officer crawling up the grass, and as this officer could only be Officer Haygood, Courson clearly turned onto Elm after Officer Haygood. As Malcolm Couch was in camera car #3, and as he began filming from the intersection of Houston and Elm, and as he then panned back to the street as Officer Haygood cut around the car, and as this revealed another officer just ahead of Haygood by camera car #1, we can conclude then that the officer ahead of Haygood was not Officer Courson but Officer McLain, the only officer in the area not behind Haygood. McLain’s presence in this image creates a huge problem for supporters of the dictabelt evidence. If the microphone purported to be McLain’s was by the Cabell car, two cars ahead of camera car # 1, when the shots rang out, *and then traveled at a constant speed*

through the plaza, as purported by those defending the dictabelt evidence, why was McLain riding by camera car #1, which had slowed down to a near-stop when the shots rang out, 20 or 30 seconds later?
Possible first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.

Well, we've almost reached the end of our motorcade witnesses. But before we can end, we need to go back to the beginning.

The Leading Men



Above: the lead car makes a left in the Powers film.



Above: the lead car makes a left in the Hughes film.



Above: the lead car under the bridge in the Bell film.



Above: the lead car getting passed in the Daniel film.

The Leading Men

Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry drove the small white lead car in the motorcade. (11-24-63 article by Donald Jansen in the New York Times) "The chief was riding in a car 40 feet ahead of the limousine carrying Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy and Gov. and Mrs. John B. Connally Jr. of Texas. The Motorcade was on its way to the Trade Mart where the President was to have spoken at a lunch. Chief Curry said he could tell from the sound of the three shots that they had come from the book company building, near downtown Dallas." (4-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 4H150-202) "I was riding in a Presidential parade and approximately a hundred feet, I guess, ahead of the President's car, and when we heard this first report, I couldn't tell where it was coming from...We were just approaching an underpass...from the report I couldn't tell whether it was coming from the railroad yard or whether it was coming from behind...we heard this report...we were perhaps a couple of hundred feet or so (down Elm)...(when asked how far ahead of the Presidential vehicle he was) "to the best of my knowledge it would have been 100, 125 feet" (when asked where the President's car was at the time of the first shot) "I would say it was approximately halfway between Houston Street and the underpass, which would be, I would say probably 125- 150 feet west of Houston Street...(when asked how far it had gone by the time of the second shot) "perhaps 25 or 30 feet further along" (and the third shot) "A few feet further, perhaps 15-20 feet further" (when asked the duration of the shots) "perhaps 5 or 6 seconds...I heard three shots. I will never forget it." (9-25-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Curry was under the impression that someone

had fired a railroad torpedo." (8-18-69 interview with Johnson Library) "The Secret Service man had a radio but it didn't seem to be working too well at the time. He had been talking to some of the agents in the cars behind him, but it was a little portable machine. When I heard the shots and looked back in the rear view mirror I could see commotion in the President's car. About that time a motorcycle also pulled over, and I asked him what had happened, if someone had been hurt, and he said yes. I told him, "Take us to Parkland Hospital." (Curry's description of the shots in his book, JFK Assassination File, published 1969) "About half-way between Houston and the triple-underpass I heard a sharp crack. Someone in the car said, 'Is that a firecracker?' Two other sharp reports came almost directly after the first. All of the reports were fairly close together, but perhaps there was a longer pause between the first and second than between the second and third. The President's car was only about 100 feet behind our car at that moment. I glanced into my rear view mirror and could see the commotion in the President's car. Everyone was confused." (9-5-75 FBI report) "Lt. Jack Revill of Dallas Police Department told SA Brown that he had recently been contacted by former Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry who told him he still has the impression that two men were involved in the shooting of President Kennedy." (2-6-77 UPI article found in the Valley News) "Reflecting on the fateful day which changed his life, Curry says, "The first shot sounded like a firecracker or a railroad torpedo. When the second and third shots came, I was sure it was rifle fire." **Analysis:** Curry's statements fit the general pattern. By testifying that the limousine was approximately halfway to the underpass when the first shot rang out, he undercuts the possibility the car was as far back as it was at 160. Similarly, by testifying that the limousine traveled a much shorter distance between the second and third shots than between the first two, he suggests the last two shots were bunched together. His latter statements confirm this impression. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Winston Lawson (11-23-63 report, 17H628-629) "It was about the time our car was arriving at this bridge that I heard the first shot. I believe I heard two more sharp reports and looking back saw people scurrying away from the route, as though they were taking cover. Almost immediately the President's car leaped ahead." (12-1-63 report, 17H630-634) "As the lead car was passing under this bridge I heard the first loud, sharp report and in rapid succession two more sounds like gunfire. I could see persons to the left of the motorcade vehicles running away." (4-23-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 4H317-358) (when asked how far ahead they were of the limousine) "I think it was a little further ahead than it had been in the motorcade...I heard this very loud report...my first impression was firecracker or bomb or something like that...I can recall spinning around and looking back, and seeing people over on the grassy median kind of area running around and dropping down....I am positive that it came from the rear, and then I spun that way to see what had occurred back there...Then I heard two more sharp reports, the second two were closer together than the first. There was one report, and a pause, then two more reports closer together, two and three were closer together than one and two." (1-31-78 interview with HSCA investigator, file #180-10074-10396) "As they neared the Triple Overpass, Lawson heard the first shot, which to Lawson sounded like a "firecracker" or "cherry bomb." This was followed by a total of two more shots." (9-5-2003 interview with the Sixth Floor Museum) "I believe I was just about to go under the--pretty close to it anyway--the underpass to go out on the Stemmons Freeway sometime a little bit later, and I heard a shot, (makes sound) like that, and then I heard another one (makes sound). And the third one was a little closer to the second one than the first one was to the second one...I thought 'shots'...I thought immediately that it had come from over my right hand shoulder." (11-22-2003 article in the Dallas Morning News) "And then came the first shot. Like most witnesses, Win Lawson recalls two more, though puzzled by the quicker pace between the second and third." (Interview in the Discovery Channel program The Kennedy Detail, first broadcast 12-2-10) (While purportedly discussing the last two shots) "I heard a bang (he then waits about two seconds) bang." (Later in the program, when discussing the number of shots fired) "There were three. They were exactly like that. The third one came closer to the second one than the second one was to the first one.

Bang (he waits about three seconds) Bang..Bang (This last bang now comes about a second after the second bang.) They were from back of me over my right shoulder. Nothing went bang in front of me. Nothing went bang from the side of me--the front side of me. That shot came from the school book depository, back over my right hand shoulder." **Analysis:** by stating that the last two shots were bunched together, Lawson is indirectly stating that the first shot hit. Since no one dived down until after the head shot, Lawson's statement that people dropped down after the first shot is instead suggestive that they dropped down after the second. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Dallas County Sheriff Bill Decker rode in the back seat of the lead car. (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times-Herald) "Sheriff Decker said he and Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry were riding in the lead car in the parade about one and a half lengths in front of the President's car. The Sheriff said he heard two shots and 'may have seen one of the bullets hit the concrete and bounce.' He said he did not see the other bullet. 'It all happened so fast, I'm just not sure what happened,' Sheriff Decker said." (Undated 1963-1964 statement included with Decker Exhibit 5323, 19H458) "I distinctly remember hearing 2 shots. As I heard the first retort, I looked back over my shoulder and saw what appeared to be a spray of water come out of the rear seat of the President's car. At this same moment, Mr. Lawson said, "Let's get out of here and get to the nearest hospital." When I heard the shots I noted motorcycle officers coming off their cycles and running up the embankment on Dealey Plaza." **Analysis:** the only spray of anything Decker could have seen was the spray of blood from Kennedy's head. It seems likely the spray was from the shot he heard, and that another shot followed.. Since he recalls Lawson mentioning the hospital as this first shot rang out, and Kellerman didn't call Lawson until just before the head shot, the "shots" Decker heard were undoubtedly the last two shots bunched together. **Only heard two shots. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot probably after the head shot).**

Forrest Sorrels (11-28-63 deposition, 21H548) "When we were at a point approximately three fourths of the distance between the Houston and Elm Street intersections and the first underpass, I heard what sounded like a rifle shot and said "What's that?", as I turned to my right to look back in the direction of the terrace and the Texas School Book Depository. When I heard two more shots, I said "let's get out of here". I looked towards the top of the terrace to my right as the sound of the shots seemed to come from that direction. I noted that the President's car had accelerated its speed and was fast closing the gap between us." (5-7-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H332-360) "I looked back to see how close the President's car was in making the turn...we were probably, oh, I would say, several car lengths ahead of it...so they called on the radio to the Trade Mart that we were about five minutes away. And it seemed like almost instantly after that the first shot was heard...I just said "What's that?" And turned around to look up on this terrace part there, because the sound sounded like it came from the back and up in that direction...Within about 3 seconds, there were two more similar reports. And I said "Let's get out of here" and looked back all the way back to where the President's car was, and I noticed some confusion, movement there, and the car just seemed to lurch forward." (8-26-64 and 9-24-64 interviews with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the first shot) "Most of the hunters in the motorcade--Sorrels, Connally, Yarborough, Gonzalez, Albert Thomas--instinctively identified it as rifle fire." **Analysis:** Sorrels' approximation of the distance between the cars and his grouping the second two shots together is indicative he heard them the same as by now should be expected. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Stavis Ellis was one of the motorcycle officers out in front of the lead car. (HSCA Vol. XII, p.23 "On August 5, 1978, the committee received information from former Dallas policeman Stavis Ellis that Ellis had also seen a missile hit the ground in the area of the motorcade... Ellis said he rode on a motorcycle alongside the first car...approximately 100 to 125 feet in front of the car carrying President Kennedy. Ellis said that just as he started down the hill of Elm Street, he looked back toward President Kennedy's car and saw debris come up from the ground at a nearby curb. Ellis thought it was a

fragment grenade. Ellis also said that President Kennedy turned around and looked over his shoulder. The second shot then hit him, and the third shot “blew his head up.” (The Kennedy Assassination Tapes, **1979**) Officer A “when the first shot was fired, I was looking directly at the President, and I saw the concrete burst into a cloud of dust when the bullet hit the curb. I noticed, too, that with the shot, some people started running in every direction, while several people hit the ground... Then while looking back at the President, I heard the second shot. The President became rigid and grabbed his neck. It also seemed like the limousine stopped or almost stopped, and agents from the following car started running toward the President’s limousine. The third shot hit the President in the head.” (No More Silence p.142-153, published **1998**) “Just as I turned around, then the first shot went off. It hit back there... I could see where the shot came into the south side of the curb. It looked like it hit concrete or grass there in just a flash, and a bunch of junk flew up like a white or gray color dust or smoke coming out of the concrete... I thought there had been some people hit back there as people started falling. I thought either some crank had thrown a big “Baby John” firecracker and scared them causing them to jump down or else a fragmentation grenade had hit all those people. In any case they went down! Actually I think they threw themselves down in anticipation of another shot. As soon as I saw that, I turned around and rode up beside the chief’s car and BANG!...BANG!, two more shots went off, three shots in all!” **Analysis:** Ellis is a poster child for Selective Attribution Syndrome. Both conspiracy theorists and lone nut theorists alike love to use his comments about seeing something hit the curb as evidence for a first shot miss. But they should read on. He says that as this happened people began running everywhere. That they began falling... He is therefore describing the head shot. What he saw hit the curb then was quite possibly the skull fragment observed flying through the air by Charles Brehm and later found in the street by Harry Holmes and A.D. McCurley. If this is so, and he was describing the head shot, then Ellis’s description of Kennedy reaching for his neck and the third shot striking the President in the head would appear to be more an assertion of what he believes happened, then what he saw happen. Sure enough, in Ellis’s statements to Larry Sneed in No More Silence, he admits he turned around after the first shot and therefore could not have seen what he is purported to have seen in Bowles’ book. His throwing in the “Bang Bang” at the end was probably poetic license but possibly a reflection that he did indeed hear one or two shots after the head shot. Not surprisingly, the Bell and Daniel films prove that Ellis was nowhere near the lead car at the time of the shots. **Heard no early shots. One or more shots possibly after the head shot.**

William Lumpkin rode beside Officer Ellis in front of the lead car. (The Kennedy Assassination Tapes, **1979**) Officer B. “At first I thought it was a motorcycle backfiring, as they were heating up. The first shot apparently missed the limousine as it hit the curb, not too far from where they (Mary Moorman and Jean Hill) were standing. The second and third shots hit the President from the rear. At the time, I was facing east on Elm with the grassy knoll to my immediate left, and the corner of the stockade fence was less than 100 feet away. I saw nothing on that hill that looked in any way suspicious. I’m absolutely positive that there were only three shots, that they all came from back up Elm Street from the right rear of the President’s limousine, and that no one was shot from the grassy knoll.” (No More Silence, p.154-161, published **1998**) “we had turned off of Main Street onto Houston for one block, then over to Elm Street, then turned back left, and we were stopped at the time before we heard the shots. When the shots occurred I thought it was a motorcycle backfiring. I heard three distinct bangs with none of them being together or anything like that. There’s been conflicting reports where all the noise came from. From where I was it was behind me... I thought it was a motorcycle backfiring at first, till I turned back and saw the commotion in the President’s convertible. I wasn’t sure at the time what it was, but it later turned out it was his wife on the back. Then Chaney rode up to Curry and probably told him that the President had been shot. We were still stopped at the time, and then Chief Curry comes on and says “Let’s go, boys!” We went under the triple underpass and took the entrance ramp to Stemmons Freeway.” **Analysis:** very, very disturbing. Lumpkin’s statements suggest

once again that the Kennedy Assassination Tapes was a dishonest book presenting deliberately distorted recollections of the assassination. (Was this why Bowles failed to identify his witnesses by name?) While in Bowles' book Lumpkin says that he was facing east by the grassy knoll when the shots were fired, and that the first shot "apparently" missed—which would seem to be his admission that this is what he heard from Ellis--and that the second and third shots hit the President from the rear, Lumpkin told Sneed that he only turned around after the last shot in time to see Jackie climbing out onto the trunk! As stated, the Bell and Daniel films prove that Lumpkin and Ellis were nowhere near the lead car when the shots rang out. That Bowles, who was the Communications Supervisor for the DPD, published such lies is disturbing. That soon after the publication of his book Bowles became Dallas County Sheriff is even more disturbing. **Too vague.**

So now we've looked at the statements of 55 witnesses on the south and east sides of the Plaza, and 69 more in the motorcade. Of these **124** witnesses, **25** made statements that were too vague to tell us how the shots were fired. Of the remaining 99, **63** made statements suggesting the first shot was heard at a time corresponding to the period between frames 190 and 224 of the Zapruder film, and that two closely bunched shots followed. Another **21** made statements indicating the first shot was heard at frame 190 or afterward. Another **4** witnesses heard four or more shots, **3** others heard a shot after the head shot, **2** heard a shot within three seconds of the head shot, and **1** more could only swear to hearing two shots. This leaves just **5** witnesses who made statements which can reasonably be interpreted as supporting the LPM scenario of a first shot miss, a three and a half second gap, a second shot, a five second gap, and a head shot. And the statements of all of these witnesses, after their statements have been compared to the photographic evidence, can be used to support other scenarios as well. (3 of them made statements suggesting the last shot was fired after the head shot.) Eugene Boone, the first witness whose statements we examined, therefore, is the only witness so far whose actions and statements remotely suggest the LPM scenario, and he reversed himself later. This means there are NO eyewitnesses as yet whose statements offer unclouded support for the LPM scenario of a first shot miss. The evidence for this shot is... appropriately enough...missing. On the other hand, there were 21 witnesses who made statements suggesting that the *last shot* missed. Those who base their acceptance of the LPM scenario on a single-assassin-minded interpretation of the actions of John Connally and Rosemary Willis in the Zapruder film, and fail to note that their acceptance of this theory puts them at odds with the statements and testimony of President Lyndon Johnson, First Lady Lady Bird Johnson, Senator Ralph Yarborough, Congressman George Mahon, Congressman Jim Wright, Congressman Henry Gonzalez, Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell, Dallas Chief of Police Jesse Curry, Dallas County Sheriff Bill Decker, numerous Secret Service agents, dozens of Dallas Police Officers, Dallas County Sheriff's Deputies, and Texas State Highway Patrolmen, *and* Governor John Connally himself, should be forced to go back to school...and read the Warren Report and its twenty-six volumes of supporting evidence... the very books many of them claim to be defending

Chapter 7: Pieces in the Plaza

A continuation of our look at the ear and eye witnesses, with a focus on those standing along Elm Street

Over the Underpass



Clock-wise, from the left corner, a photo by James Altgens, Zapruder frame 464, a frame from the Bell film, and a controversial frame from the Wiegman film.



For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Over the Underpass

Earle V. Brown was a Dallas police officer stationed on the south end of the railroad bridge over the Stemmons Freeway. He was not in Dealey Plaza itself but on an elevated platform 150 yards or so to the west of it, with an unobstructed view of the parking lot behind the stockade fence at the top of the grassy knoll. (12-23-63 FBI report on a **12-9-63** interview, CD205 p39) "He stated he heard the shots that killed President Kennedy, but did not see the shots take effect and stated he could not furnish any information which would assist in identifying the assassin. He advised that he believed he could smell gunpowder in the air on the overpass but believed it was probably brought there by the wind." (4-7-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H231-236) "the first I noticed the car was when it stopped...After it made the turn and when the shots were fired, it stopped." (When asked if it made a complete stop) "That I couldn't swear to." (When asked how many shots he heard) "Three." (When asked from where the shots came) "Well, they seemed high to me...I heard these shots and then I smelled this gunpowder...It come on it would be maybe a couple minutes later so--at least it smelled like it to me...It came it seemed the direction of that building, that Texas...School Book Depository." (7-15-64 signed statement to Dallas Police Department, 22H600) "I heard the shots and they seemed like they were coming high from the direction of the book depository building. There was a terrific echo." (11-09-83 AP article found in the Indiana Gazette) "I was down there early at about 10 a.m. and I had

this vision of a rifle sticking out of a window. It was very strange. Then I heard these shots," said Brown. "It was a premonition and it has always really shook me up when I think of it. It was like someone was trying to tell me something." About two hours later, Brown said, he heard shots and saw two or three puffs of white smoke wafting toward the bridge. The president, he said, was lying in his wife's lap as the car passed beneath him. "I still see that," he said." **Analysis:** as Brown associated the shots with the limo's stopping, and as the limo didn't slow to just before the head shot, it's hard to see how his testimony is consistent with a first shot miss, 8 seconds earlier. It's also intriguing that he chose to associate the shots with the depository building, when the grassy knoll was, from his presumed position, in line with the building. It just goes to show the power of suggestion. Still, **too vague. Saw Smoke. (On the knoll?)**

Atop the railroad bridge over Elm Street at the west of end of Dealey Plaza were a number of railroad men and police officers whose statements remain intriguing to this day.

S.M. Holland (11-22-63 statement to Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H480, 24H212) "the President's car was coming down Elm Street and when they got just about to the Arcade I heard what I thought for the moment was a fire cracker and he slumped over and I looked over toward the arcade and trees and saw a puff of smoke come over from the trees and I heard three more shots after the first one but that was the only puff of smoke I saw...After the first shot the President slumped over and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and tried to get over in the back seat to him and then the second shot rang out. After the first shot the secret service man raised up in the seat with a machine gun and then dropped back down in the seat. And they immediately sped off." (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p. 49-50) "The motorcycle escort and the lead car had passed underneath the underpass and the Presidential car was approximately forty to fifty yards away. He stated that he heard what he first believed to be a firecracker and then saw President Kennedy, who had just waved to the crowd on the President's left, crumple forward. Jacqueline Kennedy appeared to rise up in the rear seat and caught the President in her lap and then sat back down with the President's head face down in her lap. Simultaneously with the first shot, he stated he heard either three or four more shots fired together and saw Governor Connally, sitting directly in front of the President, fall forward...When the first shot was fired, Holland stated that a motorcycle officer behind the car stopped his motor ...One of the officers in the front seat of the Presidential car stood up with a machine gun...The only unusual thing that Holland could recall was an approximate one and one-half to two foot diameter of what he believed was gray smoke which appeared to him to be coming from the trees which would have been on the right of the presidential car but observed no one there or in the vicinity." (4-8-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H239-248) "the motorcade was coming down in this fashion, and the President was waving to the people on this side...And she (Jackie) was looking...in the southern direction...And about that time he went over like that(indicating) and put his hand up, and she was still looking off...(he) pulled forward and his hand just stood like that momentarily...His right hand; and that was the first report that I heard...it was a pretty loud report, and the car traveled a few yards, and Governor Connally turned in this fashion, like that (indicating) with his hand out, and another report...And another report rang out and he slumped down in his seat, and about that time Mrs. Kennedy was looking at these girls over here (indicating). The girls standing—now one of them was taking a picture...by the time she could get turned around, he was hit again along in—I'd say along in here (indicating)...It knocked him completely down on the floor. Over, just slumped completely over. I heard a third report and I counted four shots and about the same time all this was happening and in this group of trees...There was a shot, a report, I don't know whether it was a shot...And a puff of smoke came out about 6 or 8 feet above the ground right out from under those trees...you could see that puff of smoke, like someone had thrown a firecracker, or something out...It wasn't as loud as the previous reports or shots." (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 3-21-66) "The first bullet, the President slumped over, and Governor Connally made his turn to the right and then back to the left. And that's when the second shot was fired and knocked

him down to the floorboards...I saw that next bullet that struck the President because it flipped him over almost on his stomach, and the side of his head, and his head was laying on the edge of the seat. He was laying more on his stomach, and his foot was hanging out over the edge of the car upside down...I looked over to where I thought the shot came from and I saw a puff of smoke still lingering underneath the trees in front of the wooden fence. The report sounded like it came from behind the wooden fence...I know where that third shot came from...from behind the picket fence, close to the little plaza...there's no doubt in my mind, there's no doubt whatsoever in my mind and the statements that I made in the Sheriff's Office immediately after the shooting, and the statement that I made to the Warren Commission, I made it very plainly there was no doubt in my mind what there was definitely a shot fired from behind that picket fence. I made it plain to the Warren Commission and I think I made the same statement in the Sheriff's Office. There was a fourth shot." (When standing behind the picket fence on the grassy knoll, at a point about 15 feet from the corner, and asked if he saw the President's reaction to the third shot Holland suspected had been fired from behind the fence) "It knocked him over to his left, down into the car...away from here." (6-28-66 UPI article, found in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner) "Holland is certain that a separate shot came from beneath trees on a grassy knoll north and west of the depository building. At the time, he was standing on a railroad viaduct under which Elm Street passes. Looking straight ahead and down, he had one of the best views of any eyewitness. Holland says there were four separate shots. (The Warren report concludes there were three.) He says the first came from the book building and hit the President. The second came from the same place and hit Gov. John Connally riding in the same car.'The third shot came from behind the picket fence to the north of Elm Street. There was a puff of smoke under the trees there like someone had thrown out a Chinese firecracker and a report of a gun entirely different from the one which fired from the book building. I don't know whether it hit anything.' Holland said the fourth shot from the depository struck the President in the head, blowing away a large portion of his skull."

(11-22-66 UPI article, found in the Albuquerque Tribune) "There definitely was a shot fired from behind that fence," maintains S. M. Holland in regard to the assassination of President John Kennedy three years ago...He said in an interview yesterday that one and possibly two shots were fired at the motorcade from behind a wooden fence adjacent to the underpass and some 150 feet from where he was standing..."Four or five of us saw it, the smoke," Holland said. "One of my employees even saw the muzzle flash..."I was close enough to see it and hear it," Holland said. "And if you don't think you can see rifle smoke against a clump of trees, you're mistaken." He added that he is certain there were at least four shots fired, and perhaps five. "Now, the ones that came from up the street (the depository area) were quite a bit louder than the one from the fence. That's how I could tell they were from different rifles." (11-30-66 taped interview with Josiah Thompson, as recounted in Six Seconds in Dallas, 1967) (Thompson summarizes) "He told us of the shooting, of the motorcade swooping toward him as he stood on the railroad overpass, of the sound of the shots. Holland had heard four shots, not three, and the third and fourth were fired so close together that they sounded almost like a double shot." (On the first two shots) "The first shot, as I said, the first report that I heard, the President slumped over, similar to that, and his hands went up to his neck...And the Governor turned this...to his right, similar to this, then he turned like that, and that's when the Governor was shot...And I made the statement immediately after the assassination to the Warren Commission that he did turn to his right and his left and he was shot and hit by the second bullet. He definitely was not hit by the first shot...I know the Governor was hit by the second shot...I'm positive of that." (When asked the spacing of the first two shots) "about a second apart." (On the sound of the third shot, in comparison to others) "Well, it would be about like I was telling you awhile ago. It would be like you're firing a .38 pistol right beside a shotgun, or a .45 right beside a shotgun...One is not near as loud as the other...the third shot was not so loud; it was like it came from a .38 pistol, compared with a high-powered rifle...That's what drew my attention...The report of the third shot wasn't nearly as loud as the first and second shot or

the fourth shot." (When asked if the direction of the shot seemed different) "There was definitely a sound of direction where it was coming." (When asked about the spacing of shots three and four) "Well, like boom-boom...Pretty fast together. They weren't simultaneous, as we say, They were boom-boom. (When asked if the sound pattern could mean the shots were fired at the same time from different locations) "That's right. The sounds...The bullets travel faster than sound, but the report that I heard of the third one--I heard that before the fourth one, the fourth shot..The fourth resembled the first two. (When asked where the fourth one seemed to come from) "The upper end of the street...the north end of Houston Street...I could tell what direction they were being fired from, but I didn't know whether they were from a building, or whether it was from a street corner or the middle of the street. From where I was I couldn't tell because I was...the trees hid that part of...hid from me." (When asked which bullets hit the President) "Well, the third and fourth bullets hit the President." (When asked if he felt he'd been hit by both) "Well, I say this, the President fell over when the third and fourth shots were fired. Now whether he was caught in a crossfire or whether both of them hit him, I can't say." (When asked if he noticed any dust fly up from the pavement) "I didn't, and I was observing very close because that's what I was up here for." (When asked his opinion on shots three and four) "My opinion is that the third and fourth did, did hit the President...In the head." (When shown a photo and asked the location of the smoke he saw on the knoll, he marks the bottom of the trees just west of the steps) "Right under these trees, right at that exact spot, about ten or fifteen feet from this corner, the corner of the fence here, right under this tree, particular tree. It's that exact spot, right there...That's where it was...just like somebody had thrown a firecracker and left a little puff of smoke there; it was just laying there. It was a white smoke; it wasn't a black smoke or like a black powder. It was like a puff of a cigarette, but it was about nine feet off the ground. It would be just about in line with, or maybe just a little bit higher than that fence, but by the time it got out underneath the tree, well, it would be about eight or nine feet." (When asked about Clemon Johnson's suggestion the smoke seen by the railroad men came from a Dallas police motorcycle abandoned on the street after the shooting) "I saw the smoke before the motorcyclist left the street to go up there."

(Late 1966 Interview with Lawrence Schiller recounted in The Scavengers and the Critics of the Warren Report, published 1967) (When asked where the sound of the first shot came from) "Well, it came from the other end of Elm Street, up about the corner of Houston and Elm Street. I couldn't tell whether it was on the ground or whether it was up in the building." (When asked about the third shot) "Third and fourth were so close together. The third shot came from the fence." (When asked where he was looking at the time of the third shot) "My attention on the third and fourth shots was to my left, behind the picket fence, or over to the picket fence, and where I saw that puff of smoke coming from and heard the report. I couldn't swear that it was a rifle. It could have been a firecracker, but I don't think it was." (Interview with CBS broadcast **6-26-67**) "Just about the time the parade turned on Elm Street, about where that truck is - that bus is now, there was a shot came from up-the upper end of the street. I couldn't say then, at that time, that it came from the Book Depository book store. But I knew that it came from the other end of the street, and the President slumped over forward like that and tried to raise his hand up. And Governor Connally, sitting in front of him on the right side of the car, tried to turn to his right and he was sitting so close to the door that he couldn't make it that-a-way, and he turned back like that with his arm out to the left. And about that time, the second shot was fired and it knocked him over forward and he slumped to the right, and I guess his wife pulled him over in her lap because he fell over in her lap. And about that time, there was a third report that wasn't nearly as loud as the two previous reports. It came from that picket fence, and then there was a fourth report. The third and the fourth reports was almost simultaneously. But, the third report wasn't nearly as loud as the two previous reports or the fourth report. And I glanced over underneath that green tree and you see a - a little puff of smoke. It looked like a puff of steam or cigarette smoke. And the smoke was about - oh, eight or ten feet off the ground, and about fifteen feet this side of that tree."

(3-25-68 interview with Barry Ernest recounted in *The Girl on the Stairs*, published 2011) "As the motorcade approached in the middle lane of Elm, I heard four shots, the first two sounded like they were behind the president with that shot from the knoll being different from the rest.' When I asked what he meant by 'different,' he said it sounded 'I don't know, just different than the others, like it was a pistol, or a different type of rifle or something. The third and fourth shots were very close together, almost at exactly the same second.' Holland said his eyes were focused on Kennedy when 'the second, or possibly the third shot' caused the president's head to 'suddenly lurch backward.' At that moment, he said, his attention was immediately drawn to the left, straight at the far corner of the wooden fence on top of the knoll, where he felt that shot, the 'different' shot, had originated. 'And I saw a puff of smoke come out from that corner and it just didn't hang there but it slowly drifted out under the trees and over the grassy area toward the street below.' The smoke, he added, traveled out about 20 feet from the fence and was located slightly behind a large tree on the knoll." (8-2-68 re-enactment of Holland's actions on 11-22 with Barry Ernest in Dealey Plaza, as recounted in *The Girl on the Stairs*, 2011) "Holland said he watched as the wounded president passed directly beneath him into the Triple Underpass. He had seen a puff of smoke when Kennedy was shot in the head... In just under a minute, we had reached the corner of the fence where Holland said he'd seen smoke. I noticed during our entire reenactment that Holland had kept his eyes glued to his final destination. I asked if he had done the same thing on November 22. 'I did,' he replied. 'As soon as I could get a full view of that corner, my eyes were on it.' 'What did you see?' 'Nothing,' he said." **Analysis:** it's easy to see why Holland is so popular with conspiracy theorists. He said there were four shots and that at least one of them came from the stockade fence. The problem is he doesn't have a lot of credibility. Over the years his story kept getting better and better, incorporating bits of Connally's testimony, adding in juicy details like Kennedy's foot hanging over the side of the car—something he could only have seen in a newspaper. Still, if one goes by Holland's earliest statements, where he says he saw Jackie get up from her seat after the *first* shot, and notes that he mentioned the smoke in the trees from the get-go, it's hard to completely dismiss what he was saying. The man saw smoke in the trees and heard at least one shot after the head shot. **Heard four shots? Last two shots probably bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot). Saw smoke on the knoll.**

Austin Miller (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H485, 24H217) "I saw a convertible automobile turn west on Elm off Houston Street. It had proceeded about halfway from Houston Street to the underpass when I heard what sounded like a shot a short second two more sharp reports. A man in the back seat slumped over and a woman in a bright colored dress (Orange or Yellow) grabbed the man and yelled. One shot apparently hit the street past the car. I saw something which I thought was smoke or steam coming from a group of trees north of Elm off the railroad tracks." (12-18-63 FBI report, CD205 p.27-28) "He saw an open top limousine containing people turn left off of Houston, driving west directly in front of the Texas School Book Depository. He heard three shots and also noticed a powder dust spray in the street directly to the driver's side and rear of the car...It was his first impression that the noise of the shots was a motorcycle backfire or firecrackers....he saw someone fall forward but could not tell who was in the car." (4-8-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H223-227) "it came down Main Street and turned North on Houston Street and went over two blocks and turned left on Elm. Got about halfway down the hill toward the underpass and that is when as far as I can recall the first shot was fired...I thought at first the motorcycle backfiring or somebody threw some firecrackers out...just a few seconds later, there was two more shots fired or, or sounded like a sound at the time...it was after that I saw some man in a car fall forward, and a woman next to him grab him and hollered, and just what, I don't know exactly what she said...About that time I turned to look toward the - there is a little plaza sitting on the hill. I looked over there to see if anything was there, who threw the firecracker or whatever it was, or see if anything was up there, and there wasn't nobody standing there, so I stepped back and looked at the tracks to see if anybody run

across the railroad tracks, and there was nobody running across the railroad tracks. So I turned right straight back just in time to see the convertible take off fast..." (When asked from where he thought the shots came) "the way it sounded like, it came from the, I would say right there in the car." (8-1-68 interview with Barry Ernest as recounted in *The Girl On The Stairs*, 2011) (When asked about the smoke) "He said it definitely was smoke he saw 'around the trees in the corner of the picket fence on the grassy knoll.' (When asked if it could have been exhaust) 'No,' he firmly replied. Miller said he felt there had been three shots, that he saw the smoke just as he heard the third shot." (11-09-83 AP article found in the *Indiana Gazette*) "Miller, a railyard worker in 1963, had walked over to Elm Street on his lunch-break and was looking right at Kennedy "when shots began to crackle." - - - At first he didn't realize what was happening, he said. But when he saw a Secret Service agent jump onto the back of Kennedy's limousine, he knew. "I've tried to forget all I could of it, but I still remember most of it," said Miller, 25 at the time. "I guess you never forget it." Miller said he has told very few of his friends and co-workers that he was there when Kennedy was killed." **Analysis:** Miller heard the first shot after Z-190, and the last two shots bunched together. He also saw smoke in the trees. His contention that a shot was fired past the limo, when coupled with the FBI report's mentioning that this shot hit behind the car, might be taken to mean that he thought the shots were coming from the knoll. But when one considers Miller's view of the limousine, and that the limousine was on a descent throughout the Plaza, it seems more likely this "dust spray" was the cloud created by the explosion of Kennedy's skull. This cloud exploded upwards and to the left of Kennedy. That Miller notes Kennedy's falling over but doesn't note the explosion of his skull makes this all the more likely. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together. Saw smoke on the knoll.**

Royce Skelton (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 16H496) "We saw the motorcade come around the corner and I heard something which I thought was fireworks. I saw something hit the pavement at the left rear of the car, then the car got in the right hand lane and I heard two more shots. I heard a woman say "Oh, no" or something and grab a man inside the car. I then heard another shot and saw the bullet hit the pavement. The concrete was knocked to the south away from the car. It hit the pavement in the left or middle lane." (12-18-63 FBI report, CD205 p.26) "Mr. Skelton noticed that as an open top limousine turned on Elm Street, it had moved approximately one hundred feet at which time he noticed dust spray up from the street in front of the car on the driver's side. This dust spray came from the direction of the Texas School Book Depository building. A few seconds later, he heard what he believed to be three shots." (4-8-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H236-238) "Just about the same time the car straightened out—got around the corner—I heard two shots, but I didn't know at the time they were shots... It sounded like they were right there more or less like motorcycle backfire, but I thought they were these dumbballs that they throw at the cement because I could see the smoke coming up off the cement (when asked how many shots) "I thought I heard four—I mean—I couldn't be sure...after those two shots, and the car came on down closer to the triple underpass, well, there was another shot—two more shots I heard, but one of them—I saw a bullet, or I guess it was a bullet...hit in the left front of the President's car on the cement, and when it did, the smoke carried with it—away from the building." **Analysis:** while Skelton's story morphed over only a few months, with the supposed missed shot impacting first behind the limo then in front, we can take a few of the things he said and run with them. In his initial statement he said he heard something that sounded like fireworks. He then mentions seeing something hit the street. As a bullet travels much faster than the speed of sound, whatever he saw hit the street was not related to this first sound. (When studying the words of the railroad men it's important to remember they were 500 feet or so away from the sniper's nest, and would hear any shot from that location a half second or so after it was fired, in which time the limousine would have traveled 8-10 feet.) As we saw with Austin Miller, he makes no specific references to the head shot, leaving us to suspect the explosion he saw was somehow related to the head shot. **Heard four shots? Last two (or more) shots bunched together**

(with one or more shots after the head shot). Saw smoke. (But thought it was coming off the street.)

Frank Reilly (12-19-63 FBI report, CD205 p.29) “He saw two cars turn on Elm toward the underpass and at this time heard three shots which he thought came from the trees west of the Texas School Book Depository.” **(4-8-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H227-231) (When asked if he saw the motorcade) “not until it turned and started to come under the underpass.” (When asked how many shots he heard) “three shots...It seemed to me like they come out of the trees...on the North side of Elm Street at the corner up there...it’s at that park where all the shrubs is up there—it’s to the north of Elm Street—up the slope.” **Analysis:** Reilly’s Warren Commission testimony is difficult to understand. Did he mean the trees in front of the depository building? If so, why didn’t he make reference to the building? Fortunately, the FBI report exists to tell us which trees he was talking about. Perhaps the “corner” Reilly was referring to was the corner of the stockade fence. While many interpret his statement that the shots came out of the trees to mean he saw smoke, that’s probably going too far. **Too vague. Saw smoke. (On the knoll?)**

George Davis (3-18-64 FBI report, 22H837) “Shortly after the motorcycle escort and Presidential car came into view and was at a point just east of the viaduct, Mr. Davis heard a sound which he described as similar to firecrackers exploding. All shots were very close together and he stated it was impossible for him to determine the number of shots. He stated his first impression was that someone had played a prank, but then he saw guns in the hands of the Secret Service Agents with President Kennedy, saw President Kennedy slumped forward, and the police motorcycle escort maneuver swiftly about the area, and he realized it was not a prank.” **Analysis:** as he says all the shots were very close together, it sounds like he’s describing the bunching of the last two shots, and perhaps their echoes. **Did not hear a shot as early as frame 160. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Clemon Johnson (3-18-64 FBI report, 22H836) “He stated he first realized something was wrong when the motorcycles began moving from their regular course and at or just before this he heard sounds that could have been shots. Mr. Johnson stated at that time he did not know that it was shots and he could not state how many shots he heard. His attention remained on the vehicle carrying President Kennedy and he observed this car until it sped away. Mr. Johnson stated that white smoke was observed near the pavillion, but he felt that this smoke came from a motorcycle abandoned near this spot by a Dallas policeman.” **(11-09-83** AP article found in the Indiana Gazette) “Like dozens of other witnesses to the assassination, Johnson was called to testify before the Warren Commission. He told what he saw, which was little. He said he was ‘within throwing distance’ of Kennedy when the shots were fired and the Warren Commission grilled us as if we had done it. ‘I never like to talk about it,’ he said of having seen the incident. ‘I always just try to ignore talking about it, because to me it was a sad event, not what we thought it would be — just see the president come along and that’d be it.” (No More Silence, p.79-83, published **1998**) “The President was headed toward the underpass at the time the shots went off. First, you think of firecrackers going off, then, when you see all the motorcycles buzzing around, falling down, turning around, and running into one another, then you could plainly see that the President’s head was shot off...you could tell that the whole top of his head was probably missing...I heard maybe three shots. I know two plainly... You could tell it was a rifle...The car they were in...you could see it speed up and then stop, then speed up, and you could see it stop while they threw Mrs. Kennedy back up in the car...I didn’t have any idea where the shots came from, not even a guess...I did see smoke, lots of puffs of smoke, but I was of the opinion that the smoke was coming out of those motorcycles. The smoke was coming up off the ground out where the motorcycles were, not on the grassy knoll.” **Analysis:** his reference to the motorcycles moving from their regular course is a reference to Chaney and Jackson’s braking after the head shot. Here, once again, we have a witness from the bridge whose statements indicate he heard at least two shots beginning around the time of the

head shot. If there had been 5 second gaps between these shots he would have had not said “just before or after” and would have had an idea how many shots he heard. His offered explanation for the smoke seen on the knoll doesn’t fly because Officer Haygood, who parked his bike on the street by the knoll, never reached the knoll until Kennedy’s limousine was long gone. **Probably heard only two shots. Did not hear a shot as early as frame 160. Last two shots probably bunched together. Saw smoke. (But thought it was coming off the street.)**

Walter Winborn (3-18-64 FBI report, 22H833) “As the motorcycle escort and the vehicle carrying the president approached the viaduct, Mr. Winborn heard three distinct shots ring out...his attention remained on President Kennedy. He stated, however, that the shots sounded as if they all came from the same area.” (3-17-65 interview by Barbara Bridges, as noted in Best Evidence, published 1980) “there was a lot of smoke...from out of the trees, to the left.” (5-5-66 interview with Stewart Galanor, transcript on history-matters.com) “I just saw some smoke coming out in a—a motorcycle patrolman leaped off his machine and go up towards that smoke that come out from under the trees on the right hand side of the motorcade...There was a wooden fence there.” (When asked if he told the FBI about the smoke) “Oh yes. Oh yes.” **Analysis:** as he says the vehicle was *approaching* the viaduct, his words seem more in line with the first shot coming after frame 160. **Probable first shot 190-224. Saw smoke on the knoll.**

Richard Dodd (3-18-64 FBI report, 22H835) “when the motorcycle escort and the automobile carrying President Kennedy approached the area where he was standing his attention was directed on President Kennedy...he saw president Kennedy slump forward and simultaneously heard shots ring out. He stated he did not know how many shots were fired, but that the sounds were very close together.” (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 3-24-66) “We all, three or four of us, seen about the same thing, the shot, the smoke came from behind the hedge on the north side of the Plaza. And a motorcycle policeman dropped his motorcycle in the street with a gun in his hand and run up the embankment to the hedge.” **Analysis:** heard *shots* ring out as Kennedy slumped forward, which almost certainly means the head shot. If he was describing an earlier shot, why would he fail to mention witnessing the head shot? **Did not hear an early shot. Last two shots bunched together. Saw smoke on the knoll.**

Nolan Potter (3-19-64 FBI report, 2H834) “when the President’s car...had driven past the Texas School Book Depository Building, he heard three loud reports which sounded like firecrackers. He then saw President Kennedy slump over in his car...Potter said he recalls seeing smoke in front of the Texas School Book Depository rising above the trees.” **Analysis:** from the railroad bridge looking up Elm, the knoll was just to the left of the school book depository. A puff of smoke coming out from the knoll would rise up above the trees in front of the depository. Or was saying the trees were *in front* of the school book depository simply an FBI mistake? As he said the car had driven past the school book depository, a shot as early as frame 160 seems unlikely. **First shot 190-224. Saw smoke. (On the knoll?)**

James Simmons (3-19-64 FBI report, 22H833) “stated when the President’s car started down Elm Street he heard three shots ring out. President Kennedy slumped forward in his seat and appeared to have been hit by a bullet...he recalled that a motorcycle policeman drove up the grassy slope toward the Texas School Book Depository Building, jumped off his motorcycle and then ran up the hill toward the Memorial Arches. Simmons said he thought he saw exhaust fumes of smoke near the embankment in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building.” (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 3-28-66) “As the presidential limousine was rounding the curve on Elm Street, there was a loud explosion... it sounded like a loud firecracker or a gunshot, and it sounded like it came from the left and in front of us toward the wooden fence. And there was a puff of smoke that came underneath the trees on the embankment. It was right directly in front of the wooden fence.” (2-15-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) (When asked what he heard as the limo approached) “I heard three loud reports I presumed to be

shots." (When asked where the limousine was at the time of the first shot) "It had, it was about one-third of the way or maybe half-way between the Depository and the Overpass." (When asked Kennedy's response) "Well, I don't remember exactly -- it was between the first or second or thereabouts and he turned to his left and threw his hands up." (When asked Kennedy's response to the third) "Well, he fell and there was matter and a halo of blood." (When asked which way he fell) "To his left". (When asked what the limousine did then) "It paused and then accelerated real fast after the motorcycle got out the way." (When asked where the red halo appeared to be) "To the left side of his head." (When asked where the matter went) "It went over the side of the car...The left side." (When asked if he noticed anything unusual in the area of the grassy knoll when the second and third shots were fired) "Well, after I heard the shots I looked to see if I could see where they were coming from and underneath the trees up on the grassy knoll by the fence I detected what appeared to be a puff of smoke or wisp of smoke." (When asked again about the red halo) "Well, it looked just like the top of his head blew off and went up in the air." (When asked the direction in which the halo moved) "Like I said, it seemed to go out the left side of the car...Well, the matter." (When asked if the halo was in front of the President) "Well, it seemed to be over his head." (When asked if he saw anything hit the curb) "After the first shot I was screening the area to see if I could see where they were coming from and there was, it looked like dust particles fly in the air from something that had hit the curb or street." (When asked from where he heard the shots) "from in front...the sound was to the left of me." (When asked if this is the direction of the school book depository as well as the grassy knoll) "It is." **Analysis:** it appears the FBI made a similar "mistake" in their report on Simmons as they did in their report on Potter. Once again, it is purported that something that probably took place on the knoll took place in front of the school book depository. Haygood parked his bike near the grassy slope by the knoll; it seems very doubtful Simmons would say he drove it toward the school book depository. His Shaw trial testimony clears up matters some. His description of Kennedy turning to his left is a description of what one sees in the Zapruder film after Z-224. **First shot hit 190-224. Saw smoke on the knoll.**

Ewell Cowsert (3-19-64 FBI report, 22H836) "just as President Kennedy's car passed the Texas School Book Depository he heard two or three shots ring out and saw President Kennedy slump forward in his seat....he has no idea where the shots came from." **Analysis:** as the shots are mentioned together and as occurring after the car had passed the school book depository, Cowsert probably heard the last two shots bunched together. **Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Curtis Bishop (3-19-64 FBI report, 22H834): (He said that) "when President Kennedy's car came into view he started down Elm Street past the Texas School Book Depository Building. He heard three shots ring out. He then saw President Kennedy slump over as if he had been hit." **Analysis:** while his statement that 'he then saw' President Kennedy slump might be taken as an indication that there were no shots after the head shot, it's unclear how closely he was watching the President at this time. **Too vague.**

Thomas Murphy (3-20-64 FBI report, 22H835) "Murphy said they watched President Kennedy's limousine turn down Elm Street past the Texas School Book Depository and start towards them. He stated he then heard what sounded like two shots and he saw President Kennedy and Governor Connally slump in their seats. Murphy said in his opinion that these shots came from just west of the Texas School Book Depository." (5-6-66 interview with Stewart Galanor, transcription on history-matters.com) (When asked how many shots he heard) "More than three." (When asked where the shots came from) "they come from a tree to the left, of my left, which is to the immediate right of the site of the assassination...on the hill up there. There are two or three hackberry and elm trees. And I say it come from there." (When asked if he saw smoke) "Yeah, smoke...in that tree." **Analysis:** as he failed to mention a missed shot or a head shot, the shot where he saw Kennedy slump would most probably be the head shot. Since he failed to mention a gap between these shots, he probably heard the last two

shots closely bunched together. His adding in additional shots for Galanor could reflect his adjusting his story to match Holland's. On the other hand, maybe the FBI misunderstood him two years earlier. **Heard four shots? Last two shots possibly bunched together. Saw smoke on the knoll.**

J.W. Foster was the Dallas police officer on top of the railroad bridge. (12-4-63 signed statement to the Dallas Police Department, CD1259 p18) "After the motorcade turned from Houston Street to Elm Street, I was watching the railroad employees very closely so that I would be in a position to prevent any incident. When I heard the shots I was standing directly behind these railroad employees and I then moved to the railroad overpass banister to see what was happening. I then saw the President slumping over in the car and other persons falling down in the grass in the vicinity of the President's car. The President's car and a couple of other cars left the scene immediately at a high rate of speed with a motorcycle escort. I then observed some officers running toward the building on the northeast corner of Elm and Houston. I immediately ran towards the same building and assisted in blocking off the building." (3-26-64 FBI report, CD897 p.20-21) "Just as the vehicle in which President Kennedy was riding reached a point on Elm Street just east of the underpass, Patrolman Foster heard a noise that sounded like a large firecracker...he realized something was wrong because of the movement of the President. Another report was heard by Patrolman Foster and about the same time the report was heard, he observed the President's head appear to explode, and immediately thereafter, he heard a third report which he knew was a shot." (4-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H248-253) "After he came onto Elm...I heard a loud noise, sounded like a large firecracker. Kind of dumbfounded at first, and then heard the second one. I moved to the banister of the overpass to see what was happening. Then the third explosion." (When asked what he saw happening) "Saw the President slump over in the car, and his head looked just like it blew up." (No More Silence p.211-214, published 1998) "When they got about halfway between Houston and the Triple Underpass, I heard three distinct, evenly spaced shots. I could see into the car but couldn't really determine anything...all I could tell about the shots was that they all sounded about the same, and they came from back toward Elm and Houston Streets. None of them came from the grassy knoll." **Analysis:** over the years, Foster "corrected" his recollections of what he saw in order to avoid controversy. He initially acknowledged running towards the Dal-Tex Building. He initially believed he heard a shot after the head shot. He then side-stepped these statements in his Warren Commission testimony. By the time he talked to Snead for No More Silence, he was playing stupid. Even so, his placement of the limousine at the time of the first shot is in conflict with the LPM scenario. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

The statements of these men were known to the Warren Commission. Eleven of them saw or smelled smoke in the moments after the shooting. That they not only saw smoke, but reported it to Sheriff's deputies charging into the railroad yards after the shooting, is confirmed, furthermore, by the reports on the shooting of Deputy Sheriffs A.D. McCurley (19H514) and J.L. Oxford (19H530). Although a few of those seeing smoke thought this smoke came from the motorcycles and/or the impact of a bullet on the street, such smoke was not noted by others closer to the action. As a result it seems possible that, in looking down on the action, they'd confused smoke in front of the limo with smoke behind it. In any event, the bulk of these witnesses thought they'd seen smoke, and thought it had come from the direction of the stockade fence or grassy knoll. Were they hallucinating? The debate continues. The railroad men themselves, mostly conservative types, were convinced they saw smoke, and were among the first conspiracy theorists. They risked ostracism in their hometown by refusing to go along with the official story that Oswald acted alone. Undoubtedly, they behaved admirably. But were they right?

There are frames in the Wiegman film and Zapruder film that convince me they were. In these frames, one can see what looks like a puff of smoke hovering in the trees. While one can easily see such things once one starts looking for them, and fool oneself, the fact is there are no other apparent puffs of smoke

in the Zapruder film besides the one seen in the reddish tree by the stockade fence as the limousine heads for the underpass. Furthermore, that there appears to be smoke in the trees in the Wiegman film, at exactly this same time, seems too great a coincidence.

Should one need further convincing, one should consider the words of Ed Johnson, a reporter riding in the motorcade press bus. In an 11-23-63 article in the Fort Worth Star Telegram, he wrote "Some of us saw little puffs of white smoke that seemed to hit the grassy area in the esplanade that divides Dallas' main downtown streets." (Source: history-matters.com)

Under the Overpass

John Dolan (12-18-63 FBI report, CD205 p.32) "he was stopped at the eastern edge of the triple viaduct...he got out of his car and stood at the base of the triple viaduct...the Presidential motorcade came into view and from where he stood he could hear three shots fired at the Presidential car...He advised he did not see where these shots came from." **Analysis: too vague.**

James Tague (12-16-63 FBI report, CD205 p31) "was stopped in traffic at the Triple Underpass...He stood near the curb of Main Street waiting for the motorcade...When the motorcade was approximately 100 feet from him he heard a loud noise, and at that time he looked around as he thought someone had shot a firecracker. He then heard two more loud noises in quick succession...During the time of the shooting he felt something hit him on the right cheek...He thought that possibly one of the bullets had hit the curb near his feet and possibly a piece of the curbing had hit him on the cheek... He did not see the shots take effect and stated he could not furnish any information as to where the shots actually came from." (Interview in the Dallas Times Herald, **6-5-64**) "There was that first shot, then the second and the third. Some time, I think it was the second shot, a bullet--I'm sure it was a bullet--hit the curb in front of me and I felt a sting on my cheek." (**7-23-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H552-558) "I was standing there watching, and really I was watching to try to distinguish the President and his car. About this time I heard what sounded like a firecracker. Well, a very loud firecracker. It certainly didn't sound like a rifle shot. It was more of a loud cannon-type sound. I looked around to see who was throwing firecrackers or what was going on and I turned my head away from the motorcade and, of course, two more shots." (When asked if he saw the President hit) "I did not" (When asked which shot hit him) "maybe the second or third shot, I couldn't tell you definitely" (When asked if he heard any shots after he was hit) "I believe I did...I believe it was the second shot, so I heard the third shot afterwards. (When asked where he thought the shots came from) "my first impression was that up by the, whatever you call the monument...somebody was throwing firecrackers up there." (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed **March, 1966**) "Right after the presidential car had turned the corner, I heard these three loud noises...My first impression was that they had come from the left of us...somewhere towards the wooden fence." (First person account published in the National Enquirer, **4-7-68**) "One of the limousines made the sharp turn into Elm Street and fluttering hands from the curb identified it as the President's car. But my eyes never had a chance to seek out Kennedy. There was a loud report, a sharp sudden crackle of sound that seemed to linger in the air. A gunshot, I thought, but not necessarily from a rifle. It passed fleetingly in my mind that perhaps there was some disturbance in the crowd and an eager-beaver officer had fired a warning shot in the air. But the sound didn't seem exactly right for that. There had to be some other explanation. My gaze swept over the rows of faces on the distant curb. Then it darted on to the grassy slope, taking in the masonry which had spectators perching on it or leaning against it. Restlessly, I moved a step or two. One foot struck the metallic cover of a sewer manhole. Then there was a second blast, louder and even more distinct, as if from closer range. At that instant I was facing the gazebo. My attention was so caught up that I was only dimly aware of a stinging sensation in my right cheek. Then a third report followed quickly, not waiting--as the second one had--until the previous one died away...(Tague's summation) "The other wounded survivor of the Dealey Plaza shooting, Governor Connally, is reported to be satisfied with the one-

sniper theory. I am not." (Interview in The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast **1988**) "When the first shot, which I thought was a firecracker, happened--then I heard two more--I ducked behind the triple underpass." (**1-19-92** interview with Gerald Posner, reported in Case Closed, 1993) (When asked which shot hit the curb) "I actually can't tell you which one. I could try to pick one, but through the years have maintained accuracy. I don't know which one hit me."

(Article by William Goggins available on the website of John McAdams, making repeated reference to a **5-6-97** interview with Tague) (On the first shot) "In an interview with the author, Tague explained that it was a "flat sound", whereas the other two were sharp "cracks" which sounded like a true rifle shot." (On what he did after the third shot) "He told the author he "did what anyone would do. I scanned the area to see what was going on" (On Posner's quoting him in Case Closed) "After personally interviewing James Tague, he made it aware to me that he was misquoted in Posner's book. Tague told me that it was not the first shot that caused his wound. He told the author in an interview that "something made me jump back behind the abutment, and that's why I think it was the second one (shot)." (No More Silence, p.109-115, published **1998**) "When I heard the first shot, I thought somebody had thrown a firecracker and was standing there wondering what had happened. Then I heard another sound which was a little different. The third shot sounded the same as the second...I could not honestly tell from where the shots had originated, but the first shot I found the most interesting." (**3-30-99** oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum) I was looking in the general direction toward the School Book Depository. The first noise had a firecracker sound, which I am one of many witnesses to that. It was a pop. I want to be very emphatic about that. I grew up on a farm. I've handled rifles, and I grew up with a rifle in my hands. I know what a rifle shot sounds like, and I know what a firecracker sounds like. The first shot was very clearly like the sound of a firecracker. My first thought was, "Oh, God, somebody is throwing firecrackers with the President going by." Then I heard the crack of a rifle, and it caught my attention and then the crack of another shot." (Truth Withheld, **2003**) "I stood there wondering what was going on when a limousine emerged from this crowd and headed down Elm Street toward where I was standing... My thoughts were quickly broken by the pop of a firecracker and I recall thinking "What kind of idiot would be setting off a firecracker with the President driving by?"... That thought was soon interrupted by the crack of a high-powered rifle shot, and then almost immediately the crack of a second high-powered rifle shot. It was then that something stung me in the face... One thing that I have always been positive of is that the first shot was not the shot that hit the curb near me... The first shot sounded like a firecracker." (Interview on Fox News Channel program JFK: Case Not Closed, broadcast **11-2003**) "I heard a pop. And my first thought was 'Who in the world is throwing a firecracker with the President driving by?' Then I heard the crack crack of two rifle shots." (Interview within **11-22-03** WBAP radio program found on Youtube) "I heard a firecracker go off. What kind of fool is throwing firecrackers when the President's driving by." (Interview on Nightflight radio, **11-18-09**) "I heard what I thought was the pop of a firecracker and the thought went through my mind 'What kind of an idiot would be throwing firecrackers with the president going by'... Then there was a delay. It were about three seconds, and then the crack-crack of two rifle shots... one right after the other. (When asked if he could tell from where the shots had been fired) "Not really. From where I stood, the line of fire--it could have been from anywhere--the Dal-Tex Building, the school book depository, or the grassy, it could have been any one of the three... (When asked if it could have come from his right) "No there wasn't anything coming from my right. It was all straight ahead and to the left." (Interview in JFK: The Lost Bullet, broadcast **11-20-11**) "So somebody throws a firecracker. I thought. It turned out it was the first shot. There's a pause, and then the crack-crack of two rifle shots. After the third shot, I ducked back behind the concrete for protection." (**11-22-11** e-mail from Tague posted by Jim Pomerville on the JFK Assassination Forum website, 12-2-11) (On Max Holland's theory the first shot missed more than six full seconds before the second shot, and was the bullet causing the wound on Tague's cheek--the theory tested in JFK: The Lost Bullet) "Holland is

full of crap. One thing I know for sure is that the first shot was not the missed curb shot. Another thing I am positive about is that the last shot was the missed shot. You may not want to believe the Warren Commission's final findings, but you can believe the 11 witnesses who state it was the last shot that missed. Only one witness thought it was the first shot that missed, that was Virgie Rachley... "

Analysis: Tague's statements that the second and third shots came in quick succession are in opposition to the currently-popular scenario. Since Tague initially believed he was hit by the second shot, and since he was standing in line with a shot fired from the sniper's nest at the moment of the head shot, his statements are also consistent with his being hit by a fragment of the head shot bullet. In his book, *Truth Withheld*, he concludes that yes indeed he was hit by the second shot. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Up Close and Personal



Above: Z-369, with the Franzen family in the background, along with an unidentified witness.



Above: Z-345, with, from L to R, Richard Bothun (with camera), James Altgens (with camera) and Malcolm Summers (diving to the ground).



Above: a frame from the Muchmore film, showing Emmett Hudson and two unidentified witnesses standing on the steps.



Above: the Willis photo, with Abraham Zapruder and Marilyn Sitzman on the pedestal behind the Stemmons sign

Up Close and Personal

In this section we will meet some of the closest bystanders to witness Kennedy's assassination. We will work our way east from those closest the railroad bridge, occasionally jumping from the south to the north side of the street and then back again.

Jack Franzen, his wife, and son, can be seen in the Zapruder film on the south side of Elm as the limousine races for the underpass. (11-24-63 FBI report, 22H840) "He said he heard the sound of an explosion which appeared to him to come from the President's car and noticed small fragments flying inside the car and immediately assumed someone had tossed a firecracker inside the automobile. He

heard a second and third and possibly a fourth explosion and recognized these sounds as shots fired from some firearm. At the same time he noticed blood appearing on the top and sides of the head of President Kennedy.” (Family interview recorded **6-18-97** available online) “so we walked on down to the grassy area, just short of the triple underpass... We had a ball and Jeff and I were tossing the ball back and forth and a few people came along... and we moved further west down the hill. Right across from a little people station or something there on the north side of Elm. And, sure enough, you could then start hearing some noise to our east and directly, the cars came down Main... About that time, the Presidential car was turning the corner right there at the School Book Depository, and almost came to a stop as it turned the corner... and about that time there were two explosions. They sounded like fireworks and - to my memory - there were some kind of feathers or confetti or something, uh, stirred around the car. The limousine driver and the guy in the front seat almost - momentarily - stopped the car and he turned his head and everything was alright, so he turned back and proceeded to come on down toward us. The car was moving very slowly. Then there was another explosion - seemed to me like it was maybe 200 feet from the corner. And it didn’t register, exactly. But the car kept coming and picking up a little speed. Then, we were right there at the car - maybe 25 feet from it. Connally appeared to be bending over - in retrospect, he’d probably been hit. Nell was looking at him. At just about that time, another explosion and, you could just see Kennedy’s head - his forehead - literally explode. Whatever hit him, I would feel, hit from the back...for his blood and brain matter went forward. His body went forward...and to his left. And he was sitting on Jackie’s right. As it went forward and to the left, there was a lot of gore and he kind of fell over onto Jackie and she jumped up. Almost got her knees or feet on the seat rather than on the floor; about that same instant the driver turned his head around and saw that Kennedy was a mess.” **Analysis:** since the confetti shot would seem to be the head shot, Franzen’s earliest statements would indicate he heard the head shot first, and multiple shots afterwards. It seems likely from this he actually heard the last two shots bunched together and then echoes, much as Sam Holland and Royce Skelton. Franzen’s more recent statements are even more confusing. Now he remembers the confetti shot *and* a head shot. He remembers Greer stopping after the confetti shot but then continuing to drive slowly because everything was “alright.” **Did not hear an early shot. Last two (or more) shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Mrs. Jack Franzen (11-25-63 FBI report, 24H525) “She advised shortly after the President’s automobile passed by on Elm Street near where she and her family were standing, she heard a noise which sounded to her to as if someone had thrown a firecracker into the President’s automobile. She advised at approximately the same time she noticed dust or small pieces of debris flying from the President’s automobile. She advised she heard two other sounds which sounded like shots from a firearm and noticed blood appearing on the side of President Kennedy’s head...She advised the President’s automobile continued on down Elm Street at a higher rate of speed.” (**12-11-63** Airtel from Dallas FBI as a response to a Bureau Airtel of 12-6--apparently they sought some clarification--FBI Headquarters File 102-82555, Sec 27, p41) "She recalled hearing the shots, thinking at the time that the first was a firecracker, and noticed blood appear on the side of the President's head...She recalled that after the President's car sped away, she observed police officers and plain-clothes men searching an area adjacent to the TSBD Building and assumed the shots came from that area." **Analysis:** Mrs. Franzen confirms her husband’s initial impression. As the Franzens did not comment on the explosion of Kennedy’s skull, only “blood appearing on the side” of his head, it should be clear the confetti shot was the head shot. **Did not hear an early shot. Last two (or more) shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Jeff Franzen (December 1999 BBC interview) “You could hear the noise of the crowd start to reach a little more of a crescendo, and it was obvious something was getting closer. So we all stopped and my mother and father and I came close to the street. And you could actually see one of the first cars of the

parade and the motorcycle policemen come around the corner. And then the main limousine, carrying the President and the then Governor of Texas, John Connolly, came also right in front of us, coming down the street from our right. As they started coming down the hill, they slowed a little bit. And you could hear a loud pop, which to me at the time sounded like firecrackers. Being a young child, I felt like it was just part of the parade and fireworks and confetti. And then it proceeded - the car came even closer to us, which was by then maybe less than ten to fifteen yards away. And there was another pop of firecrackers. And this one - there was a great deal of what I thought at the time was confetti, just exploding from the car. I subsequently learnt, much later, that this was obviously President Kennedy being shot, and the confetti was actually his head - the front of his skull and the brains, in retrospect, going up into the air....After the explosion, the President's wife - she was dressed in a very bright pink dress, and she had a lot of red roses in her lap, too; which was also confusing, because it was a mixture of the President and the blood and all the mess and then her pink dress and the flowers - she immediately panicked. And at that point she jumped up and tried to climb out of the back of the vehicle, when a secret serviceman came running from the vehicle right behind. And he just barely jumped on the car as the driver was accelerating, and was able to push Jacqueline Kennedy back into the seat.” **Analysis:** young Jeff was only six years old when he witnessed the President of the United States get his brains blown out. It seems possible from this fact that his parents went into a bit of denial on the issue and tried to convince themselves that what they saw that day was confetti. While he only mentions two pops of gunfire, he describes them as firecrackers, which could indicate more than one shot. Even so his recollection of only one shot before the head shot or shots argues against a shot as early as-160. **Only heard two shots? First shot 190-224.**

Malcolm Summers can be seen diving to the ground in Zapruder frame 345. (**11-23-63** statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H500) “The President’s car had just come up in front of me when I heard a shot and saw the President slump down in the car and heard Mrs. Kennedy say, “Oh, no,” then a second shot and then I hit the ground as I realized these were shots. Then all of the people started running up the terrace away from the President’s car and I got up and started running also, not realizing what had happened. In just a few moments the president’s car sped off.” (Interview in TV special *Who Murdered JFK?*, first broadcast **11-2-88**) (on the aftermath) "I ran across the Elm Street to run up there toward that knoll, yessir, and we were stopped by a man in a suit and he had an overcoat over his arm. And he, I saw a gun under that overcoat. And his comment was 'Don't y'all come up here any further, you could get shot, or killed,' one of those words...A few months later they told me they didn't have an FBI man in that area. If they didn't have anybody, it's a good question who that was." (PBS program *Who Shot President Kennedy?*, first broadcast **11-15-88**) "I do think the first shot came from the school book depository up there. And when the second one came I did not know who all was shooting. I was thinking there was more than one person shooting. The first shot sounded just like a little pop. It sounded like a firecracker from a far away distance. The others sounded real close, real close." (**11-16-91** AP article on an assassination conference found in the *Victoria Advocate*) "Malcolm Summers said he was standing so near the presidential limousine when Kennedy was hit that he heard Mrs. Kennedy cry out "Oh, my God, no! They're going to kill us all!" Summers said the second and third shots were fired so close together that "I certainly thought more than one person was shooting." (No More Silence p.102-107, published **1998**) “The first shot I heard was just after they had immediately turned the corner headed west on Elm Street. The first reaction that I saw when that first shot was fired was the Secret Service men kind of looking around and down at the people. I was of the impression that someone had thrown a firecracker...As a result my attention was diverted away from looking at Kennedy, and I didn’t see him reach for his throat. But then it was such a short time that the other shot was fired, then you knew that it wasn’t anything like that. Then the third shot came right after that also. I heard three shots altogether...Then, when Jackie reached over and grabbed John, she was saying, “Oh, no! Oh, God no!” or something to that effect...Then I knew immediately that he had been hit...I

thought he might have been ducking...When I heard her say that was after the second one had already hit. Apparently, that was the head wound....as to the spacing of the shots, there was much more time between the first one and the second two, the second and the third. They were real close.” (11-23-98 article in the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram) "Dallas resident Malcolm Summers, 74, said he got down on the ground after he heard the shots ring out. 'When that cop came off that bike, I hit the ground,' he said"

(Oral History for the Sixth Floor Museum, 3-7-2002) "Well, they came around and then the first thing I heard was, I thought, was a firecracker, the first shot...The FBI and the Secret Service people that was on the back of that car they looked down at the ground...I think they thought it was a firecracker, also, and I've always maintained this, and then I thought in my mind, well, what a heck of a joke, you know, to be playing like that. Well, then the car kept coming, and then the second shot rang out. And then the third was just about where I was at, rang out. And the first shot and the second shot was fairly close. And then the second and third was likewise. There wasn't much difference in any of the timing there. And course, I was standing beside the curb there. I saw Kennedy get hit. I heard Connally say, "They're going to kill us all!" or "shoot us all." I'm not sure which one on that is. And then, I heard Jackie Kennedy scream out, "Oh, God! No, no, no!" And there was a shrill--It was very sad to hear that." (When asked the number and timing of the shots) "I heard three shots...I'm certain...I'd say the first one was like a firecracker...The second one and third one were the closest together of all...When Connally said "they're gonna shoot us all" or "kill us all," well, that's when I thought there was more than one person involved for sure. Because he said 'they.' And certainly it sounded like 'they' with that many shots." (When asked to knock out the pattern of the shots on the table) Knock.....knock...knock. (He waits two seconds or more before knocking the second shot, and less than one second for the third.) (When asked if he knew from where the shots had been fired) "No. I had no idea." (When asked this again) "No, I certainly didn't." (From an 11-22-2003 WBAP radio program posted on Youtube) "I thought someone had threw a firecracker down on the ground, just to be smart. But then the procession kept coming. And then the second and the third shot rang out. Well, I knew it was being shot at...The car got to right beside me where I was at. And it actually stopped momentarily. And I heard Jackie Kennedy 'Oh God, no, no.' And I heard John Connally say 'They're going to shoot us all.'" **Analysis:** Summers heard an early shot and thought nothing of it, then witnessed the head shot, followed by a third shot. He seconds Royce Skelton's statement that Jackie yelled out before the third shot was fired. (She is seen yelling out between frames 325 and 338 on the Zapruder film). As he can be seen hitting the ground in the Zapruder film around frame 345, his statement that he hit the ground just after the last shot, helps us place the time of this shot. (Apparently, it rang out while Jackie was still yelling.) By stating that the Secret Service agents were looking around after the first shot, and that the second shot was the head shot, he confirms a first shot hit. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

James Altgens can be seen in Zapruder frame 345 just to the east of Malcolm Summers. (11-22-63 eyewitness account, presented as an AP dispatch and published in Cover-Up) "There was a burst of noise - the second one I heard - and pieces of flesh appeared to fly from President Kennedy's car. Blood covered the whole left side of his head. Mrs. Kennedy saw what had happened to her husband. She grabbed him exclaiming, "Oh, No!". The car's driver realized what had happened and almost as if by reflex speeded up towards the Stemmons Expressway. There seemed to be utter confusion. One motorcycle officer ran his cycle into the curb, almost falling off. Police came from everywhere as the President's car disappeared from sight. At first I thought the shots came from the opposite side of the street. I ran over there to see if I could get some pictures. But it turned out to be just more confusion. Police ran in all directions in search of the assassin. I did not know until later where the shots came from. I was on the opposite side of the President's car from the gunman. He might have hit me. The motorcade was moving along in routine fashion until there was a noise like fireworks popping. I snapped a picture of the motorcade at just about that time, still unaware of what was happening. I

cranked my camera for another shot. The procession still moved along slowly. Then came the second burst of noise." (11-22-63 AP report preceding the announcement of Kennedy's death and found in the Frederick Maryland News) "AP Photographer James W. Altgens said he saw blood on the President's head. Altgens said he heard two shots but thought someone was shooting fireworks until he saw the blood on the President. Altgens said he saw no one with a gun." (11-22-63 news bulletin on WBAP, shortly after the AP report) "The Associated Press reports from Dallas that President Kennedy was shot today just as his motorcade left the downtown section. Mrs. Kennedy is said to have jumped up and grabbed her husband and cried "Oh, no!" as the motorcade sped off. Photographer J.W. Altgens of the Associated Press said that he saw blood on the President's head. The photographer said he heard two shots but thought someone was shooting fireworks until he saw the blood on the President. He said he saw no one with a gun." (11-22-63 announcement on WFAA that the President had been shot) "An Associated Press photographer, James Altgens...reports he saw blood on the President's head. The AP man said he heard two shots but that he thought someone was shooting fireworks until he saw blood on the President." (5-24-64 article in the New York Herald-Tribune) "I was about 30 feet in front of the President's limousine on Mrs. Kennedy's side. I remember hearing what I thought was a firecracker at the instant I snapped the picture. I was going to make another picture, the one I was really set up for, when I realized what had happened and I froze, aghast." (6-5-64 FBI report, CD 1088 p.1-6) "at about the instant he snapped the picture, he heard a burst of noise which he thought was firecrackers... he does not know how many of these reports he heard...After taking the above photograph...he heard another report which he recognized as a gunshot. He said the bullet struck President Kennedy on the right side of his head and the impact knocked the President forward. Altgens stated pieces of flesh, blood, and bones appeared to fly from the right side of the President's head and pass in front of Mrs. Kennedy to the left of the Presidential limousine. Altgens stated Mrs. Kennedy grabbed the President and Altgens heard her exclaim "Oh, no!" as the president slumped into her lap. Altgens said he also observed blood on the left side of the President's head and face."

(7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H517-525) "I made one picture at the time I heard a noise that sounded like a firecracker—I did not know it was a shot, but evidently my picture, as I recall, and it was almost simultaneously with the shot—the shot was just a fraction ahead of my picture, but that much—of course—at that time I figured it was nothing more than a firecracker, because from my position down here the sound was not of such volume that it would indicate to me it was a high velocity rifle...it sounded like it was coming up from behind the car from my position—I mean the first shot, and being fireworks—who counts fireworks explosions? I wasn't keeping track of the number of pops that took place, but I could vouch for number 1 and I can vouch for the last shot, but I can not tell you how many shots were in between. There was not another shot after the President was struck in the head. That was the last shot--that much I will say with a great degree of certainty." (When asked how he could be certain it was the last shot) "Because, having heard these shots and then having seen the damage that was done on this shot to the President's head, I was aware at that time that shooting was taking place and there was not a shot--I looked--I looked because I knew the shot had to come from either over here, if it were close range, or had to come from a high-powered rifle." (When asked where he meant by "over here") "The left side of the car." (When asked if that meant the little street running in front of the school book depository, the Elm Street extension, presumably behind the knoll) "Somewhere in that direction, yes, sir. But if it were a pistol it would have to be fired at close range for any degree of accuracy and there was no one in that area that I could see with any firearms, so I looked back up in this area." (When asked if "this area" meant the buildings at Houston and Elm, including the depository.) "Yes. What made me almost certain that the shot came from behind was because at the time I was looking at the President, just as he was struck, it caused him to move a bit forward. He seemed as if at the time----well, he was in a position-- sort of immobile. He wasn't upright. He was at an angle but when it hit him, it seemed to have just lodged--it seemed as if he were hung up


on a seat button or something like that. It knocked him just enough forward that he came right on down. There was flesh particles that flew out of the side of his head in my direction from where I was standing, so much so that it indicated to me that the shot came out of the left side of his head. Also, the fact that his head was covered with blood, the hairline included, on the left side all the way down, with no blood on his forehead or face--- suggested to me, too, that the shot came from the opposite side, meaning in the direction of this Depository Building, but at no time did I know for certain where the shot came from." (On the head shot) "up to that time I didn't know that the President had been shot previously. I still thought up until that time that all I heard was fireworks and that they were giving some sort of celebration to the President by popping these fireworks. It stunned me so at what I saw that I failed to do my duty and make the picture I was hoping to make. The car never did stop. It was proceeding along in a slow pace and I stepped out in the curb area and made another picture as the Secret Service man stepped upon the rear step of the Presidential car and went to Mrs. Kennedy's aid and then after that I immediately crossed the street and once again I was looking to see if I could find anything in this area of Elm and Houston Streets that would suggest to me where the shot came from. Moreover, I was interested in knowing whether or not somebody else had been struck by a bullet or one of the bullets in this area. I saw that no one else had been hit."

(Interview with CBS broadcast **6-26-67**) "As I was getting ready to make some pictures why I heard this noise-- I thought it was a firecracker explosion—but I just went ahead and made the picture which shows the President right after he was struck by a bullet, struck in the neck, the first shot, and this was the picture that the Warren Report later fixed as being made two seconds after the shot was fired. And as they got in close to me, I was prepared to make the picture—I had my camera about at eye level—that's when the President was shot in the head. And I do know that the President was still in an upright position, tilted, favoring Mrs. Kennedy. And at the time that he was struck by this blow to the head, it was so obvious that it came from behind. It had to come from behind because it caused him to bolt forward, dislodging him from this depression in the seat cushion, and already favoring Mrs. Kennedy, he automatically fell in that direction." (Interview presented as part of radio show *Thou Shalt Not Kill*, on Canadian radio station CTFR. broadcast **5-10-76**. Transcript provided by Randy Owen on the JFK Lancer Forum, 6-29-10) "I was watching the President and was prepared to make a picture of he and Jackie Kennedy, a good, closeup, smiling picture of them. At the time, Jackie was looking at me and John Kennedy was almost staring straight ahead--no expression, no smile, hardly any emotion showing at all--and just as I raised my camera to go ahead and make the picture anyway, although he wasn't looking at me, well then, that's when he received the shot in the head and this disturbed me so much I just stood there looking at the whole operation... The caravan never did stop, but if it ever came close to stopping it was right at that point. And as I turned and made the picture of the Secret Service man going up to help Jackie back into the limousine, I heard someone on the radio say, "We've been hit. Get us to the nearest hospital quick." And that's when they threw into high gear and took off. (No More Silence, p.41-59, published **1998**) "I only recall the President hit once that I can vouch for because that first camera shot... made any definite conclusion uncertain. But this particular one where he was hit, the head shot, was obvious to everyone that it was a shooting, not fireworks. I don't know how many shots there were. If I were guessing, I would figure that was probably the third shot. In other words, he was hit when I was taking the picture, and the fatal shot should have been somewhere around the third shot, and that should have been the last... The tissue, perhaps bone, a lot of fragments, all came my way... But the majority of the mass that was coming from his head came directly like a straight shot out my way on to the left in a straight line. When he fell over into her lap, the blood was on the left side of his face. There was no blood on the right hand side which suggested to me that the wound was more to the left than it was to the right." **Analysis:** Altgens heard only two bunches of shots, one which occurred just before his photograph taken at Z-255, and the head shot, and yet he seems to recall other shots, just not when he heard them. While his words have been used to show there was no shot from the knoll, his




initial impression was, apparently, that sounds had come from that direction. As far as Altgens' latter-day statements that the blood was on Kennedy's *left* side, it seems probable he was confused by his facing Kennedy, whereby his left hand corresponded to Kennedy's right side. **Only heard two definite shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

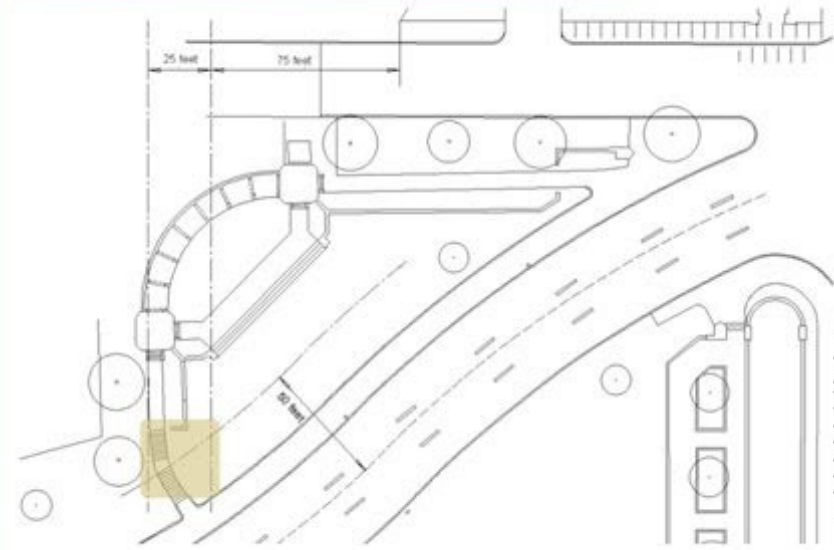
Richard O. Bothun is the photographer just east of Altgens in Zapruder frame 345. (Pictures of the Pain, p.155, Trask interview with Mrs. Jan Bothun, **11-26-84**) "Mrs. Bothun recalled that her husband was very shocked at the sight of the President being hit in the head and that he had been close enough to hear Mrs. Kennedy "holler." **Analysis: too vague.**

His Name is Mudd



The statements and testimony of Emmett Hudson (in the white cap) and F. Lee Mudd suggest that Mudd was the previously unidentified man in the red shirt seen in the Muchmore Film (L and R), Nix Film (middle R), and Bond photo (bottom R).



At left: a map made by Martin Hinrichs showing Mudd's presumed location by the steps.

His Name is Mudd

Emmett Hudson stood on the steps on the North side of Elm with two still-unidentified men. He can be seen in the Muchmore film. References to the other men standing beside him are in italics. (**11-22-63** statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H481) "This day I was sitting on the front steps of the slopping [sic] area and about half way down the steps. *There was another man sitting there with me. He was sitting on my left and we were both facing the street with our backs to the railroad yards and*

the brick building. At the same time the President's car was directly in front of us, I heard a shot and I saw the President fall over in the seat. *I do not know who this other man was that was sitting beside me. In our conversation he talked about having a hard time finding a place to park. He also talked about working somewhere over on Industrial Blvd. This man said Lay down and we did. I definately [sic] heard 3 shots. The shots that I heard definately [sic] came from behind and above me. When I laid down on the ground I laid on my right side and my view was still toward the street where the President's car had passed. I did look around but I did not see any firearms at all. This shot sounded to me like a high powered rifle."* (11-26-63 FBI report, CD5 p.30-31) "Emmett Joseph Hudson...called attention to a photograph...by Mrs. Mary Moorman...which photograph showed the President in a slumping condition immediately following the impact of the shots. Hudson called attention to a group of three men in the photograph standing on some concrete steps north of Elm Street and north of the position of the presidential car in the photograph. He pointed to the man in the middle of this group of three individuals in the photograph and advised 'That is me in the light colored clothing and that is where I was standing when the President was shot.' He said he was looking directly at President Kennedy and saw his head slump to one side simultaneously with the loud report made by the first shot fired by the assassin. He said he then heard two more reports which sounded like shots, such reports coming in rapid succession after the first shot. He volunteered the shots were fired 'just about as fast as you could expect a man to operate a bolt action rifle' or words to that effect. Hudson said the shots sounded as if they were fired over his head and from some position to the left of where he was standing. In other words, the shots sounded as if they were fired by someone at a position which was behind him, which was above him, and which was to his left. He again called attention to the photograph referred to above, and particularly to the corner of the Texas School Book Depository building appearing in such photograph and said the shots sounded as if they were coming from that building (Texas School Book Depository Building). Hudson stated when he heard the shots, he turned around and looked in the general direction of the Texas School Book Depository Building, 411 Elm Street, Dallas, Texas; however, he did not see anyone with a rifle or firearm of any kind. He pointed out, however, it was a matter of two or three seconds after he heard the shots before he focused his vision on the Texas School Book Depository Building and perhaps in that small lapse of time the assassin had stepped back from the window. Hudson estimated he was approximately thirty feet from the Presidential car at the time he heard the shots and immediately noticed the President's head slump to one side. *He advised he did not know the identity or address of either one of the other two men referred to above in the three man group in the photograph. He said the only statement he remembered either one of these two men made was that one of the men stated that he worked somewhere over on Industrial Boulevard in Dallas, Texas."*

(7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H558-565) "*Well there was a young fellow, oh, I would judge his age about in his late twenties. He said he had been looking for a place to park and he walked up there and he said he finally just taken a place over there in one of them parking lots, and he come on down there and said he worked over there on Industrial and me and him both just sat there first on those steps.* When the motorcade turned off of Houston onto Elm, we got up and stood up, me and him both. He was on the left side and I was on the right and so the first shot rung out and, of course, I didn't realize it was a shot, what was taking place right at that present time, and when the second one rung out, the motorcade had got further on down Elm and you see, I was trying to get a good look at President Kennedy. I happened to be looking right at him when that bullet hit him, the second shot...it looked like it hit him somewhere along a little bit behind the ear and a little bit above the ear. (When asked where the car was when he heard the first shot) "I remember it was right along about this light post here" (indicating the first light post). (When asked if he heard three shots) "Yes, sir." (When asked if he was sure the second shot hit Kennedy in the head) "Yes, I do believe it was—I know it was." (When asked what happened during the third shot) "*the young fellow that was sitting*

there with me—standing there with me at the present time, he says 'Lay down , Mister, somebody is shooting at the President.' He says, 'Lay down, lay down.' and he kept repeating, 'Lay down.' so he was already laying down one way on the sidewalk, so I just laid down over on the ground and resting my arm on the ground and when that third shot rung out and when I was close to the ground - you could tell the shot was coming from above and kind of behind.” (When asked if he’d “heard it come from sort of behind the *motorcade* and then above?”) “Yes.” (When asked if he felt Kennedy was hit by the first shot) “No, sir, I don’t think so.” (When asked what happened after the second shot “he slumped over and Mrs. Kennedy, she climbs over in the seat with him and pulls him over.” (When asked to clarify if he saw Kennedy hit in the neck by the third shot or was just guessing) “I just saw him hit once.” (When asked if he thought shots could have been fired from depository) “Well, it sounded like it was high, you know, from above and kind of behind like - in other words, to the left.” (When asked the pattern of the shots) “Well they was pretty fast and not fast either. It seemed like he had plenty of time to operate his gun plenty well - when the shots were all fired.” (When asked the length in time of the shooting) “Oh, probably 2 minutes..It might not have been that long.” When asked again the pattern of the shots) “They seemed pretty well evenly spaced.” (8-2-68 interview with Barry Ernest recounted in *The Girl on the Stairs*, published 2011) “He stopped exactly where the Moorman photograph showed him standing. He told me of the excitement of seeing the president, then the horror of watching as Kennedy's skull exploded a mere 60 feet in front of him. When I inquired about the shots, he repeated what he had said to the Commission: they sounded as if they came from above, behind, and to the left. 'Above, behind, and to the left of what?' I asked. 'Above and behind the motorcade, and to the left of me' he replied. (When asked the number of the shots) 'Well, there were definitely three that I heard,' he explained, 'But one of them was a bit unusual.' (When asked what he meant by unusual) 'Well, it sounded different from the others. It was louder, sharper, cleaner than the others. And two of them was close together, like bang.....bang, bang.' (When asked if he'd told this to the Commission) 'I stand by what I just said.'” (When asked if the shots could have come from the picket fence) 'I don't know,' Hudson said, after a pause. 'I really don't. There was so much excitement and it all happened so fast, I'm just not sure.'” (HSCA outside contact report, 2-3-79, as quoted and summarized in the HSCA report) “Everything I told the Warren Commission was correct”... Hudson, now 71, had heard for years about the controversy about a shot from the knoll; he does not think that one was fired from behind the stockade fence.” **Analysis:** Hudson heard a shot when the limousine was back by the first streetlight (where it was at frame 190) but didn’t notice Kennedy was hit. He then witnessed the head shot, and heard another shot shortly thereafter. He confused the Warren Commission by guessing that the President suffered his neck wound with the last shot. Presumably, he confused the FBI when he spoke to them as well, as they have him saying the head shot was the first shot, and that two shots followed. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

F. Lee Mudd is a bit of a mystery man in that most researchers prior to myself had incorrectly assumed him to have been standing on the east side of the grassy knoll at the time of the shooting. His words, however, suggest he was on the west side. While many have argued that the young man described by Emmett Hudson, who sat down with him on the ground by the steps after the shooting, was the man to his left in the films, this man appears to have been an African-American (something Hudson would most probably have mentioned) and to have fled during the shooting. It follows then that the man in red a few steps below Hudson, who sat down with Hudson after the shooting, was in fact the young man described by Hudson, and most logically Mudd. While many have long assumed Mudd to have been an elderly man, and to have died in the early 1970's, this man may have had a son. The 1950 Shreveport LA City Directory lists a Lee Mudd, Jr., a student. This puts him at the right age to be the young man described by Hudson. There's reason to doubt he was the man in red, however, as some researchers suspect that "Lee Mudd, Jr." was not F. Lee Mudd, Jr., but Lee Sterling Mudd, identified in a September 5, 1937 Chicago Tribune article as the son of a Francis Lee Mudd. Lee Sterling Mudd is still

alive. So perhaps this mystery can still be resolved. Was Mudd the man in red? Or was it his father? Or was it someone else entirely? And why did the original article on Mudd refer to him as H. Lee Mudd? Stay tuned... **(11-23-63** article in The Shreveport Journal entitled Local Man Near Kennedy's Car at Time of Shooting) "H. Lee Mudd, who lives on Spring Ridge Road, was standing about 25 feet in front of the car in which President Kennedy was shot Friday in Dallas. 'I heard two reports that sounded like fire crackers,' Mudd said. 'Then I looked and the President had slumped down in his seat.' Mudd, who was in Dallas on a business trip, had taken time off to watch the parade. 'It happened so fast no one could tell exactly what had happened,' he said. 'But *we could tell he had been shot* and everybody could tell something terrible was going on.'"

(1-28-64 FBI report on an interview with Mudd, 24H538. Words subsequently removed by Josiah Thompson are in **bold**.) "On November 22, 1963, he was in Dallas, Texas, on a business trip to purchase clothing for his store. He operates the Southside Ranch, 9066 Mansfield Road, Shreveport, Louisiana, a western store. While in Dallas he decided to watch the parade for President Kennedy. *At about noon, he was watching the parade from a position on the north side of Elm Street and some 75 to 100 feet west of a building, which he later learned was the Texas School Book Depository.* He saw the president's car approaching from the east on Elm Street in the parade, and he recognized President Kennedy and saw him waving to the crowd. *When the President's car was some 50 or more feet away from him, he heard what sounded to him like two gunshots, and he saw the President slump.* Immediately thereafter, he observed the President's car pull out of the line of the parade and continue west on Elm Street toward the underpass. When the President's car came abreast of Mudd, he could see the President slumped down toward his wife, who was leaning over him. He recalled seeing another man in the car, whom he did not recognize at the time but whom he later learned was Governor Connally and this man appeared to be holding one arm to his side. However he did not notice this man much because his attention was focused on the President. Mr. Mudd stated he definitely recalls hearing two shots probably less than a second apart. He said there may have been a third shot fired, but he could not be sure of this. *He stated that immediately after the shots were fired, some of the spectators along the side of the street dropped to the ground, and he did so himself, inasmuch as the shots alarmed him and he did not know what had happened or where the shots had come from.* He looked around him, and he recalled that in looking toward the building nearby, he noticed several broken windows on **about the fourth floor**, and the thought occurred to him that possibly the shots had been fired through these broken windows. However, he did not observe any smoke, nor did he see anyone at the windows, nor did he notice any motion within the building. He said the building appeared to be abandoned. Subsequent to the shooting, he did not notice anyone enter or leave the building. Mr. Mudd stated that when the shots were fired, they sounded as if they came from the direction of the building. *Mr. Mudd stated that he remained in the vicinity for possibly three or four minutes, after which he walked back toward the main part of town, where he had parked his car.* He did not remain to talk to police or Secret Service men because he did not feel he had seen anything that would be of assistance to them. Mr. Mudd said that he was not with anyone else at the time this occurred. He said he later made another trip to Dallas, accompanied by his wife, and he showed her the place where the assassination occurred, and he observed the Texas School Book Depository building and he is confident this is the same building he was standing near at the time of the assassination. Mr. Mudd said he could furnish no further information regarding this matter."

(Mudd's FBI statement as quoted in Josiah Thompson's book Six Seconds in Dallas, **1967**. The words added-in by Thompson are in **bold**.) "He looked around him (**the FBI report relates**), and he recalled that in looking toward the building nearby, he noticed several broken windows on **the fourth floor of the Dal-Tex Building**, and the thought occurred to him that possibly the shots had been fired through these broken windows. However, he did not observe any smoke, nor did he see anyone at the windows, nor did he notice any motion within the building. He said the building appeared to be abandoned.

Subsequent to the shooting, he did not notice anyone enter or leave the building. Mr. Mudd stated that when the shots were fired, they sounded as if they came from the direction of the building." (Note also that by cutting off the report at this point, Thompson kept from his readers that Mudd returned to Dallas and identified the building in question as the Texas School Book Depository.) **Analysis:** since the FBI report on Mudd indicates he was on the north side of Elm Street, 75 to 100 feet west of the depository building, and that 1) the last burst of gunfire occurred when the limo was still 50 feet in front of him, and 2) he saw the President pass by just after these shots, it follows that Josiah Thompson was both wrong to depict Mudd as a witness on the east side of the knoll in Six Seconds in Dallas, and doubly wrong for inserting his own musings about the Dal-Tex Building into the words of the FBI's report. (Thompson, btw, acknowledged this mistake after I pointed it out to him.) Yes, far from being a witness for a Dal-Tex shooter, as claimed by Thompson in 1967, and repeated over the years, it appears the mysterious Mr. Mudd is in fact one of the two supposedly unidentified figures standing next to Emmett Hudson on the grassy knoll steps in the Muchmore film. As Mudd was in Dallas buying western wear, moreover, we can assume he is the little guy in front of Hudson in the film, wearing what appears to be a red western shirt, blue jeans, and brown boots. We should also note that Mudd, much as the "young fellow" described by Hudson, sat down on the ground after the shots. That Mudd is indeed this man is further suggested by the fact that Mudd told the FBI he'd had to walk some distance back to his car, and that Hudson, who'd stood next to the man in red, testified that the "young fellow" he encountered had mentioned walking in from a distant parking lot. While it's slightly problematic that Mudd was in Dallas on business, and Hudson said the "young fellow" worked on Industrial Blvd., this can be explained by the simple fact that the two had only engaged in small talk, and the possibility that one or more of the clothing outlets Mudd had visited was over on Industrial Blvd. While it's a more significant problem that Hudson said this man was a "young fellow" and that the Mudd running the Southside Ranch in 1963 was, according to the Genealogy Dept. of the Shreveport Library, Francis Lee Mudd, 60 years old, the thought occurs that Hudson never identified this "man" as a "young fellow" until testifying 8 months after the shooting, and that he may have simply confused Mudd with a "young fellow" he'd met sometime after the shooting. **Did not hear the first shot. Only heard two shots. Last two shots bunched together.**

Wilfred or Wilfred Daetz is a little-known witness, and is probably not worth mentioning, outside the intriguing possibility he was the other man on the steps with Hudson and Mudd. He is reported to have called the Dallas Chief of Police in 1966 and to have said he'd been a witness. The Dallas Chief of Police told the FBI about him, and the FBI investigated. At that time, however, Daetz reportedly denied making the phone call to Dallas and denied being in Dallas in November, 1963. When the FBI confronted him with the fact that the phone call had been billed to his phone, Daetz reportedly claimed the whole thing must have been a practical joke. It seems probable that Daetz lied to the FBI. Perhaps he'd called Dallas on a lark and was trying to cover up his behavior. On the other hand it's possible he was afraid to tell the FBI what he'd seen, or was intimidated into retracting his statements. It's unlikely we'll ever know. What is certain, however, is that nothing he said was so outrageous that it should be dismissed out of hand. If Daetz had called Dallas while drunk and/or seeking attention, it seems likely he would have made up a more colorful story. (12-7-66 letter from Dallas Police Chief Charles Batchelor to Dallas FBI agent-in-charge J. Gordon Shanklin) "I received a long distance phone call at 1:40 p.m. December 5, 1966, from New York City, from a person who identified himself as Wilfred Daetz...The subject stated that on November 22, 1963, at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy, he was standing on the grass on the north side of Elm Street--on the slope approaching the triple underpass. He recalls only one shot and that immediately after the shot he ran up the slope toward the railroad tracks and was stopped by an unknown police officer who pointed a pistol at him and shouted "Where are you going?" He then returned down the slope. The subject stated that he could hear very little out of his left ear and that he heard the shot with his right ear and in his opinion the shot

came from his right which was in the direction of the railroad tracks. He also stated he saw a puff of smoke come from behind the fence near the railroad tracks. He stated that he was so excited he doesn't recall any additional shots. He further stated that at the time of the incident, he did not reveal himself and had talked to no one regarding this until the recent publicity. He states that then he revealed himself and made a statement to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in New York City." **Analysis: too vague. Saw smoke on knoll (if he was actually there).**

Lee Bowers was working in a railroad tower in the train yard north of the grassy knoll. **(11-22-63** Affidavit to the County of Dallas, box 2 folder 1 file 15 of the Dallas JFK Archives) "I heard at least three shots very close together." **(11-22-63** report of the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H510) "He said he heard what sounded like three shots from a rifle." **(4-2-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H 284-289) (When asked if he saw any men between his own location and Elm Street) "Directly in line, towards the mouth of the underpass, there were two men. One man, middle-aged, or slightly older, fairly heavy-set, in a white shirt, fairly dark trousers. Another younger man, about mid-twenties, in either a plaid shirt or plaid coat or jacket...They were standing within 10 or 15 feet of each other, and gave no appearance of being together, as far as I knew...They were facing and looking up towards Main and Houston, and following the caravan as it came down." (When asked if he could see the corner of Houston and Elm from his location) "after they passed the corner of Elm and Houston the car came in sight again...I heard three shots. One, then a slight pause, then two very close together. Also reverberation from the shots...The sounds came either from up against the School Depository Building or near the mouth of the triple underpass...At the moment I heard the sound, I was looking directly towards the area---at the moment of the first shot, as close as my recollection serves, the car was out of sight behind this decorative masonry wall in the area.... It came in sight immediately following the last shot...At the time of the shooting there seemed to be some commotion...I just am unable to describe it rather than it was something out of the ordinary, a sort of milling around, but something occurred in this particular spot which was out of the ordinary, which attracted my eye for some reason, which I could not identify." **(6-28-66** UPI article, found in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner) "He observed two men in the area between the fence and the colonnade before the shooting but did not notice them later. Had an automobile been wedged in that area, he could not have missed it. Bowers says he saw a 'flash' or 'some kind of disturbance' under the trees atop the knoll at the time of the shooting. He saw no individual firing or anyone rushing from the scene but he thinks there is 'at least a 50-50 chance that something happened there' and it could have been a second gunman."

(Interview with Mark Lane in *Rush to Judgment*, **1966**) "At the time of the shooting, in the vicinity of where the two men I described were, there was a flash of light or—there was something which occurred that caught my eye. What this was I couldn't say at the time and at this time I couldn't identify it, other than that there was some unusual occurrence, a flash of light or smoke or something, which caused me to feel that something out of the ordinary had occurred there...There were three shots. These were spaced with one shot, then a pause, and then two shots in very close order, such as perhaps (He raps on table with his hand "rap...raprap"). Almost on top of each other, while there was some pause between the first and second shots." (When asked if he told this to the FBI) "When I stated that I felt like the second and third shots could not have been fired from the same rifle, they reminded me that I wasn't an expert, and I had to agree." (Unreleased segments of Bowers' **1966** interview with Mark Lane, from a transcript of the interview found in the papers of *Rush to Judgment* director Emilo de Antonio at the Wisconsin Historical Archives, and published online by Dale Myers, 2004)) (When asked if there were any pedestrians between his location and Elm Street) "Directly in line - uh - there - of course is - uh - there leading toward the Triple Underpass there is a curved decorative wall - I guess you'd call it - it's not a solid wall but it is part of the - uh - park....And to the west of that there were - uh - at the time of the shooting in my vision only two men. Uh - these two men were - uh - standing back from the street somewhat at the top of the incline and were very near - er - two trees which were in the

area...And one of them, from time to time as he walked back and forth, uh - disappeared behind a wooden fence which is also slightly to the west of that. Uh - these two men to the best of my knowledge were standing there - uh - at the time - of the shooting...Ah - one of them, as I recall, was a middle-aged man, fairly heavy-set with - what looked like a white shirt. Uh - he remained in sight practically all of the time. The other individual was uh - slighter build and had either a plaid jacket or a plaid shirt on and he - uh -is walking back and forth was in and out of sight, so that I could not state for sure whether he was standing there at the time of the shots or not..." (When asked if he saw anyone suspicious in the area) "Other than these two and the people who were over on the top of the Underpass who - that were, for the most part, were railroad employees or were employees of a Fort Worth welding firm who were working on the railroad, uh - there were no strangers out in this area." (When returning to the question of whether or not anyone was shooting from behind the fence) "Now I could see back or the South side [Note: here MYERS adds "BOWERS is actually speaking of the north side of the fence] of the wooden fence in the area, so that obviously that there was no one there who could have - uh - had anything to do with either - as accomplice or anything else because there was no one there - um - at the moment that the shots were fired." **Analysis:** as we've seen time and time again, the bunching of the last two shots means the first shot hit. The bunching of these shots, moreover, makes Bowers a good witness for conspiracy. It should be pointed out, however, that Bowers is, despite widespread belief to the contrary, a terrible witness for the grassy knoll gunmen so many embrace as the cornerstone of this conspiracy. In opposition to what so many assume, Bowers never said he heard a shot come from the area around the picket fence, just that something there caught his eye. The unedited transcript of Bowers' interview with Mark Lane, moreover, is even more damaging to the case for a grassy knoll gunmen. It suggests both that the two men many think Bowers saw behind the fence were in fact in front of the fence, (quite possibly even Emmett Hudson--who wore a white shirt---and the man we presume is F. Lee Mudd--who wore what appears to be a red plaid shirt), and that Lane has been deceptive on this matter. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Abraham Zapruder stood on a pedestal in the arcade on the North side of Elm. (11-22-63 notes of Dallas Times Herald reporter Darwin Payne, from his reporter's notebook on display in Dallas' Old Red Museum, as quoted by Jim Schutze in The Dallas Observer, 4-28-11. These notes were purportedly written shortly after the shooting, after Payne arrived in the Plaza, was told Zapruder had filmed the shooting, and tracked Zapruder down at his office in the Dal-Tex Building.) (quoting Zapruder) "I got film. I saw it hit him in head. They were going so fast. (Illegible) 1st shot he (illegible) over and grabbed. 2nd two shots hit him in head. It opened up. Couldn't be alive. She was beside him. After last shot she crawled over back of car." (11-22-63 notes of an unknown reporter, possibly Darwin Payne, or possibly someone at the paper writing down what Payne had reported over the phone after talking to Zapruder. These notes were found in the files of the Dallas Times Herald, and quoted in Pictures of the Pain, p. 149.) "Abraham Zapruder...heard 3 shots///after first one Pres slumped over grabed stomach... hit in stomach...two more shots///looked like head opened up and everything came out...blood spattered everywhere...side of his face...looked like blobs out of his temple... forehead... Jackie first reached over to the Pres. And after second shot...she crawled over to back of car...after that she was lying..." (11-22-63 interview on WFAA, at approximately 2:10 PM) "as I was shooting, as the President was coming down from Houston Street making his turn, it was about a half-way down there, I heard a shot, and he slumped to the side, like this. Then I heard another shot or two, I couldn't say it was one or two, and I saw his head practically open up, all blood and everything, and I kept on shooting." (Volunteering, moments later) "As I explained before, it was a sickening scene. At first I thought perhaps it was a...it sounded like somebody making a joke, y'know, a shot and somebody grabbing their stomach." (9:55 PM 11-22-63, memo of SS Agent Max Phillips accompanying a copy of the Zapruder film) "According to Mr. Zapruder, the position of the assassin was behind Mr. Zapruder." (12-4-63 FBI report, CD7 p.12) "He stated he had started taking pictures prior to the first shot being fired...Zapruder

advised he could not recall but having heard only two shots.” (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H569-576) “Well, as the car came almost in line. I was standing up here and I was shooting through a telephoto lens, which is a zoom lens and as it reached about--I imagine it was around here--I heard the first shot and I saw the President lean over and grab himself like this (holding his left chest area)...In other words, he was sitting like this and waving and then after the shot he just went like that...Leaning—leaning toward the side of Jacqueline. For a moment I thought it was—you know, like you say, “Oh, he got me,” when you hear a shot...but before I had a chance to organize my mind, I heard a second shot and then I saw his head opened up and the blood and everything came out and I started—I can hardly talk about it. (the witness crying).” (When asked how many shots he heard) “I thought I heard two, it could be three, because to my estimation I thought he was hit on the second—I really don’t know...I heard the second—after the first shot—I saw him leaning over and after the second shot—it’s possible after what I saw, you know, then I started yelling, “They killed him, they killed him.” (When asked where the shots came from) “I also thought it came from back of me...I assumed that they came from there, because as the police started running back of me, it looked like it came from back of me.”

(9-21-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the aftermath of the first shot) "As the Lincoln emerged from behind the freeway sign, it reappeared in Abe Zapruder's line of vision. Abe saw the stifled look on the Presidents face and was stunned. Continuing to train his camera on the car, he wondered whether Kennedy could be pretending. It was as though he were saying, "Oh, they got me." Abe thought 'The President is to joke?'" (Manchester's narration of the aftermath of the head shot) "Abe Zapruder screeches over and over, 'They killed him! They killed him! They killed him! They killed him!'" (11-15-64 AP article, found in the Abilene Reporter-News) "I heard the shot and saw the President grab his heart and lean over towards Jacqueline. I thought he was making believe, saying 'Oh, he got me' but then I thought, 'No, a president wouldn't be joking.' Then another shot broke his head open. I started yelling 'They killed him. They killed him.' But I kept on taking pictures until the limousine disappeared, still aiming through the viewfinder." (Interview with CBS broadcast 6-26-67) (On whether the shots could have come from the picket fence to his right) "I'm not a ballistics expert, but I believe that if there were shots that come from my right ear, there would be a different sound. I heard shots coming from--I wouldn't know which direction to say--but they was driven from the Texas Book Depository and they all sounded alike. There was no difference in sound at all." (2-13-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) “I saw the approaching motorcade...coming down towards the underpass. As they were approaching where I was standing I heard a shot and noticed where the President leaned towards Jackie. Then I heard another shot which hit him right in the head, over here, and his head practically opened up and a lot of blood and many more things came out.” (When asked about the first shot) “As I said, he grabbed himself with his hand towards his chest or throat and leaned towards Jackie.” (And the second) “He leaned about the same way in falling towards Jacqueline, forward, down towards the bottom of the car.” **Analysis:** Zapruder thought he heard a shot after the head shot, but then talked himself out of it. He initially said he heard three shots and described the last two as coming together. He then went on TV and realized he couldn’t say for sure if it was one or two. When asked by the Warren Commission he started to explain that he thought there was a shot after the head shot but then backed off. Since he felt sure the shots hadn’t come from his right, he told CBS he was convinced that the shots came from the sniper's nest. He overlooked or avoided that a shot from the sniper's nest would have come from his left, and that his earliest recollections were that the shots came from neither the picket fence nor the sniper's nest, but from directly behind his location. Zapruder's placement of the first shot is also of interest. As pointed out by Harold Weisberg in his book *Whitewash*, Zapruder testified, while looking at frames from his film, "as it reached about--I imagine it was around here--I heard the first shot" but the counsel taking his testimony, Wesley Liebler, failed to note where "here" was. This suggests that Zapruder identified a

point after Kennedy had stopped waving but before Kennedy disappeared behind the sign as the moment of the first shot, and that, since the timing of this shot didn't support the scenario already chosen by the Commission, they saw no reason to record his observation. Only heard two clear shots. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots possibly bunched together (with the last shot possibly after the head shot).**

Marilyn Sitzman stood beside her boss Abraham Zapruder. (11-22-63 notes on an interview of Sitzman by a Dallas Times-Herald reporter, presumably Darwin Payne, as presented in The Zapruder Film by David Wrone, 2003) "Shot hit pres. Right in the temple." (11-23-63 report of Deputy Wiseman, 19H535) "I talked to a Marilyn Sitzman... She said the shots came from...the old Sexton Building." (11-29-66 interview with Josiah Thompson, as found in an online transcript and recounted in Six Seconds in Dallas, 1967) "There was nothing unusual until the first sound, which I thought was a firecracker, mainly because of the reaction of President Kennedy. He put his hands up to guard his face and leaned toward the left, and the motorcade proceeded down the hill" (Thompson then describes) "Both Zapruder and Marilyn Sitzman at first thought the President and Governor Connally were joking--that they, too, had heard the firecracker noise and were pantomiming 'Oh, he got me!'" (a subsequent discussion of the head shot) "And the next thing I remembered correct...clearly was the shot that hit him directly in front of us, or almost directly in front of us, that hit him on the side of his fa..." (When asked where the bullet struck) "I would say it'd be above the ear and to the front... between the eye and the ear...And we could see his brains come out, you know, his head opening. It must have been a terrible shot because it exploded his head, more or less...And as far as the sound of the shots go, the first one, as I said, sounded like a firecracker, and the second one that I heard sounded the same...the loudest thing I heard that afternoon was the siren..." (Interview in Life Magazine, November 1983) "They had just come down the hill. I heard shots, and I thought, firecrackers. All I could see was his hands going up. Then he was right in front of us...The last shot got him in the head. Everybody was on the ground, and Mr. Z was gone. There had been gunshots, and I was standing there all by myself." (The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "Finally, they come around the corner, and start coming down, and they're you know waving at everybody, and then we heard what to me sounded like two firecrackers. You know it was starting to get a little confusing because you could see things happening in the car. And you couldn't quite get what was happening until they got right here in front of us and the third shot hit Mr. Kennedy right in his head. We knew what happened." (Article by Hal Verb in the 9-30-94 JFK Resource Group Newsletter) "...I recalled an interview I had with Marilyn Sitzman, an eyewitness to the JFK assassination who was standing with Abraham Zapruder (in fact, holding him so that he wouldn't fall as he was filming the motorcade). She and I were standing right near the pedestal where both she and Zapruder stood upon. It was the last day of the Dallas "ASK" conference (Oct. 25, 1992). Sitzman told me she knew a lot about guns and weapons having grown up with them. She told me the shot that killed the President came from behind and that the gunman must've used a silencer (her emphasis). She said that if it were not a silencer the shot would have knocked down both of them because of where they were so precariously standing. She then told me of the great "reverberation" that was felt. I showed her a map of the Dealey Plaza area (she signed it) and she pointed to the area when she thought the shot was fired from. Curiously enough, it was not from the alleged and traditionally targeted picket fence area but from a location in the direction of the north pergola. This would be to the left of and behind where Charles Hester was standing." (6-29-93 oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum) "(We) went over to where that concrete pergola was, and we decided that would be the best place... [Mr. Zapruder] said, 'You'll have to stand behind me and hold onto me.' So, we both got up there, and I...held on to him. I only remember when they started...turning into the street, he said, 'OK, here we go.' That's when I remember he started actually doing the filming. Yeah...They turned the corner, and they started coming down. And the first thing I remember hearing was what I thought was firecrackers because Kennedy threw his hands up, and I heard 'bang, bang.'"

Now, there could have been a third “bang,” I can’t swear to that one. But I know there were two “bangs” very close together, and I thought they were firecrackers because his arms were going into the air, and it was way off to my left and above. So, you know, I’m just kind of like... what a stupid thing to throw firecrackers, and as they came down... the last shot that we heard was right in front of us and it was like the same sound—far off and to the left—but I saw his head open up and I saw the brains coming up. So, of course, by this time, I knew it wasn’t firecrackers. But those were the only sounds I heard.” (Interview in *Image of an Assassination*, 1998) “When they started to make their first turn, turning into the street, then he says “Okay, here we go” or something to that effect.” **Analysis:** Ms. Sitzman only heard two separate bursts of gunfire but sometimes “corrected” her memory and turned the early firecracker sound into two separate shots. To no avail. Her description of any two shots as “Bang! Bang!” automatically rules out that there was a single assassin using Oswald’s rifle. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

Newmans Mark the Spots



Above and at right: the Newmans in a 2003 oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum.

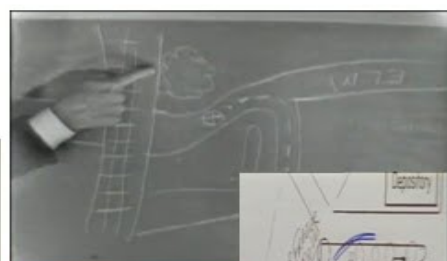


At right: the location from where Bill Newman thought the shots derived, as depicted on 11-22-63 by Jay Watson of WFAA, and as marked by Bill himself during the 1986 mock trial of Oswald.



At top: Bill Newman in the Muchmore film.

Above: the Newmans on the grass in the Bell film.



Since Kennedy was shot in the head just after passing Bill Newman, who was standing on the north side of the street, (as shown in the Muchmore film), and Newman dived to the ground just afterward, (as shown in the Bell film), the location of Newman and his wife is a one way of marking the location of the limo at the time of the head shot. All too many, however, overlook that the Newmans can be used to mark other spots as well. The Newmans have long described a bullet impacting on the side of Kennedy’s head, near his ear (as shown in the two photos at top, middle) and that they thought this bullet came from behind them, and not from the picket fence to their right, or book depository to their left.

Newmans Mark the Spots

William Newman was standing on the north side of Elm Street with his wife and two kids and can be seen in the Muchmore film just behind Kennedy as the fatal shot is fired. (11-22-63 interview on WFAA, prior to the announcement of the President's death, at approximately 12:45) “We were, we just come from Love Field after seeing the President and First Lady, and we were just in front of the triple underpass on Elm Street at the edge of the curb, getting ready to wave at the President. (After being asked to clarify his position) We were halfway in between the triple underpass. We were at the curb when this incident happened. But the President’s car was some fifty feet in front of us still yet in front of us coming toward us when we heard the first shot and the President. I don’t know who was hit first but the President jumped up in his seat, and I thought it scared him, I thought it was a firecracker, cause he looked, you know, fear. And then as the car got directly in front of us well a gunshot apparently from

behind us hit the President in the side of the temple.” (As he says this last line he points to his left temple) (When asked if he thought the first shot came from the same location) "I think it came from the same location apparently back up on the mall, whatchacallit." (When asked if he thought the shot came from the viaduct) "Yes, sir, no, no, not on the viaduct itself but up on top of the hill, on the mound, of ground, in the garden." (When asked from how far away the shots were fired) "I have no idea. I didn't see where the gunshots come from. I believe we was looking directly at the President when he was hit. He was more or less directly in front of us. We didn't realize what happened until we seen the side of his head, when the bullet hit him. (When asked if he saw blood) "Yes sir, we seen it. I seen it" **(11-22-63** second interview on WFAA, prior to the announcement of Kennedy's death, at approximately 1:00 PM) (When asked if he felt the shots came from different directions) "No sir, actually I feel that they both come from directly behind where we were standing. The President, it looked like he was looking in that direction. I don't know whether he was hit first. Apparently he wasn't. It looked like he jumped up in his seat, and when he jumped up he was shot directly in his head. I don't know whatchacallit--the mall behind us--but apparently (interviewer Jay Watson finishing his thought) "that's where he was." **(11-22-63** third interview on WFAA, at approximately 1:10 PM) "My wife and my two sons were standing at the curb, looking at the President approaching us, when we heard a blast. And the President looked like that he right jumped up in his seat, and by that time he was directly in front of us. And then he.....we seen him get shot in the side of the head. He fell back in the seat and Governor Connally was holding his stomach." (When asked if the shots were almost simultaneous) "Yes sir, they were probably 10 seconds apart." (When asked if he heard a third shot) "I didn't hear a third...I don't recall a third shot. There may have been. We hit...my family hit the ground. I don't recall a third shot. I just couldn't...I'm not certain of that. I do know I heard two shots." **(11-22-63** statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 24H219) "We were standing at the edge of the curb looking at the car as it was coming toward us and all of a sudden there was a noise, apparently gunshot. The President jumped up in his seat, and it looked like what I thought was firecracker had went off and I thought he had realized it. It was just like an explosion and he was standing up. By this time he was directly in front of us and I was looking directly at him when he was hit in the side of the head." **(11-24-63** FBI report, 22H842) "when the President's car was approximately 50 feet from him proceeding in a westerly direction on Elm Street, he heard the first shots fired...the shots were fired in rapid succession which he thought at the time was a firecracker. The car was proceeding toward him and it seemed that the President's arms went up and that he raised up in his seat and started to look around. The car proceeded to a point about even with him and he could see Governor John Connally was holding his stomach. About that time another shot was fired which he estimated was ten seconds after the first shot was fired. At that time he heard the bullet strike the president and saw flesh fly from the President's head... Newman first thought the President and Governor were playing some kind of a game."

(11-29-66 taped interview with Josiah Thompson, as recounted in Six Seconds in Dallas, 1967) "We were looking back up the street to see if the motorcade was coming and the first two shots were fired, and of course the first shot, boom, the President threw his arms up like that, spun around sort of...and then it looked like he was looking in the crowd, you know, like he was looking for something, just kind of a wild expression..." (When asked the spacing of the first two shots) "about a second apart." (When asked about a drawing in which he depicted the fatal bullet's striking Kennedy by his ear) "That's what I saw. The way he was hit, it looked like he had just been hit with a baseball pitch, just like a block of wood fell over his... (When it was pointed out to him that he was moving his head backwards and to the left, and his drawing had depicted a wound by the ear) "In my opinion the ear went." (When asked if he thought shots came from in back of him) "That's right. Well, of course, the President's being shot in the side of the head by the third shot--I thought the shot was fired from directly behind where we were standing. And that's what scared us, because I thought we were right in the direct path of gunfire." (When asked again if his impression was that the bullet entered the side of the head) "Right. Right. My

thoughts were that the shot entered there and apparently the thoughts of the Warren Commission were that the shot came out that side.” (When asked again if his impression was that the shots came from behind where he was standing) "Right. Well I think everybody thought the shots were from where I'm saying--behind us--because everybody went in that direction. Must have." (When asked if "behind us" would include the direction of the depository building) "Well, this is going to sound peculiar, but I was thinking more just the opposite of the building...actually the thought never entered my mind that the shots were coming from the building...But, of course, I've talked to people and they say, at that height, it echoes... (When asked if it was his impression then that the shots came from the right front of the President) "The thought never entered my mind that it was coming from the rear." (At another point in the book) "I thought the shots were coming from right off the tops of our heads...When we turned around, I think...well, several people hit the ground." (2-17-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) (When asked how many shots he heard) "I heard at least three. I often thought of four, but I can't clearly say there were four shots; I can clearly say there were three." (When asked if he developed an impression from where the shots had been fired) Yes, sir. From the sound of the shots, the report of the rifle or whatever it was, it sounded like they were coming directly behind from where I was standing." (When asked to point out the location on an aerial photograph of the plaza) "In my opinion, the sounds of the shots sounded as if they had come from directly behind me (indicating). I was standing near this light standard here, and I thought the shots were coming from back here, and apparently everybody else did because they all ran in that direction." (When asked to point it out on a mock up of the plaza) "(Indicating) From back in this direction here directly behind me. At the time -- you want me to mention the third shot?" (When asked to describe the shooting in more detail) "My wife and myself were watching the parade come toward us. We had to more or less step off the curb to look up the street, and as the car was approaching I heard two shots -- BOOM, BOOM -- and when the first shot was fired the President threw his hands up like this (demonstrating), and at the time what we thought had happened, somebody threw firecrackers or something under the automobile and he was protecting his face. At the time of the first shot Governor Connally turned in his seat in this manner (demonstrating), to look back at the President I suppose, and then the second shot was fired, and then as the car approached us to where we were standing, I could see Governor Connally leaning back in his seat holding his hands down like this (demonstrating), and at that time I could see blood on his shirt, and that is when I actually realized that it appeared, you know, he had been shot. The President all the time was staying in an upright position in his seat and it looked like he was looking into the crowd of people as if he was trying to see someone. I caught a glimpse of his eyes, just looked like a cold stare, he just looked through me, and then when the car was directly in front of me, well, that is when the third shot was fired and it hit him in the side of the head right above the ear and his ear come off... I observed his ear flying off, and he turned just real white and then blood red, and the President, when the third shot hit him he just went stiff like a board and fell over to his left in his wife's lap, and I told my wife, "That is it, hit the ground," and that is when we hit the ground because I thought the shots were coming over our heads. And then I looked back and I saw Mrs. Kennedy jumping up on the back end of the car and the Secret Service man or whoever it was into the car, and then they shot on off, took off." (When asked how far he'd been from Kennedy at the time of the fatal shot) "I was the width of one lane, approximately 10 or 15 feet. I was standing on the curb's edge, edge of the curb. They were in the second lane." (When asked Kennedy's reaction to the shot) "The only reaction that I can recall -- I don't recall whether his head went back or forward, but I do recall when the impact hit him that he just stiffened and he went to the left, real hard to the left and into her lap, and... He went away from me."

(The Kennedy Assassination Tapes, 1979) Civilian L "When the President's car came around the corner, I had a good view from about 150 feet. About that time I heard two loud sounds about three seconds apart. I didn't associate them with gunshots... They seemed more like firecrackers. However, I did notice a change in President Kennedy, his arm went up and he seemed to stiffen. Just after the two

sounds...the limousine stopped for an instant, a large man in the right front seat picked up what looked to be a telephone, and then the car shot forward again. Some of the agents on the following car got off...From a distance of 12-to 15 feet...we saw the bullet hit the President from the right rear and literally tear away the side of his scalp and right ear...Thinking about it afterwards, I had the impression that they had been fired from behind us. I noticed Mr. Zapruder with his camera and thought it was a gun. My impression was only "behind us," not from the stockade fence. I am certain no shot was fired from there." (7-23-86 testimony in televised mock trial, On Trial: Lee Harvey Oswald) "As the President's car come towards us, probably 200 feet or so from us, we heard a Boom (one second pause) Boom, like that. The President sorta threw his arms up, and we thought at that time maybe someone had throwed firecrackers or something beside the President's car. As the President's car came closer to us, we could see that something was wrong. Governor Connally, I could see the blood on his shirt, and Governor Connally's eyes protruding. And the President was looking into the crowd of people. He was moving his head about and looking into the crowd of the people. And just as the President's car got directly in front of me, the President was probably fifteen feet away, Boom, and the side of his ear flew off, and just a, bits and pieces flew off. I can remember seeing just a white flash, and then the red, and the President fell across the car, as if you'd hit him with a bat. He fell across the car, and back, into Mrs. Kennedy's lap. I remember her saying 'Oh my God! They've shot Jack!'...Mrs. Kennedy...At that time I turned to Gayle and I said 'That's it! Hit the ground! We hit the ground because we thought we were in direct line of fire. (When asked where he thought the shots were coming from) Sir, I thought the shots were coming from directly behind. (When asked to mark on the map where he thought the shots came from) It would be somewhere back in this general area. (He then makes a large mark across the southern side of the Elm Street extension back behind the eastern half of the arcade, to the West of the School Book Depository). (When asked by Bugliosi if he thought the shot that hit Kennedy in the head was the last shot) "Yes sir, I do." (Interview in The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "I can remember seeing the side of the President's ear and head come off. I remember a flash of white and red and just bits and pieces of flesh exploding from the President's head. At that time, I turned to Gayle and said "That's it, hit the ground." And we turned and hit the ground and covered our children. When the third shot was fired I thought it came from directly behind, towards the grassy knoll behind me. I base that primarily on the third shot, from what I saw, the sight of the President's head coming off, and from the sound of the rifle, the report of the rifle" (Interview in 1988 TV documentary JFK: The Day The Nation Cried) "We thought someone had thrown firecrackers or something against the President's car. It just looked like a bad joke. Of course, as the motorcade came closer to us we could see that it was not a joke. I remember the President throwing his hands up as if--I thought--to shield his face from the debris or something from the firecrackers, when in reality it was reaction to the gun shot that had hit him."

(Interview with Jim Marrs published in Crossfire, 1989) "As he was coming straight toward us there was a boom, boom, real close together. I thought someone was throwing firecrackers. He got this bewildered look on his face and was sort of slowing moving back and forth. The he got nearer to us, and, bam, a shot took the right side of his head off. His ear flew off. I heard Mrs. Kennedy say 'Oh, my God, no, they shot Jack!' He was knocked violently back against the seat, almost as if he had been hit by a baseball bat. At that time, I was looking right at the President and I thought the shots were coming from directly behind us. I said, "That's it! Get on the ground!" (Excerpt from 1991 interview with Mark Oakes, found online) "As the car got directly in front of us, the President was not much further than I am to you--probably ten to twelve feet, he was directly in front of me--the third shot rang out and I remember seeing the side of his head come off...I was looking straight at him and I remember seeing him go across the car and into Mrs. Kennedy's lap." (When asked if it hit him in the temple) "It appeared right in this area here (as he motions to his temple)" (11-19-93 article in USA Today) "Bill Newman, 52, was also at the scene. He and his wife, Gayle, were captured on film covering their two

young children with their bodies as gunfire rings out. He's not sure if there was a conspiracy, but he is certain the matter should be investigated further." (**11-20-97** interview published in *No Case To Answer*, 2005) "the President's car was out the distance of one lane from the curb line and some one hundred and fifty feet from us, some short distance, when the first two shots rang out. And it was a boom-boom. They were very close together and I could remember thinking "Boy, that's a poor thing to do." I thought someone had thrown a couple of firecrackers at the side of the President's car. At that moment, I didn't realize that it was gunfire and the President had been shot. I can remember his arms go up...he just kinda came forward and made a motion and apparently he was hit by one of the first two shots. As the car got closer to us I could see that something was wrong. I could see Governor Connally and I could see his eyes protruding and I could see him holding himself and I could see blood on his shirt. I can remember that the President looked to me like he was sorta looking into the crowd with a bewildered look on his face. As the car got directly in front of us--and we were on the curb's edge--and the President was probably not much further than I am from you (about ten feet) the third shot rang out and I can remember seeing the side of President Kennedy's head blow off. There was black matter and then grayish and he fell across Mrs. Kennedy, into her lap, and she jumped up and hollered "Oh my God no. They've shot Jack." And I turned to Gayle and I said: "That's it--hit the ground." And we turned and pushed our kids down on the ground behind us." (When describing his impression of the direction from which the shots were fired) "From my view it was just "behind" and it was a visual impact it had on me of seeing the head wound and seeing President Kennedy go across the seat. That gave me the impression of the shot being fired from behind..."

(*No More Silence* p. 94-101, published **1998**) "As the President's car started down Elm, the first two shots were fired. It was BOOM!...BOOM! like that. The first two were much closer together in my opinion. It's hard for me to tell the time frame because my concentration was on the President's car. I'm sure the Zapruder film can tell exactly the time frame. But the first two shots were much closer than the third shot. At that time I thought someone had thrown a couple of firecrackers or something beside the President's car. I didn't even realize at that time it was gunfire. The President's car was probably 150 feet or so from us at the time. As the car came closer to us, it was obvious something was wrong. I could see Governor Connally; I could see his protruding eyes, and I could see him more or less frozen in the seat holding himself. You could see the blood on Governor Connally and President Kennedy. When the first two shots were fired, he threw his arms up. I believe I said at the time that he raised up in his seat, which I think, in reality, all he did was throw his arms up. I can remember him turning, looking into the crowd, and just as the car passed in front of us at a distance of ten to fifteen feet, the third shot rang out, and it hit the President. It appeared to me that it hit him on the side of the head, as the side of his head came off. I can remember seeing a white mass, and then just a mass of red. The President fell across the car away from me over into Mrs. Kennedy's lap. It was as if someone had given him a hard shove. It wasn't like slow motion. He went across the seat pretty quick. Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and said, "Oh my God, no, they've shot Jack!" Then I recall her on the back of the car when the Secret Service agent ran toward the car and pushed her back in. When the third shot rang out, I turned to Gayle and said, "That's it! Hit the ground!" because at that time I thought the shot came from directly behind us in the grassy knoll area. The only basis I had for that was what I visually saw: the President going across the car and seeing the side of his head come off. The sound played little factor. I believe it was a visual thing at that time. We turned and hit the ground and threw our children down and covered them." (**November 1998** interview with *Texas Monthly*) "When his car was probably a hundred fifty feet or so from us, the first two shots rang out and it was boom!(smacks his hand) boom! (smacks his hand again) like that."

(*Oral History for the Sixth Floor Museum*, **7-10-03**) "When he was probably a hundred feet or so from us, the first two shots rang out, and I can remember hearing a boom (slaps hands) boom (slaps hands) about like that. I thought somebody had thrown a couple of firecrackers or something beside the

President's car. I did not recognize it even to be gunfire. And I can remember I thought now that's a pretty poor joke--somebody doing something like that. And the President's hands came up. I actually testified that day that the President came up out of his seat, which in reality he didn't stand up, but he just threw his arms up, kinda raised up in his seat. As the car got closer to us I could see Governor Connally and I could see his protruding eyes, and I could see the blood on his shirt. He was outstretched in the car. And just as the President got straight in front of us, which is the width of that one lane. We were right on the curb, and just as he got straight out from the curb from us, the third shot rang out. And I can remember seeing the side of President Kennedy's head come off, and I thought his ear came off. And I testified to that effect but years later I saw a picture that showed otherwise. But I can remember seeing a flash of white and the red blood. He went across the car seat over into Mrs. Kennedy's lap. And I can remember her hollering out 'Oh my God, no, they've shot Jack.'" And I turned to Gayle and said 'Gayle, that's it. Hit the ground' because at that time I thought the shots had come from straight over the top of our heads from behind." (When discussing a report received at WFAA saying the President was still alive) "I was kinda dumbfounded to hear these people saying that, when just minutes earlier I'd seen the side of his head come off." (When asked if he knew the President was dead when first interviewed on WFAA) "When you see something the size of a grapefruit or orange or something blow out into the air, and then you hear the statement that he was in the emergency and was shot in the back whatever, it dumbfounded me momentarily.." (When later asked about his impression the shots came from behind) "It was the visual impact that it had on me more so than the noise--seeing the side of the President's head blow off, seeing the President go across the car seat into Mrs. Kennedy's lap, in her direction. It gave me the impression that the shots were coming from directly behind where I was standing." (When stressing just how much his impressions of the shot location were based on what he saw as opposed to what he heard) "It might be difficult for me to testify that I heard a noise." (History Channel program "Our Generation", broadcast **2007**) "The President's car came toward us, probably some hundred feet or so from us, when the first shots rang out...I seen a bewildered look on President Kennedy's face...And when his limousine was straight out in front of us the third shot rang out...She (Jackie) hollered out "Oh my God no they've shot Jack" and I turned to Gayle and I said "That's it! Hit the ground!" (Pierce Allman, "Our Generation", broadcast **2007**) "A cop he got off his motorcycle and he said "everybody get down" and I bounced right back up and ran across the street and picked up Bill and Gayle Newman--I didn't know their names of the couple at the time--they had two little kids--and I said "Are you okay?" And he said "Yeah, but they got the President. They blew the side of his head in."

(Televised interview broadcast on KRLD, **11-17-08**) "As it got a hundred feet or so from us, the first two shots rang out. It was a boom, (slaps hands, waits about a second) boom (slaps hands), about like that." (Later) "As the car got in front of us, right here--like I say we was against the curb--the third shot rang out. I can recall seeing the side of President Kennedy's head fly off, seeing President Kennedy go across into Mrs. Kennedy's lap. And she hollered out 'Oh, my God, no, they've shot Jack.'" (The newsman then shows his viewers where the Newmans thought the shots had come from--not the picket fence, but the back of the arcade, near the west side of the book depository.) (**11-19-08** AP article by Dylan Lovan) "As the president's black convertible came into sight, Bill Newman said, he heard what he thought were fireworks. 'I didn't recognize it as a gunshot,' he said, clapping his hands twice with a pause to simulate the sounds. But as the limousine drew closer, Newman said he could see blood on Kennedy and Texas Gov. John Connally, who was in the car with the president. 'Ten, 12 feet in front of us, the third shot rang out, and that's when the side of his head flew off and I could remember seeing' the blood, Bill Newman said. 'I turned to Gayle and I said, that's it, hit the ground.' (When asked if he felt there was second gunman on the grassy knoll) 'I do tend to want to lean in the direction that it was a conspiracy, meaning more than one person was involved. But so far, no one's ever come forward with concrete evidence.'" (**11-22-08** article by David Flick in the Dallas Morning News) "With 45 years of

practice, Bill Newman repeats what he saw on Nov. 22, 1963, dispassionately and in quick order. After witnessing President John F. Kennedy's arrival at Dallas Love Field, he pressed the speed limit along Cedar Springs Road to get to his family to the parade route along Dealey Plaza. They arrived about five minutes ahead of the motorcade. As the presidential limousine approached, he heard a sound that he assumed was a firecracker, and then another. The president briefly raised his arms and then gazed out at the crowd with a bewildered look. A third shot. The president slumped into his wife's lap." (Tru TV program Conspiracy Theory, first broadcast **11-19-10**) "As the President's car turned onto Elm Street, probably some one hundred feet or less from us, the first two shots rang out, and it was BOOM (hits palm) BOOM (hits palm about a second later). Like that. Just as the car got right in front of us, the third shot rang out, and the side of President Kennedy's head blew off (as he says this he reaches for his temple). We seen the brain matter and the blood fly off. Mrs. Kennedy, she screamed out "Oh my God, they shot Jack." I turned to Gayle and said 'That's it, hit the ground.' We threw our children down and covered them on the ground. I thought the shot had come from directly behind (as he says this he points to the arcade at the top of the knoll). (At this point interviewer Jesse Ventura interjects "Directly behind?" Newman then confirms) "Directly behind." (A quick shot of the picket fence--which is 30 feet or more to the west of where Newman was pointing--is then shown.)

Analysis: Newman's statements demonstrate the necessity of grabbing eyewitness statements when fresh. While his statements have been consistent in many ways, in other, very important ways, they have changed. While he initially said the bullet impacted at the temple, within a few years it was blowing off Kennedy's ear. Similarly, while he initially heard one early sound, which he believed to be a firecracker, this sound eventually became two separate, well-defined BOOMS, and two firecrackers. Perhaps, as he became aware that most everyone, including his wife, had heard three shots fired, he re-interpreted the sound he initially thought was a firecracker, and convinced himself it was two shots. That he yelled to his wife and dived down to the ground after the head shot might account for his not hearing the final shot heard by so many others. Newman's purported statements to Bowles for the Kennedy Assassination Tapes are also interesting. Here, for the first and only time in his purported statements, there is a three second gap between the first two shots, plenty of time for Oswald to re-fire. Here, Newman's initial suspicion the shots came from behind him is based not on his aural and visual impressions, as stated in *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*, or his visual impressions alone as he would later insist, but on his suspicion Zapruder had a gun. As with the statements of the other unidentified witnesses in Bowles' book, liberties appear to have been taken. If this is so, however, Bowles was not the first nor the last to misrepresent Newman's statements. Conspiracy theorists, including the creators of 2010's Tru TV program Conspiracy Theory, have long pretended Newman's impression the last shot came from behind supports that the last shot or shots came from the picket fence. The picket fence was, at frame 313, when Newman developed his impression of the direction from which the shots were fired, directly to his right, and not directly to his rear. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

Frances Gayle Newman: (**11-22-63** first interview on WFAA, prior to the announcement of Kennedy's death, at approximately 12:45) (When asked if she saw the blood) "Yes sir, it was awful." (When asked what her first thought was after the shots were fired) "I thought it was a firecracker and I saw the blood and I.....I had the baby and II just ran and we....I got on top of him and laid on the grass. I....I was....it scared me. It was terrible." (When asked what else she saw) "Governor Connally was kinda turned to the side and he grabbed his stomach." (**11-22-63** second interview on WFAA, at approximately 1:17 PM) "We were standing next to the curb so the children could see the President. And the car was just up apiece from us and this shot fired out, and I thought it was a firecracker, and the President kind of raised up in his seat. And I thought, you know, he was kind of going along with a gag or something. And then all of a sudden the next one popped, and Governor Connally grabbed his stomach and kind of laid over to the side. And then another one—it was just awful fast. And President Kennedy reached up (with both hands she reaches for her right temple) and grabbed--it looked like he

grabbed--his ear and blood just started gushing out. (She lowers her hands) And my husband said "Quick, get down" and I grabbed the baby and we ran and laid down on the grass and I got on top of him. It was just right by us when it all happened, just right in front of us." (When asked if she saw anybody) "It happened so fast that you didn't have the chance to see anything. It was just too fast." (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 24H218) "When President Kennedy's car was about ten feet from us, I heard a noise that sounded like a firecracker going off. President Kennedy kind of jumped like he was startled and then covered his head with his hands and then raised up. After I heard the first shot, another shot sounded and Governor Connally kind of grabbed his chest and lay back on the seat of the car. When I first saw and heard all this, I thought it was all of a joke. Just about the time President Kennedy was in front of us, I heard another shot ring out and the President put his hands up to his head, I saw blood all over the side of his head. About this time, Mrs. Kennedy grabbed the President and he kind of lay over to the side kind of in her arms. Then my husband, Billy, said it is a shot. We grabbed our two children and my husband lay on one child and I lay on the other one on the grass. We started to get up and then all of a sudden we lay back down. I don't know what it was but another shot may have been fired that caused us to lay back down." (11-24-63 FBI report, 22H842) "She estimated that when the limousine bearing the President was about 50 feet from them she heard 2 reports and the President seemed to rise up in his seat. A few seconds later she heard another shot and saw that the President had been hit in the head because she saw blood flowing from his body. She believed there were first two shots in succession, a pause, then another shot was fired which struck the President... After the shots were fired, she and her husband each grabbed a child and lay down on the grass fearing they might be hit by gunfire."

(2-15-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) "The President's car was maybe 100 or 150 feet from us when I first heard the noise and the first two noises were close together, just seconds apart... at the time of the first noise he threw his hands up... He threw his hands up like this and sort of turned his head... I saw Governor Connally with the first shot seemed to turn a little bit like this. (Indicating)... at the time of the second shot Governor Connally grabbed his stomach... his eyes just got real big and he sort of slumped down in the seat... we heard a third report, it was a short time, not maybe 10 or 12 seconds after the first two shots... that shot when it happened, the President's car was directly in front of us and it was about a lane's width between us, it wasn't in the lane next to the curb it was in the middle lane, and at that time he was shot in the head right at his ear or right above his ear... The President, his head just seemed to explode, just bits of his skull flew in the air and he fell to the side." (Interview in The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "The first two shots I didn't realize what they were but the third shot, after it was fired, I heard Mrs. Kennedy scream "Oh no! They shot Jack!" And it just sorta put a chill over you. It was just terrible." (Excerpt from 1991 interview with Mark Oakes, found online) "When he was shot,(?) stuff flew up (motions to right temple) and blood started coming out of his head. And he fell over into Mrs. Kennedy's lap." (Interview with Texas Monthly, November 1998) "as the car turned the corner and came towards us, we heard a noise. I thought it was a firecracker. And the people in the car reacted, especially President Kennedy. He threw his hands up, I thought he was going, you know, going along with a bad joke... Then, as they got closer to us, directly in front of us, when the other shot that (was) shot, you know, the side of his head, you could see the white matter coming out of his head, then red, and we heard her (Jackie) holler, "Oh my God, no, they shot Jack!" And Bill turned to us and he said, "That's it. Put the children on the ground." We put the children on the ground and shielded them with our bodies because we thought we were in, you know, direct crossfire." (Oral History for the Sixth Floor Museum, 7-10-03) "The first two shots sounded like firecrackers to me. I'd never been around gunfire so I had nothing to compare it with but the way he reacted I thought that man's got a sense of humor--y'know, someone doing something like that in such bad taste. And then as the car approached and got directly in front of us that third shot rang out, and just the visual--you could see bits of flesh flying in the air, a white mass and then red coming out of his head (during this last

sentence, she placed her hand by her right ear). I heard Jackie Kennedy scream out also and we turned and put the children on the grass behind us and shielded them with our bodies." (When asked if she thought the President was dead) "I wouldn't think that anybody could live with the side of their head (at this point she fluttered her fingers over her right ear)...I mean, if you'd have seen it there would be no doubt in your mind that he was dead." (When later asked if she shared her husband's impression the shots came from behind) "Yes, mine is just visual. Y'know, the impact at the side of his head, and the way he fell over. Just visual." (Televised interview broadcast on KRLD, **11-17-08**) "I thought it was firecrackers. I'd never been around gunshots or gunfire at all in my life." (Later) "I was scared that something might happen to my children. Y'know I didn't know if we were gonna be in a crossfire, what was gonna happen." (On the third shot) "When that happened Bill turned to me and he said 'That's it! Hit the ground.' And so we turned and put the children on the ground and shielded them with our bodies." **Analysis:** Gayle Newman clearly saw the President wounded by the first shot. She then heard two more shots, associating one with the wounding of Connally, and one with the head wound on Kennedy. As the Newmans are about the only witnesses to note Connally's wounds before the head shot, their recollections are strong arguments against the rare but resilient theory that Connally was hit by a shot fired after the head shot. As Mrs. Newman was both one of the first people to comment on the shots, and one of the closest witnesses, her fresh recollection that the shot after the shot striking Connally came "awful fast" is also a strong argument against the LPM scenario, in which these shots are five tension-filled seconds apart. Still, as her latter statements reflect she thought the head shot was further from the shot striking Connally than the Connally shot was from the first shot, it's hard to avoid concluding her recollections are fairly unique, in that she seemed to think the the first two shots were bunched. **First shot hit 190-224. First two shots bunched together. Possibly originally believed the last two shots were bunched together.**

Up Close and Even More Personal



At left: a frame from the Muchmore film, with the Newman family on the far side of the limousine, and Beverly Oliver and Charles Brehm in the foreground.



Above: Z-298, with Jean Hill in red, Mary Moorman in blue, and a woman believed to be Toni Foster in tan.



At left: the Bond photo depicting the aftermath of the shooting. Cheryl McKinnon can be seen crouched down on the ground to the east of the Newmans.



Above: the Hesters as depicted in the Wiegman film

Up Close and Even More Personal

There are still more prime witnesses, people whose lives were forever changed by their experience. One or more of these persons, however, may not be who they say they are.

Francine Burrows was purported by Gerald Posner in 1993 to be the woman in a tan jacket running north towards Kennedy in the Zapruder film in the frames leading up to the head shot. (3-6-92 interview with Gerald Posner, reported in *Case Closed*, 1993) “She (Burrows) ran across the grass to get closer to the President. In the Zapruder film, she is seen in a beige raincoat, running toward the limousine neat the point of the fatal head shot, and has never been identified until now. Burrows was within twenty-five feet of JFK when he was shot and was also looking directly at the grassy knoll. She saw nothing there. Instead, she remembers three shots, and says, “I was very close to him when he got shot. And I looked up at that window immediately...I knew instinctively that’s where the shots came from.” **Analysis:** if this is the woman in the film she is nowhere near twenty-five feet from Kennedy at the moment of the head shot, as Posner claims, but forty to fifty feet away at the closest. As we are not allowed to read all that she had to say, an accurate evaluation is difficult, however. While Posner boasts she heard three shots, as a way of cutting off speculation that more than three shots were fired, he doesn’t let us read how the shots sounded, or when she heard them in relation to where she was in the film. It is highly doubtful that the woman in the film, who, in Posner’s theory had continued to run towards the President for five seconds after hearing the second shot, knew shots were being fired prior to the head shot, and yet Posner wants us to believe that at the moment of the head shot, she immediately knew that all the shots had come from the school book depository. It seems quite possible she heard one or more shots just before or after the head shot, and that Posner trimmed her words to hide this fact. **Too vague.**

Toni Foster is a woman claiming to be the same woman that Posner claims is Francine Burrows. Unlike Posner, when researcher Debra Conway publicly identified Foster as the “Running Woman,” she had the good sense to publish pictures of her. There is, indeed, a resemblance to the woman seen in the Zapruder film. (2000 article in the *Kennedy Assassination Chronicles*) “I heard two firecracker-like sounds and I looked up because it sounded like it was coming from up in the air. At the time, I thought, “Those sound like firecrackers.” To me it was click-click; they were just that fast. As I thought that and I looked towards the president I didn’t know he was already shot. Because when I did look at him that’s when the third shot hit and his head went down like that (puts her head to her chest). I looked at him, I noticed he took his hands and did like this (brings her hands up and crossed at her chest), his head came down. I thought, “I wonder what he’s doing? Why did he do that?” As I’m thinking that—that fast—the 4th shot, the last shot, hit and his head exploded. So to me it was four shots. I do recall after that, the shell, I could hear that clink. And I remember everything stopped for me. I remember (his head) looked like confetti, it was just blown off. It hit him back here (puts her hand on the right rear of her head) and it was just like confetti. The spray went behind him. I do believe from what I heard and what I saw the shots came from the back. Now this whole thing was a shock but that’s how I feel, what I heard and what I saw—they were coming from the back...For some reason the car stopped. It did stop for seconds. I don’t even know why it stopped and all of a sudden it sped up and they went under the underpass. I could never figure out why the car stopped.” **Analysis:** Foster has more credibility than Burrows, if only because Ms. Conway allows her to have more credibility. Although Foster says she heard four shots, she says she believed they all came from behind. She also says the spray went to the back, which is inaccurate, but would have been how the spray appeared since the limousine was in motion. Where she is almost certainly wrong is in her recollection of three shots before the head shot, and two missed shots at the beginning, something no one else, save another controversial witness, Beverly Oliver, seems to remember. **Heard four shots. Three early shots.**

Mary Moorman was on the south side of Elm across from the Newmans, and to the east of Toni

Foster. She can be seen in the Zapruder film, Nix film, and Muchmore film, as well as stills such as the Bond photo. She took a picture of Kennedy a split second after the impact of the head shot. (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times-Herald) "Mrs. Moorman, who snapped a picture just at the time the President was shot, and said: 'I took the picture exactly at the moment the shot rang out. My Polaroid shows Kennedy slumped over in the car and it shows Jackie leaning towards him. I heard Mrs. Kennedy say 'My God, he's been shot.' I heard another shot or two and I turned to my friend and we got on the ground.'" (3:16 PM 11-22-63 WBAP TV interview, available on Youtube) (When asked why she took the photo at that moment) "That was the only chance I had. Mine is a Polaroid and I can only take one every ten seconds, and that was at that time whenever I took it. (When asked if she'd realized he'd been shot when she took the picture) "No I didn't. I must have snapped it immediately when he slumped, cause in the picture that's the way she's there and he's slumped over." (When asked if she'd seen the shooter) "No, I had taken the picture. And then the shots. And I decided it was time to fall on the ground." (3:30 PM 11-22-63 KRLD interview, as transcribed by David Lifton and posted on the Education Forum, 6-30-11) (When asked if she took her Polaroid picture before or after the first shot) "Evidently, just immediately, as the... Cause he was, he was looking, you know, whenever I got the camera focused and then I snapped it in my picture, he slumped over." (When asked how far away she was from Kennedy at this time) "10 or 15 foot, I, no, more (unint) because I fell behind my camera." (When asked where she was standing) "Just a few feet from the underpass" (When asked if she was by the grassy bank) "Yes, that's where we were and I stepped out in the street. We were right at the car." (When asked if she saw any suspicious persons) "Yeah, of course, I have, I was just uh you know (unclear word) my camera, and when I took that the shots had rang out, and I wasn't looking around." (When asked how many shots she heard) "Oh, oh, I don't know. I think three or four is what I, uh, that I heard...that I'm sure of. Now, I don't know, there might have been more. It just took seconds for me to realize what was happening. (When asked Kennedy's response to the first shot.) "He grabbed his chest, and, of course, Mrs. Kennedy jumped up immediately and fell over him, and she said "My God, he's been shot." (When asked the reactions of others) "Uh, they hesitated just for a moment 'cause I think they were like I was, you know—"Was that a shot or was it just a backfire, or just what?" And then, of course, he clutched himself and they immediately sped up, real fast, you know, like to get out of there. And, uh the police, there were several motorcycles around him, and uh, they stopped, and uh—one or two must have went with him. And one ran up the hill, and a friend that was with me ran up the hill across the street, from where the shots came from." (When asked if the shots sounded loud) "Yes, they did. Just like a firecracker going off..." (When asked if they seemed close by) "Yes, uh huh." (When asked where the shots came from) "Oh, (unintelligible, 'Lord' or possibly 'North') Just back there." (When asked if this meant the shots were fired toward her) "Yes, sir... The sound popped, well it just sounded like, well, you know, there might have been a firecracker right there in the car." (When asked again if her picture was taken before the shot) "Evidently, at the minute that is, that it hit him because, uh, he was, he was looking, at me, or I mean, he was looking, you know, at the people when (or "whenever") my picture came out. They just, just slumped over, so I must have got it. (words, unintelligible)." (When asked if this is shown in her picture) "Yes, uh huh. You could (unint) he's clutched. He's bent over, and she's...and she hadn't even gotten up in my picture, and she did get up, stood up, in the car."

(11-22-63 WFAA interview, as quoted in Pictures of the Pain) "My picture when I took it was at the same instant that the President was hit, and that does show in my picture...it shows the President, uh, he slumped...It all happened so suddenly, I don't think anyone realized, you know, what had happened." (About the shots) "There was three or four real close together, and it must have been the first one that shot him, 'cause that was the time I took the picture, and during that time after I took the picture, and the shots were still being fired, I decided I better get on the ground. I was no more than 15 foot from the car, and in the line of fire, evidently." (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department,

19H487, 24H217) "As President Kennedy was opposite me, I took a picture of him. As I snapped the picture of President Kennedy, I heard a shot ring out. President Kennedy kind of slumped over. Then I heard another shot ring out and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and said "My God, he has been shot!" When I heard these shots ring out, I fell to the ground to keep from being hit myself. I heard three or four shots in all." (11-23-63 FBI, report, 22H838) "She took a second photograph of the President as his automobile passed her, and just as she snapped the picture, she heard what she first thought was a firecracker and very shortly thereafter heard another similar sound which she later determined to have been gunfire. She knows that she heard two shots and possibly a third shot. She recalls seeing the President sort of "jump" and start to slump sideways in the seat, and seems to recall President Kennedy's wife scream "My God, he's been shot!...She recalls that the President's car was moving at the time she took the second picture, and when she heard the shots, and has the impression that the car either stopped momentarily or hesitated and then drove off in a hurry." (Interview with CBS, aired 9-27-64) "I stepped out into the street. So, I took the camera and aimed it, uh, focused it. And I stood there and looked through it for quite a few seconds, since I wanted to be sure that they were looking at me. And uh, I followed it, for, oh, so many seconds, and then I did take the picture."

(2-15-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) "as the Presidential limousine approached me I stepped forward to observe closer in order to take a picture, that is what I planned to do and just what I did....I heard three noises and they sounded like firecrackers." (1997 interview on KRLD, as posted online by Debra Conway) "Uh, just immediately before the presidential car came into view, we were, you know, there was just tremendous excitement. And my friend who was with me (Jean Hill) we were right ready to take the picture. And she's not timid. She, as the car approached us, she did holler for the president. 'Mr. President, look this way!' And I stepped out off the curb into the street to take the picture and snapped it immediately. And that evidently was the first shot. You know I could hear the sound. and..." (When asked if she recognized it as a rifle shot) "Oh no. A firecracker, maybe. There was another one just immediately following which I still thought was a firecracker. And then I stepped back up on to the grassy area. I guess just, people were falling around us, you know. Knowing something was wrong. I certainly didn't know what was wrong". (Appearance in Discovery Channel program Unsolved History: Death in Dealey Plaza, first aired 2-26-2003. Transcript provided by James Fetzer) (Moorman is standing on the grass where she is seen in the Zapruder film) "I just stepped to the, uh, to the edge here, and Jean is hollering, "Look Mr. President, look our way!" and then I snapped the picture, which was at the same instant, evidently, as the bullet hit him, not realizing that's what had happened. But I did hear a noise, and then I could see people around me falling to the ground, or running, and doing--and that led me to know that something was happening." (April, 2007 interview on KRLD) (When asked how many shots she heard) "I heard three." (When asked what they sounded like) "I stepped up to snap a picture and at the instant that I snapped a picture there was a shot. And I know I stepped back a few steps and another shot. And then there was another one shortly in a matter of seconds...The first two were closer together than the last one." (News interview found on youtube, in which Moorman discusses deciding to sell her photograph, 2008) "My thought was those are firecrackers, not shots." (When discussing her photograph) "It just so happened it was the same instant that he was hit. And that was the first shot." (On the possibility there was a shooter in front of Kennedy, on the knoll) "Whether there was or not, we may not ever know."

(5-24-11 interview conducted live on iantique.com) (When asked if she'd stepped out into the street to take a photograph of motorcycle officer McBride, before Kennedy's arrival) "Yes." (When asked if she'd stepped out into the street to take a picture of a second motorcycle officer, George Lumpkin) "Yes, I did, because he was in the middle of the street." (When describing the shooting) "I had been in the street to take the picture of Lumpkin. When the limousine turned the corner, it was coming towards me and I focused--I don't know if I focused--but I looked in the camera to watch the car as it approached, and uh looking up the area, waiting for him to get close enough and Jean hollered 'Mr.

President look this way, we want to take a picture!' As I thought he was where I wanted it to be, I snapped the picture. And at the same time I snapped the picture I heard a sound. And I just uh, I had my picture taken, I was not holding the camera in front of my face. And I heard two more sounds, which I thought were firecrackers." (When asked if she'd stepped into the street to take the photo of Kennedy) "I'm pretty sure that I had stepped back just onto the very edge of the curb, to get off the street, onto the grass." (When asked again about the first shot) "I heard that while the camera was still up in my face. I heard a noise. I heard a sound." (When asked about this shot in comparison to her taking her picture.) "At the same time... Seconds or...awfully quick." (When asked if she heard a second shot.) "I did. Immediately. It was like Pow...Pow Pow. Y'know it was that quick. And, this second shot, I was looking at this man, and my thought was 'I saw his hair jump.' Well, it was his head, y'know, the hair." (When asked if she thought he'd been hit by the first shot) "Yes." (And the second shot.) "Not sure about the second shot other than that I did see something happen to him." (When asked about a third shot.) "I heard three shots." (When asked to confirm that she didn't hear the two shots prior to the head shot described by most writers) "That's right. I guess not. And if there was a first shot, I don't think I would stand there and then take a picture, knowing that I'd heard something." (When asked if she could have been mistaken about the sounds.) "Well, yes, I thought they were firecrackers. I did not know there was a gunshot, no." (When asked if the motorcycles had been backfiring) "No." (When asked if the limo slowed down.) "It slowed down almost if not to a stop, and I saw Jackie. She hollered 'Oh, my God, he's been shot!' I heard that. And I saw her start to climb out over that car." (When asked when the limo slowed down) "After all the shots. There was no more shots." (When asked if she had a sense where the shots had come from.) "I did not." (When asked if she'd seen any shots hit the windshield.) "No, I did not. (Or the pavement.) "No, I did not." (When asked if she had a sense that some of what she'd heard were echoes.) "No, I didn't. I'm not accustomed to hearing shots." (When asked about Jean Hill's claim in her book that a SS agent stole Mary's photos from her--Jean Hill's--pocket.) "It didn't happen." (When asked whether Jean Hill had ever mentioned to her that she'd seen smoke or a man with a rifle on the grassy knoll--as she was later to claim.) "No, she did not." (When asked if she'd noticed anything on 11-22-63 that she now considers suspicious.) "I have no idea." (When asked why she didn't testify before the Warren Commission) "I just told them that I'd turned my ankle and couldn't go, and I never heard from them ever again." (On whether she thinks the Zapruder film coincides with her recollections) "Not really. I appreciate it...It does show that I was there." (If she has an opinion on whether there was more than one shooter.) "No. But I believe there's a whole lot more to the story than what's been told. I don't know about how many shooters or don't really care other than to know for sure what's happened." **Analysis:** as Mrs. Moorman took her famous Polaroid at frame 315, the first shot she heard would have to have been the head shot. She then describes a shot after this, but before she heard Jackie yell out. In this she is probably mistaken, as Skelton and Summers and her friend Jean Hill remember Jackie yelling out just before this shot. While she has been inconsistent on the number of shots she heard, she has been consistent in that the first shot she heard was the shot captured in her photo (at frame 315) and that she heard another shot (or two) just after this shot. **Did not hear the first shot. Last two shots (or more) bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Jean Hill, the woman in red in the Zapruder film, stood just east of her friend, Mary Moorman, who wore blue. (Peter Whitmey's excellent article on Hill, *The Lady in Red*, provided a number of the quotes.) (11-22-63 WBAP radio interview, first played around 1:10 PM, and then repeated around 1:21. This was also played on WBAP TV, apparently around 1:15.) "the shots came directly across the street from us, and just as the President's car became directly even with us...he and Jackie were looking at a dog that was in the middle of the seat, and about that time two shots rang out just as he looked up—just as the President looked up and these two shots rang out and he grabbed his chest, looked like he was in pain, and he fell over in his seat. And Jackie fell over on him and said "My God, he's been shot!" After that more shots rang out and the car sped away...the shots came from the hill...it was just east of the

underpass...(when asked if she saw anyone) I thought I saw this man running but I looked at the President and, y'know, for awhile, and I looked up there and I thought I saw a man running and so right after that--I guess I didn't have any better sense--I started running up there, too." (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H479, 24H212) "The President's car came around the corner and it was over on our side of the street. Just as Mary Moorman started to take a picture we were looking at the President and Jackie in the back seat... looking at a little dog between them. Just as the President looked up toward us two shots rang out and I saw the President grab his chest and fall forward across Jackie's lap and she fell across his back and said "My God, he has been shot". There was an instant pause between the first two shots and the motorcade seemingly halted for a second and three or four more shots rang out and the motorcade sped away." (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times-Herald) "Mrs. Jean Hill...said the motorcade stopped suddenly then swiftly sped on with the sirens blowing. 'I thought I saw someone in the motorcade in street dress shoot back at a person running up the hill. The motorcade kept on going at the usual rate of speed for a second and then sped up. Some of the motorcycle policemen sped up and some stopped. I didn't see anyone get in the car with the President. I didn't see anyone else in the car. I kept looking at the President. I couldn't see any blood.'" (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times-Herald--presumably published later that afternoon and as quoted in Hill's subsequent book, JFK: The Last Dissenting Witness) "Jean Hill, of 9402 Bluff Creek, and her companion were eyewitnesses to the shooting of President Kennedy in Dallas Friday. Both heard a sequence of shots, saw the President slump over to his wife, heard the piercing scream of Mrs. Kennedy. They glanced up to see a man run up the hill across the street from them..." (On what happened after the first shot) "Then the President looked up and just about that time he grabbed himself across the chest and looked like he was in pain. He fell toward Jackie across the seat. She said 'My God, they've shot him,' and she fell across him. I would say about six shots rang out and everybody started screaming and falling down..." (11-22-63 WFAA interview, several hours after the shooting, as found on youtube as "JFK Assassination rarely seen 22nd November 1963 Jean Hill interview") "The President and Mrs. Kennedy were in the back seat. They had a little dog between them. Looking at it. And just as the car came right in line with us, the President looked up and just as he looked up two shots rang out and he grabbed his chest and this real odd look came over his face and he pitched forward onto her lap. And she jumped up over him and screamed and said "My God, he's been shot!" And there was just an instantaneous, sort of an instant pause in the motorcade. It momentarily halted. And three or four more shots rang out and they sped away real quickly." (Later) "When I saw the look come across his face, I knew that he'd been hit." (3:16 PM 11-22-63 WBAP TV interview, available on Youtube) "Just as Mary started to take the picture and the President came right even with us, two shots-- we looked at him and he was looking at a dog in the middle of the seat—two shots rang out. And he grabbed his chest, and a look of pain on his face, and he fell across towards Jackie, and she fell over on him and said "My God, he's shot!" And there was an interval and then three or four more shots rang out. By that time the motorcade had sped away." (When asked if she saw the shooter) "No, I didn't see any person fire the weapon...I only heard it. And I looked up and I saw a man running up the hill." (When asked if she knew what had happened) "No, I had no idea. I had nothing to go by. I don't think it dawned on me for an instant that the President had been shot. I mean I knew and yet it just didn't register."

(3:30 PM 11-22-63 KRLD interview, as transcribed by David Lifton, and posted on the Education Forum, 6-30-11) (When asked if she was 10-15 feet from the limousine, as described by Mary Moorman moments before) "Not anymore than that at all...we were looking right at the President. We were looking at his face. As Mary took the picture, I was looking at him... And he grabbed his hands cross his ch--when two shots rang out. He grabbed his hands across his chest. I have never seen anyone killed, or in pain before like that but there was this odd look came across his face, and he pitched forward onto Jackie's lap. And, uh, she immediately, we were close enough to even hear her, and

everything, and she fell across him and says, "My God, he's been shot"... (When asked if she'd noticed the people around her) "There was no one around us on our side of the street. We had planned it that way; we wanted to be to be down [there] by ourselves. That's the reason we had gotten almost to the Underpass, so we'd be completely in the clear." (When asked the response in the motorcade) "The motorcade was stunned after the first two shots, and it came to a momentary halt, and about that time 4 more uh, 3 to 4 more shots again rang out, and I guess it just didn't register with me. Mary was, huh, had gotten down on the ground and was pulling at my leg, saying "Get, get down, they're shooting, get down, they're shooting, and I didn't even realize it. And I just kept sitting there looking. And just about that time, well, of course, some of the motorcycles pulled away. And some of them pulled over to the side and started running up the bank. There's a hill on the other side... And the shots came from there... After they were momentarily stopped—after the first two shots... then they sped away real quickly." (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p35) "she heard something like a rifle shot and observed President Kennedy crumple in his seat in the automobile. She was standing nearby, as the vehicle was passing the spot where she stood at the time." (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 2-18-64) "the consensus of opinion... down there at the quarters was that there had been only three shots... they kept sayin', are you sure it wasn't echoes?" (3-18-64 FBI report, 25H853) "She stated that President Kennedy was looking down when she shouted and when he turned to look at her a shot rang out and he slumped towards Mrs. Kennedy... Mrs Hill heard more shots ring out and saw the hair on the back of President Kennedy's head fly up... she heard from four to six shots in all and believes they came from a spot just west of the Texas School Book Depository. She thought there was slight interval between the first three shots and the remaining shots." (3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H205-223) "We were standing on the curb and I jumped to the edge of the street and yelled "Hey, we want to take your picture" to him and he was looking down in the seat—he and Mrs. Kennedy and their heads were turned toward the middle of the car looking down at something in the seat, which later turned out to be roses... as I yelled "Hey" to him, he started to bring his head up to look at me and just as he did the shots rang out. Mary took the picture and fell on the ground and of course there were more shots... I have always said there were some four to six shots. There were three shots, one right after the other, and a distinct pause, or just a moment's pause, and then I heard more."

(1978 interview with Anthony Summers, as recounted in Conspiracy, 1980) "'I heard four to six shots, and I'm pretty used to guns. They weren't echoes or anything like that. They were different guns that were being fired... The President was killed and then, of course, pandemonium reigned..and I looked up, and at the time I looked up across the street I saw smoke like from a gun coming from the parapet, that built-up part on the knoll.'" (Spring, 1987 conversation with Cyril Wecht, as recounted in Wecht's book Cause of Death, 1993) "'I was staring directly at the grassy knoll area when the shots went off,' Jean told me... 'As soon as I heard the shots, I focused completely over that way because that's where I thought the shots came from,' Jean said. 'I saw two men holding guns. One was behind the picket fence. As soon as the shots were fired, the men began fleeing, and instinctively, I started following them.'" (November, 1988 article by Edward Oxford in American History Illustrated, built upon an interview with Hill) "There was a flash of light from the grassy knoll. I thought it was the good guys and the bad guys. Shots from the back. Then..shooting from the front. I believe I heard four to six shots in all. Mary tried to pull me to the ground. I stood there. I wanted to find out what was happening. People seemed frozen at first. Then I noticed one man, though, moving from the front of the Depository building, hurrying towards that parking lot behind the grassy knoll. He had on a hat and an overcoat. I went back there looking for him. Then a guy in plain clothes came up to me and flashed some I.D. on me. He said he was with the Secret Service. He said, 'You need to come with me' - and took me over to the Sheriff's office to question me." (Interview in TV special Who Murdered JFK?, first broadcast 11-2-88) "I saw a man moving. He was the only thing in the whole area that was moving. And he was moving away-- toward the tracks--from in front of the school book depository, rather quickly. And something said to

me 'Go get him.'" (11-22-88 televised interview with Geraldo Rivera) (When asked why she raced up the knoll) "As the series of shots rang out, I thought I saw someone firing from the grassy knoll, from the fence behind there." (After being reminded that the Warren Commission had concluded no shots were fired from the knoll) "I heard the shots ringing out. I looked -of course -I was looking around. My friend Mary got down on the ground and said 'Get down, they're shooting.' But I was too caught up in the moment and all this is taking place so quickly. And there was a rifle blast from behind the fence on the grassy knoll." (Interview with Jim Marrs recounted in Crossfire, published 1989) "I knew he'd never look our way because all the other people were on the other side of the street, so I jumped out in the street and yelled, 'Hey, Mr. President, look this way. We want to take your picture.' As he began turning toward us, he was hit. Then a bullet hit his head and took the top off. Mary fell to the ground and shouted, 'Get down, they're shooting!' But being young and dumb, I kept standing for a minute trying to see where the shots came from. It was eerie. Everything seemed frozen. I saw a man fire from behind the wooden fence. I saw a puff of smoke and some sort of movement on the grassy knoll where he was."

(11-16-91 AP article on the 1991 ASK assassination conference found in the Victoria Advocate) "Jean Hill, a schoolteacher playing "hooky" that November day, said she yelled "Hey. Mr. President, I want to take your picture." Then shots rang out. "I thought there was more than one shooter," she said." (11-17-91 Dallas Morning News article by Todd Copilevitz on Hill's appearance at the ASK conference) "Ms. Hill, a third-grade teacher from H.S. Thompson Learning Center, told of persuading a police officer to let her and a friend stand in the median so they could get a better look at the president. 'Well, actually there were a couple cute motorcycle officers that we were interested in, and they couldn't see us if we were in a crowd,' she said. The two women were looking at the book depository and the grassy knoll on Elm Street west of the depository - where conspiracy theorists believe the fatal shot came from -when the shots started to ring out. Ms. Hill insists that she saw two gunmen, including one who was firing from behind a picket fence on the knoll. She decided to chase one of the men as he ran, but two men in trench coats grabbed her by the shoulder and instead took her to the Dallas County Records Building. There, she said they disputed her account of hearing four to six shots, and then issued a stern warning: 'You would be very wise to keep your mouth shut,' she recalled one of the men telling her. 'I never have been that wise, I guess.'" (11-21-91 Dallas Morning News article on a showing of Oliver Stone's JFK) "Also at Prestonwood, assassination eyewitness Jean Hill answered questions from moviegoers and signed autographs. Ms. Hill stood on Elm Street across from the Texas School Book Depository when the shooting occurred. She was one of numerous witnesses who said they saw shots from a grassy knoll west of the depository building. 'I'm the one who named it "the grassy knoll," too,' she said." (December, 1991 appearance on the Maury Povich Show) "We got caught up in it and I dashed out to the edge of the street, and I started to touch the car, and you just don't do things like that. And I yelled "Hey, Mr. President...And just as he started to turn and look at me, and his hand came up, I thought, to wave, then all of a sudden the shots rang out and he grabbed his throat. And it was just horrible. There was a series of shots, and I saw the flash of light and a puff of smoke from the knoll in front of us" (When reminded by Povich that the Warren Commission said no shots came from there) "Oh, I saw it...Oh, I did...I know someone was shooting from there." (When asked how far she was from the car) "Oh, at one time I could have touched the car." (When asked how far she was when the shots were fired) "I had jumped back up on the curb, just a little further than I am from you." (Which would be about 3 feet) (When asked if she'd seen a man) "I just saw the smoke and the light from the knoll where I knew someone had shot. And at that instant, his head was blown off. And the blood and the brains and all that, this made a red cloud around Mr. Kennedy's head. And the blood and everything splattered my boyfriend's motorcycle. And it was just horrible. It was something you never forget. I just saw this look in his eyes that, and his head was gone." (When asked about seeing a man) "And I looked up and I saw this man right in front of me at the top of the hill, and he was walking very fast back to where I had

seen the gun--(correcting herself) had seen someone shooting, and I thought 'He's getting away.' And there were so many--and the shots were ringing out. I said at least four to six...I'd heard that many, but I thought it was just the good guys and the bad guys shooting back, and I thought "You must be a bad guy because you're running away, and we're not. And I thought 'I've gotta catch him. Somebody's gotta catch him.' I ran across the motorcade, and ran up on the hill back into the parking lot, looking for him. And when I got up there, a man grabbed me from behind on my shoulder--he had an extremely painful grip--and said 'You're coming with me.' And I said 'I can't. I've gotta catch this man. Help me.' And he had shown me some ID. Secret Service...I jerked away from him twice. But about the time I jerked away the second time, another man came and grabbed this side and they had me held--it was so painful...And he just said 'I want your pictures'...I told him I didn't have any...And he just ran his hand in the correct pocket and came up with my pictures...They told me to walk and act as though we're your boyfriends...and they took me into this place in the Records Building, Courts Building, up on about the fourth floor. And they just opened a door and shoved me in there, and there were these men sitting there at a table at a window overlooking--it was like a theater seat--and you could see the whole thing, the whole assassination site." (**December, 1991** appearance on the Today Show, as recounted by Peter Whitney in his 1994 article The Lady in Red) (When asked what she saw) "someone shooting from the knoll, from back behind the fence..a flash of light and a puff of smoke."

(**1-22-92** appearance on The Oprah Winfrey show) (A scene is played from the movie JFK, in which the woman playing Hill claims: "And then shots rang out. Mary fell to the ground right away. She yelled they're shooting, they're shooting get down. I just stood there watching. Then out of the corner of my eye, I saw a flash of light in the bushes and that last shot just ripped his head off. I looked up and I saw smoke coming from over there on the knoll." Hill is then asked to describe the shooting.) "Well it's exactly like he portrays it in the movie. The motorcade comes around. I did see the flash of light, the puff of smoke, at the moment the President's head was ripped off." (Oprah then asks "Over on the...") "The grassy knoll, which I, by the way, named it." (Interview with James Earl Jones in the television production The JFK Conspiracy, **Spring, 1992**) "Just as my friend started to take a Polaroid picture of the President, as his car was coming abreast, the shots rang out. I mean, I'd jumped out into the street to yell at him to look this way, and shots rang out. He grabbed his throat, and that was the horrible head shot." (When asked how many shots she'd heard) "4 to 6." (When asked if she'd seen a gunman) "I saw smoke, a puff of smoke, and a flash of light from the knoll, where someone was shooting from behind the fence." (JFK: The Last Dissenting Witness, **1992**, co-written with Bill Sloan) "Hey, Mr. President," Jean shouted impulsively when the car was almost abreast of her. 'Look Over here. We want to take your picture.' In her desperation and excitement. she stepped off the curb into the street as she spoke, almost touching the front fender of the limousine before she instinctively drew back...What a great picture this is going to be, Jean thought, as Mary raised her camera. She sighted through the viewfinder, and... CRACK!...almost simultaneously, Jean heard a shot. Mary hesitated as an expression of pain and confusion crossed the president's face. His hands jerked convulsively toward his throat. CRACK! Jean saw the president driven backward and sideways as a second shot struck him with tremendous force. The whole back of his head appeared to explode and a cloud of blood-red mist filled the air and splattered on the windshield of J.B.'s motorcycle. Approximately an eighth of a second later (as investigators would later determine), as the President was falling toward his wife, Mary clicked the shutter of the Polaroid. Then Jean heard Jackie Kennedy's anguished cry: 'My God, they've shot my husband!' ...'Jean, get down!' Mary screamed, as she and the other panicked bystanders nearby threw themselves to the ground...Jean stood there, immobilized by the shock of what she had seen, while her friend tugged desperately at her legs. On the other side of the street, at the top of the little green mound universally known today as the 'grassy knoll,' Jean had seen an incredible sight...A muzzle flash, a puff of smoke, and the shadowy figure of a man holding a rifle, barely visible above the wooden fence at the top of the knoll, still in the very act of murdering the president of the United States." (**6-28-92** article in

the Baton Rouge Advocate on a promotional appearance by Hill at a bookstore) "Hill still recalls those historic moments of horror when she was standing just a few feet from the limousine carrying President John Kennedy, Jackie Kennedy and Texas Gov. John Connally. She has replayed the scene in her mind's eye countless times: calling out to Kennedy to get him to turn his head so her friend, Mary, could snap his picture; Mary snapping the camera just as a bullet struck the President's head, spraying blood and brain tissue in a fine mist over the occupants of the car and the windshields of the motorcycle patrolmen following closely behind the limo. Hill pointed to her image in the Orville Nix photo of the moment Kennedy was shot. She was to the left of the car, which was moving to the left. To her right, directly behind the car, was the school book depository. She said she clearly saw a man across the street, in the direction toward which the car was moving, firing a rifle at the President--from the front. Everybody else was diving for the protection of the ground; Hill set off to see who was shooting at the President. "I don't know why I did that," she said...When she reached the fence on the other side of the grassy knoll, she saw a policeman holding a rifle. She thought that was odd, since no other police officers had rifles, but she assumed people in uniforms were good guys--and this man with the rifle was therefore a good guy." (Interview in documentary Beyond JFK, **1992**) "I jumped out in the street, and, y'know, started yelling at him 'Hey, Mr. President, look this way. We want to take your picture.' And about that time, the shots rang out." (Later) "And I jumped back up on the curb, and his head was blown off right in front of me." (Later, while pointing to a location on the west side of the white pergola on the north side of Elm Street. This location is to the northeast of the tree behind the picket fence, and approximately 40 feet northeast of the corner of the fence, where many theorists assume the assassin was located.) "It was right up there. The man was shooting from right, just this side of that tree, that large tree. And that's where I saw the shots come from." (Later) "The Warren Commission says that it happened from the school book depository, right up there in that corner window. But I don't know about that. I don't know anything about those shots up there. All I know is what I saw on the knoll. And I definitely saw the man shooting from the knoll." (**11-19-93** article in USA Today) "Adds Jean Hill, a 62-year-old Dallas schoolteacher who says she was the closest spectator to Kennedy when he suffered the fatal head shot: 'At the very instant that Kennedy's head exploded, I saw a rifle flash and a puff of smoke on the grassy knoll behind the picket fence.' She says she saw 'the outline' of the shooter, although no one reported spotting a second gunman at the time of the killing."

(Interview on Black Op Radio, **6-15-00**) (When asked where she thought the shots came from) "I saw a shooter behind the fence on the grassy knoll, and the debris and so forth, the blood and the brains, hit my boyfriend's helmet and he was riding (a pause, to which Len Osanic adds 'to the rear left,' to which she adds) "right." (When it was repeated that she thought the shots came from the front) "Yes, I saw the man." (When asked if she saw a puff of smoke) "a puff of smoke, a flash of light from the rifle. I caught a glimpse of someone up there." (When discussing the possibility she would have been hit) "We were within ten feet of the car." (When discussing the shots from the sniper's nest) "I feel like those shots were just to get attention and get people looking in the wrong direction. And I think they succeeded." (When asked what the shots sounded like) "It sounded like gunfire, yes...I knew immediately it was gunshots. I never thought it was firecrackers..." (When asked how many shots she heard) "4 to 6. I know that I heard 4 and as many as 6." (When asked what she was looking at) "I was actually watching Kennedy...I was following his head, and just as his head blew off is when I saw the flash of light from in front of him...So I knew it was a shot that came from the front." (When asked if she saw the limousine stop during the shooting) "I know it was hardly moving, if not stopped at one point." (When discussing the possibility limousine driver William Greer shot Kennedy) "I have no idea what happened in the car." (When asked if she was in the street or on the grass at the time of the head shot) "I was right at the curb. I had been out in the street but was back on the curb at the time of the shots." (When asked where the limo was in relation to her at the time of the shots) "Just before me but the head shot was right in line with me." (When asked if she noticed anything in the Z-film that was at

variance with her recollections) "I think it goes along with what I said." **Analysis:** Jean Hill's early statements described 2 quick shots, one as Mary Moorman took her picture and one after Jackie cried out, and then 2 or more shots after a pause. As virtually no one else claimed to hear shots after a pause after the head shot, it seems possible Ms. Hill was hearing the echoes of the two loud shots she'd just heard. The possibility of her having super-human hearing is refuted by the fact that she failed to hear even one shot before the head shot. By the late 80's, however, she tried to correct this problem by changing her story. She now described a first shot a moment before the head shot and the taking of Moorman's famous photograph. However, as the car at the moment of Kennedy's first being wounded was nowhere near being abreast of Hill, as claimed in her book, and as she could not possibly have "almost touched" the fender of a car some twenty yards in front of her, it's clear these later additions to her story are nonsense. Her sudden recollection that she saw a shooter on the knoll is even more curious. **Did not hear the first shot. Last two shots (or more) bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Charles Brehm and his small son Joe were several yards to Moorman's and Hill's right and can be seen in the Zapruder, Nix and Moorman films, as well as the Bond photo. (11-22-63 notes on an interview of Brehm by Dallas Times-Herald reporter Kent Biffle immediately after the shooting, as presented in The Zapruder Film by David Wrone, 2003) "The shots came from in front of or beside of the President." (11-22-63 article in the Dallas Times Herald) "'The first time he slumped and the second one really blasted him.' These were the words of Charles Drehm... 'After the first shot, the President's wife rose slightly to hold the President and they both went down in the second shot. He was definitely hit badly,' Mr. Drehm said. Mr. Drehm said the President was half-standing, waving to the crowd, when he heard the first of two shots. He said after the President was knocked down, apparently by the second shot, the President's car roared underneath the triple underpass." (Later in the article) "The witness Drehm was shaking uncontrollably as he further described the shooting. "The first shot must not have been too solid, because he just slumped. Then on the second shot he seemed to fall back." Drehm seemed to think the shots came from in front of or beside the President. He explained the President did not slump forward as he would have after being shot from the rear. The book depository building stands in the rear of the President's location at the time of the shooting...Drehm said he was within 10 feet of the President at the time of the shooting. 'It was definitely a rifle,' he said." (11-22-63 UPI article by Merriman Smith found in the Pittsburgh Press) "Charles Brehm, 38, was standing in the crowd at curbside about fifteen feet away as the President's car approached. 'He was waving and the first shot hit him, and then that awful look crossed his face,' Brehm said." (11-22-63 KRLD news report, around 2:00 PM CST) "A man named Charles Brehm was standing in the big crowd at curbside about fifteen feet away as the President's car approached. Brehm said 'He was waving and the first shot hit him, and that awful look crossed his face.'" (11-22-63 phoned-in interview first broadcast around 2:15 on WBAP TV. The film of this interview is broadcast a bit later, around 3:15 PM) "Unfortunately I was probably 15-20 feet away from the President when it happened... He was coming down the Street and my five-year old boy and myself were by ourselves on the grass there on Commerce Street. And I asked Joe to wave to him and Joe waved and I waved (breaks up)...as he was waving back, the shot rang out and he slumped down in his seat and his wife reached up toward him as he was slumping down and the second shot went off and it just knocked him down in the seat." (When the interviewer interjects "Two shots?") "Two shots." (When asked if he saw the shooter) "No, sir, I did not see the man who did it. All I did was look in the man's face when he was shot there and saw that expression on his face and he grabbed himself and slide, and the second one whenever it went--I'm positive that it hit him--I hope it didn't--but I'm positive it hit him and he went all the way down in the car. Then they speeded up and I didn't know what was going on so I just grabbed the boy and fell on him in hopes that there wasn't a maniac around." (11-22-63 (KLIF) radio interview found on the internet) "I happened to be about fifteen feet away from the President when the first shot hit him. There is some discussion now as to whether there

was one or two shots that hit him, but the first shot rang out and I was positive when I saw the look on his face and saw him grab his chest and saw the reaction of his wife that he had been shot and just at that time, which was probably a few seconds later the second shot rang out and he just absolutely went down into the seat of the car. There was a third shot that went and by that time I had grabbed my little five year old boy who was with me and ran away from the scene of the thing. But the only thing that I did witness and something I'm sorry I did witness very honestly was the look on his face when that shot hit, and the look again on him and his wife's face when the shots started to ring out. And it was very obviously that he was hit. The first two shots that were heard. The first one hit the president—there was no doubt whatsoever--because his face winced and he grabbed himself and he slumped down. I do believe without any doubt that the second one hit him because he had an immediate reaction with that second shot. I do know there was a third shot but as I said by that time I had grabbed my boy and started to go. I did not witness Governor Connally's being hit."

(11-24-63 interview with the FBI, 22H837-838) "He and his son stood right at the curb on the grass and saw the President's car take a wide swing as it turned left into Elm Street. When the President's automobile was very close to him and he could see the President's face very well, the President was seated, but was leaning forward when he stiffened perceptibly, at the same instant what appeared to be a rifle shot sounded. According to Brehm, the President seemed to stiffen and come to a pause when another shot sounded and the President appeared to be badly hit in the head. Brehm said when the President was hit by the second shot, he could notice the President's hair fly up and then roll over to his side, as Mrs. Kennedy was apparently pulling him in that direction. Brehm said that a third shot followed and that all three shots were relatively close together. Brehm stated that he was in military service and has had experience with bolt-action rifles and he expressed his opinion that the three shots were fired just about as quickly as an individual can maneuver a bolt-action rifle, take aim, and fire three shots. Brehm stated he definitely knew that the President had been shot and he recalled having seen blood on the President's face. He also stated that it seemed quite apparent to him that the shots came from one of two buildings back at the corner of Elm and Houston Streets. Immediately after the third shot rang out, Brehm pushed his son down on the grass and for the moment was more concerned with the safety of his son who might be hit by any wild gunfire which might follow. Brehm expressed the opinion that between the first and third shots, the president's car only traveled some 10 to 12 feet. It seemed to him that the automobile almost came to a halt after the first shot, but of this he is not certain. After the third shot, the car in which the president was riding increased its speed and went under the freeway underpass."

(12-1-63 article in the Philadelphia Bulletin) "As the President passed him about 20 feet away, Brehm said, he heard the first shot. It was 12:32 PM. 'He (the President) stiffened,' said Brehm. 'He had been sitting forward on the seat, not sitting deep back. He seemed to straighten out--as if digging his heels into the floor of the car.' The President's hand came up slowly to his neck, said Brehm. 'He gave a cringe of pain,' he said. This was not the bullet which caused the massive head wound, said Brehm. 'I saw what the next bullet to hit him did to his head,' he said. So this first bullet was the one which entered the President's body at the neckline, and, perhaps splintering, left a wound in his neck just below his Adam's apple near his necktie, and coursed down into his chest. Both Brehm and Truly, who was standing in front of the depository, thought that at this moment the limousine swerved--or 'jerked' as Brehm put it--to the left as if about to speed away. Then, however, Brehm said, it seemed to lose momentum--'almost as if the driver had taken his foot off the gas.' Maybe I was just imagining it,' said Brehm. 'Maybe I thought it was swerving because I just wanted that thing (the limousine) to leap out of there--get out fast.' And then, for a long few seconds, there seemed to be silence. There seemed to be no immediate awareness of what happened. Brehm said the President's smile was 'sagging.' He had a pain-stricken look on his face,' he said. The President was still sitting straight, said Brehm. It wasn't until the President was hit again that he slumped against his wife, and she took his head in her arms.

'He seemed to be conscious that something terrible had happened to him,' said Brehm. 'It didn't look like it knocked him out.' Two facts of hideous portent emerge from the stories told by Brehm and others. The President's head was still visible above the leather upholstered seat of the limousine to the eye on the other side of the telescopic sight. Also, the car was still moving at 15 to 18 miles an hour. The rifleman, however, shifted his aim to Texas Gov. John B. Connally. Brehm said he heard a second shot, but didn't know where it went. 'I was watching the President,' he said. This shot hit Connally in the back just under the right shoulder blade. It splintered the fifth rib, coursed down through the body, and emerged from his side to break his right wrist lying in his lap and lodge in his left thigh. Brehm said he knew by the sound of the shots that they had crossed his line of vision rather than coming from over his shoulder or from the other side of the road. And still--after the second shot--the President's head was still visible above the seat; still there was no sudden burst of speed. The effect of the third bullet was murderous. It hit the back of the President's head with an ax-like or chopping effect. Another fraction of an inch--and the bullet might just have creased the President's head. Still another fraction of an inch and it might have missed him altogether. As it was, it hit at a shallow angle, ripping off a piece of skull 'perhaps the diameter of a teacup,' said Dr. William Kemp Clark, a neurosurgeon."

(**3-28-66** interview with Mark Lane as shown in the Mark Lane movies *Rush to Judgment*, 1967, and *Two Men in Dallas*, 1976) "he was possibly 30 feet away when the first bullet struck, moved a little closer and was possibly 20 to 25 feet away when the second bullet hit... When the second bullet hit, there was (he motions to his right ear)—the hair seemed to go flying. It was very definite then that he was struck in the head with the second bullet and, uh, yes, I very definitely saw effects of the second bullet... I saw a piece fly over in the area of the curb where I was standing... it seemed to have come left and back... whatever it was that I saw did fall both in that direction and over into the curb there." (**3-28-66** interview with Mark Lane as quoted in *Rush To Judgment*, 1966) "I very definitely saw the effect of the second bullet that struck the President... That which appeared to be a portion of the President's skull went flying slightly to the rear of the President's car and directly to its left. It did fly over toward the curb and to the left and to the rear." (Note: Lane quotes Brehm as saying "the second bullet that struck the President" when Brehm merely says "the second bullet" in the filmed interview. While this may have been a simple error, or have reflected merely that Lane was trying to clarify Brehm's statements, Brehm was quite clear elsewhere that he felt the head shot was the second shot, and not the third. It seems possible then that Lane thought this damaged Brehm's credibility and was trying to hide this from his readers.) (Mark Lane's comments regarding Brehm at the Associated Press Managing Editors Convention in San Diego, California, **11-17-66**, as published in an AP story found in the 11-27-66 *Eugene Register-Guard*.) "On Nov. 22nd the press found Charles Brehm. He was standing right there. He was very likely the closest witness, closest spectator--to the assassination. He was on radio and television. He was interviewed by newspapers and his name appeared in almost every newspaper in America on Nov. 23. It's unfortunate that the Warren Commission never found Mr. Brehm and never questioned Mr. Brehm. It's unfortunate our distinguished colleagues, lawyers for the Commission, never questioned Mr. Brehm. Because Mr. Brehm said--and it is not, unfortunately, on record anywhere, except in a filmed interview which we conducted--Mr. Brehm said: 'I saw the effect of the bullet upon the President's head. As the bullet struck his head, a portion of the President's skull was driven backward and to the left over the rear and left of the car indicating that the fatal shot came from a right front area, not from the rear, not from behind the limousine.' The press found Mr. Brehm on that day. Unfortunately, the Commission never could, or never tried..." (The quote Lane provided for Brehm was, unfortunately, not accurate, and included Lane's interpretation of Brehm's words, and not the words themselves.) (**11-22-66** AP article found in the *Alton Illinois Evening Telegraph*. The substance of this article, which was undoubtedly written as a response to Lane's statements a few days before, was that Brehm trusts the Warren Report, and believes no shots came from in front of Kennedy.) "When the first shot went off I really didn't think it was gunfire. He (the president) had a

sense of humor, and when his hands went up to the sides of his neck I thought he was making a gesture. I thought it was a backfire. Then the second shot hit. He went down. He Just went down. I knew the sound that bullets make, and it was at this time that I thought it was shooting. It was too weird to think he was really shot. When I realized he had been I was trying to push that car to go, go, go. I fell with the boy on the ground. The third shot really upset me. I knew he was hit the first two times but the third one didn't make any sense at all." Brehm said the Presidential car almost stopped after the first shot, but speeded up and took evasive action after the second... Brehm said, "I contend that the third shot went wild."

(Late 1966 interview with Lawrence Schiller recounted in *The Scavengers and Critics of the Warren Report*, published **1967**) "When the first shot went off, I thought it was a backfire from from a motorcycle. But when his hands went up, then I realized 'My God, he has been shot.' On the first shot I was possibly thirty feet maximum from him. On the second shot he was not more than fifteen feet away. I couldn't imagine that it was a shot. But when I seen the president stiffen and his hands go up, I knew then that he had been shot. From where I was on the second shot, the damage was visible to the President's head. It was clearly visible that he had been hit in the head. I could see that the damage was severe. There was definitely blood. It was not a great flow of it but you could see the area crimson. I did not see blood on the first shot. Then I grabbed the boy and threw him on the ground and fell on top of him, a natural infantry instinct that came to me. There were only three shots. It was a third wasted shot that from the sound of it, and I'm taking into account that I've heard these things go past me before and I've stopped a couple of them, that third shot came nowhere near the parade. I felt that was the hurried shot." (When asked if he saw something fly from the president's head) "I did see something fly to the left of the car and down into the street. I saw something but I couldn't positively identify it and I don't want to go on record as identifying it....My belief, and if I had to die on the spot from my belief, is those two shots came from the same place. I couldn't pinpoint it, but they came from what was established as a window. There was no shots from anywhere else...the shots came from up at the School Book Depository. There was no doubt in my mind that this was the way that it was." (**1967** interview with CBS) (When disputing Mark Lane's claim he said the shots were fired from the picket fence on the grassy knoll) "No shot came from up there at any time during the whole fiasco that afternoon." (**3-30-68** interview with Barry Ernest as recounted in *The Girl On The Stairs*, 2011) "He said when the first shot was fired, the presidential limousine was slightly to his right, coming towards him on Elm. The car had slowed, nearly coming to a halt. Immediately after it passed where he and his son were standing, a second shot rang out, he said. This was the one that struck the president in the head and caused 'a piece of Kennedy's skull to fly back toward me.' At this point, Brehm was 'only 10 feet from the vehicle.' 'The car then sped up and the third shot missed completely.' The timing of the shots, according to Brehm, was the same as what others recalled: a pause of about three seconds between the first and second shot, and the third shot 'close to the second'... Brehm led me to the exact spot where he had been standing on November 22. He then directed my attention to the sixth floor of the depository, and to the close proximity of cars that continued to whiz by on Elm. He focused my attention to where the presidential car had been when he saw Kennedy's head explode. Much of his anger, he explained, was due to Mark Lane. 'He took my statements out of context and added a different meaning to them. Lane used my statement that a piece of the president's skull 'flew to the left' and that it 'came toward me' to imply that that shot had been fired from the knoll. I did not say that a shot came from there.'"

(**7-23-86** testimony in televised mock trial, *On Trial: Lee Harvey Oswald*) (When asked to tell the jury what happened, while standing in front of a map of Dealey Plaza) "As the car turned, and when I say the car I mean the Presidential car, turned and straightened out and started coming down (he is now pointing to the limo's location at approximately frame 175 of the Zapruder film) the first noise that I heard hit the President, uh. And it struck him and he raised his hand up to his neck (he now grabs the back of his neck with right hand). The car proceeded there it seemed very very slow, proceeded down

just beyond me in this area (he is now pointing to a location passed the steps seen in the Muchmore film, on the North side of Elm--this is approximately 50 feet passed the location of the limousine at the time of the head shot) when the second shot went off which absolutely destroyed the President's head. The car then took off in a zig-zag motion down into this area (he points to the stretch of Elm running parallel to the stockade fence) when the third shot--which seemed to me to be a wasted shot--went off, which frightened me more than any of the others because then I thought it was somebody shooting up the place. I then fell on my son." (When asked the time interval between the shots) "First and third shot. Somewhere around seven seconds." (When asked the location from which he thought the shots had been fired) "I told the officers that they came from one of the two buildings, one of which was the school book depository, the other was over on that corner (he points to the Dal-Tex Building). One of the two." (When asked if he felt confident about this) "Yes, I do". (When asked if he felt the shots came from behind the President) "Absolutely." (When shown the Zapruder film and asked if it looks like Kennedy was hit by a baseball bat from the front.) "I can't say." (When later asked if he questioned the authenticity of the Zapruder film) "No, I question your analysis of the film." (NOTE: the next two questions and answers were apparently not televised on the program in the U.S. but are included in Vincent Bugliosi's book, *Reclaiming History*.) (When asked if he thought the shots were spaced out far enough to have been fired by a bolt-action rifle) "Very easily." (When asked if all the shots came from the same location) "All three shots were from the same origin."

(1988 interview recounted in *No More Silence*, published 1998, p.60-69) "After the car passed the building coming toward us, I heard a noise, and I say noise. If I wanted to recreate what happened, there was no shot that I could say, "God, there was a shot!" or something like that. There was a surprising noise, and he reached with both hands up to the side of his throat and kind of stiffened out, and you could see as he approached us that he had been hit. Of course, it became obvious immediately after the surprise noise that it was a shot and that he was hurt. And when he got down in the area just past me, the second shot hit which damaged, considerably damaged, the top of his head. Realizing that he was hit in the head, and from what I could see of the damage, it just didn't seem like there was any chance in the world that he could have lived through it. That car took off in an evasive motion, back and forth, and was just beyond me when a third shot went off. The third shot really frightened me! It had a completely different sound to it because it had really passed me, as anybody knows who has been down under targets in the Army or been shot at like I had been many times. You know when a bullet passes over you, the cracking sound it makes, and that bullet had an absolute crack to it. I do believe that that shot was wild. It didn't hit anybody. I don't think it could have hit anybody. But it was a frightening thing to me because here was one shot that hit him, obviously; here was another that destroyed his head, and what was the reason for the third shot? That third shot frightened me more than the other two, and I grabbed the boy and threw him on the ground because I didn't know if we were going to have a "shoot'em-up" in this area. After I hit the ground and smothered the boy, it was all over. The people were running helter-skelter here and there. They were running up to the top of that hill it seemed to me in an almost sheep-like fashion following somebody running up those steps. There was a policeman who ran up those steps also. Apparently people thought he was chasing something, which he certainly wasn't. There were no shots from that area, but some of the people followed him anyway....At this time, I might say that I did not stand there, basically, and count shots. There were events that were accompanied by shots, and the events are lodged in my mind more so than the shots because of the President's motion when he was hit, with the shot in the head and the wild shot that was going away from the place; everything that stands out in my mind was a consequence of the shots. I never thought of them as "There was a shot! What did it do?" It was always, "What happened?" and it was because of the shot fired from up there." (Interview in the Discovery Program *The End of Camelot*, broadcast 1993) "As they made the turn at the school book depository, it had only come down a few feet, the first shot went off...And I realized it was no joke--that he was shot--and the strain on his

face. And the car kept coming down and just as it passed me--a few feet passed me, the second shot hit...By that time the caravan started to speed up, to get out of there, and that's when the third shot rang out." **Analysis:** aside from the 12-1-63 article in the Philadelphia paper, where it seems likely Brehm's words were sculpted to fit the writers' own theory that the second shot hit Connally, Brehm consistently claimed the President was hit by the first and second shots. While he failed to mention a third shot, which he felt came after the head shot, in his earliest interviews, by the evening of the shooting he was mentioning this detail as well. It seems possible, then, that in his earliest interviews he was focused on describing the shots he saw hit the President. The piece of skull Brehm saw crash into the curb is also intriguing in that it could be the item seen by Stavis Ellis and Royce Skelton. It is also interesting to note that Brehm's testimony to Bugliosi in 86 that all the shots sounded the same is in conflict with his statement to the AP in 1966. The use of Brehm in the Discovery Channel's 1993 program is also intriguing. There, after Brehm said "the second shot hit," the program cut to Governor John Connally clapping his hands and describing himself being hit. This was deceptive. Brehm had always claimed this second shot was the head shot to Kennedy. Apparently, the program's creators didn't realize this or just didn't give a damn. By having Connally claim the second shot hit him, after having Brehm claim the first shot hit Kennedy, the program was already at odds with the "official" story, so why even pretend Brehm's and Connally's stories were consistent? **First shot hit 190-224. Last shot after the head shot.**

Beverly Oliver (now Beverly Masegee) claims to be the woman standing behind Brehm and his son. People often refer to this woman as the Babushka Lady. Some of her statements unrelated to the shooting itself are presented so one can better judge her credibility. (3-21-77 memorandum from HSCA investigators Howard Gilbert and John Moriarty to HSCA assistant chief counsel Robert Tanenbaum, as found in the John Armstrong collection on the Baylor University website) "She knew Ruby...One day several weeks prior to the assassination she went over to the Carousel Club and went up to Ruby who was sitting at a table with Jada (a stripper), Andrew Armstrong (Ruby's bartender) and a man who Ruby introduced as 'Lee Oswald of the CIA.' Beverly had a drink with them and spent about twenty minutes at the table and got a good look at Oswald's face... On the day of the assassination, Beverly was wearing a scarf and taking motion pictures of the parade in Dealey Plaza. One or two days later she returned to the Colony Club and was met by two men who identified themselves as being with the FBI or CIA. She turned over the film to them and never saw them again. She took Gary Shaw and Penn Jones to Dealey Plaza and showed them where she took the photos from and Shaw confirms that her position is in accord with the Babushka lady. Beverly was unable to identify herself as the Babushka lady because of the lack of a good face photo, but she said she was similarly dressed and the photo could have been her. Beverly never came forth with the information set forth above and was discovered by accident by Gary Shaw while in a Baptist Church. He heard she had been in Dealey Plaza and while questioning her the information was elicited. Beverly impressed us as being very straight forward and will make a good witness. She has no apparent reason to fabricate and apparently feels very strongly about religion at this time... Andrew Armstrong, a Ruby flunky who thinks of Ruby as a hero will never corroborate Beverly. Jada, the stripper, was interviewed by the FBI and denied knowing LHO, but it may have been another stripper that was at the table. In any event we will follow up and try to make contact with Jada." (The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "When I first heard a noise I was not aware that that was a shot being fired. And maybe perhaps that's why I continued to film because I thought it was a backfire or a firecracker. I mean I wasn't used to being around guns. I did not realize that those were shots until I saw in the frame of my camera President Kennedy's head come off, the back of his head. Then I realized that that was a shot. I don't know how many I heard. I know where I thought the shots came from. It was the picket fence area, around that large tree, somewhere on the other side of those steps but in the picket fence area. There was a figure there and there was smoke there. I will always believe that the man who shot President Kennedy was standing somewhere in the

picket fence area and no one will convince me any differently.” (second interview) “I’m convinced and no one will ever convince me any differently that the shots came from behind the area of the picket fence on the grassy knoll. No one will ever convince me. I saw it. I believe it’s where it came from. And the only way that I’m gonna believe any different is when I stand before the judge on the judgment day and he tells me. But I know what I saw and that’s what I saw.” (Video-taped interview with Mark Oakes, **Spring, 1992**) "I'm not really certain when I heard the first shot. I know there were sounds prior to me realizing that there had been a shot fired that had killed the president. In my mind I had thought about it being those little things that they used to make when I was a child. You are probably too young to remember, but they used to make a little thing about the size of piece of round bubblegum, and you threw it on the sidewalk and it exploded. It made a pop. And that's, you know I thought, I remember thinking gosh it's really weird to let somebody bring those down here in this crowd, and that's all I thought--I mean, I can't remember thinking anything that it was a shot. The only time I realized a shot had been fired was when I was looking through the viewfinder of my camera at the time the President was fatally wounded. He went violently back against the seat and the back of his head blew off." (Interview with Robert Groden in his video, *The Case for Conspiracy*, **1993**) "Just as he gets past me, there's a sound that goes ba-boom, and he goes back against his seat and the whole back of his head comes off and it looks like somebody threw a bucket of blood out the back of the car" (When asked what part of Kennedy's head was damaged) I couldn't pinpoint an exact part but it looked like the whole back of his head, like in this area right here (grabs the crown of her head) just went (motions backward) flying out the back of the car." (When asked from where she thought the shots derived) (she points to the picket fence west of the knoll steps) "Just to the right of that green-trunked tree and about thirty feet from the corner, west of the corner of the fence." (**9-30-93** article in the *Charlotte Observer*) "Ruby, she says, introduced her to Oswald a scant two to three weeks before Kennedy's Nov. 22, 1963, assassination. 'Jack Ruby introduced me to him as a CIA agent, or as Lee Oswald of the CIA.' ...Later, she says, she joined the rest of the crowd at Dealey Plaza, hoping to get a glimpse of the president as his motorcade rolled through. 'I was a 17-year-old girl who just went to see the president,' she said. But Masseur says she became more than a face in the crowd. She also was the woman wearing a head scarf and holding a camera who can be seen in the famous Abraham Zapruder assassination film. Finding 'the babushka lady' became an obsession for investigators and researchers until 1977, she says, when government investigators identified her."

(**11-19-93** article in *USA Today*) "Beverly Oliver was a 17-year-old singer at the Colony Club, competitor of Jack Ruby's Carousel Club, when Kennedy was killed. She said she knew Ruby well, and that - contrary to Warren Commission findings - he knew Oswald. 'I was introduced to Oswald, about two or three weeks prior to the assassination, by Jack Ruby,' she says of the man who shot Oswald two days after Kennedy's death. 'He said, 'This is my friend, Lee Oswald. He's with the CIA.' (**11-23-93** article in the *Dallas Morning News*) "Ms. Oliver-Massegee gained fame when she became among the first to claim that shots were fired from behind the picket fence on the grassy knoll. Over the years, however, the veracity of her claims has come into question. Some, including Gerald Posner, author of the recent best-seller *Case Closed*, even say that Ms. Oliver-Massegee is not the same woman caught on film as the presidential motorcade passed. On Monday, Ms. Oliver-Massegee, 47, was only one voice in a chorus of Posner-bashing. "I'm going to sue Gerald Posner, and I'm going to sue CBS," she said." (From her book *Nightmare in Dallas*, published **October 1994**) "Beverly heard a pop, pop sound coming from the direction she faced....How rude that some parents would let their kids throw sidewalk poppers near the President, she thought. Then she heard another pop. Hold steady. The car was moving about twelve miles an hour as it passed directly in front of her. It then seemed to come to a stop. She continued filming wishing President Kennedy would turn around, then a loud, boom-boom sounded, and the President's head was violently thrown backward as a spray of crimson blood spouted from the back of his head..." "Oh, my God...he's been shot." She saw Jackie pull her husband down toward the

seat as if she were trying to protect him and then crawl out onto the trunk of the car to pick up something which seemed to come from the President's head... People were screaming and falling to the ground. A motorcycle policeman crash-parked his cycle and raced up the grassy slope from where Beverly heard the gunfire... Beverly smelled something acid in the air. It didn't smell right. A cloud of smoke drifted up from behind the fence and dissipated as it blew across the lawn." (11-18-94 testimony before the ARRB) "I am not a researcher. I was a 17-year-old girl that was at Dealey Plaza that day taking pictures of the President when he was assassinated. I never wanted to become a public figure over this. I never intended to. Until my name was accidentally leaked to the press in 1972, I was not a public figure. It has caused me great grief. It has caused me a lot of concern in my life. I have been called a liar as recently as today. I have been called a hoax. I am neither a liar nor am I a hoax. I am who I say I am. I was down there that day standing between 20 and 30 feet from the President when he was shot. I was taking a movie film which on the 25th of November was confiscated by a man who identified himself as an FBI agent." (When asked if she had any proof she gave him the film) "No, because I was only 17 years old and I wasn't smart enough to ask for a receipt. This is a man representing my government. If he had asked me for my soul, I would have tried to give it to him. Also, there are ulterior motives, and I would go ahead and tell you that before someone else does. Laying next to the camera in my makeup kit was a Prince Albert can of marijuana, and I would have done anything to keep him from looking in my makeup kit. But also let me share this with you, I no longer use marijuana or anything else. I am a born again Christian and I am married to a preacher and have been for 23 years." (Oral History interview performed for the Sixth Floor Museum, 1-12-07) "Shortly after he turned onto Elm Street, there was a noise. I didn't recognize it as gunfire. I thought that somebody had let there kids bring...those little poppers that you throw on the ground and they pop. And I remember distinctly thinking why would somebody let their kids bring those down here on a day like this. Anyway, bang bang...bang. And I'm still not realizing that anything is wrong because people are still cheering. And I'm still filming. And just as he gets passed me there was this big noise that went BA-BOOM. And it was like the whole back of his head just exploded, like a bucket of blood went over the back of the limousine." (11-11-09 interview broadcast on Nightfright radio) "I don't know if the first sounds I heard were shots. I could not get on the witness stand and swear that they were shots. Excuse the term. I thought that someone had allowed some little kids to bring what we called back then poppers. They were little bitty things about the size of your fingernail and you threw them against the sidewalk and they popped...The first sounds that I heard went bangbang...bang. But I could not say that they were shots...Just as he got past me to my left...as I turned to follow the motorcade, I heard a big KABOOM! And when that happened it looked like the whole back of his head just come out back over the trunk. At the time I thought it was brains but I now know it was skull..."

(3-19-12 phone interview with researcher Josh Cron, as reported on the Education Forum, 3-20-12) "I couldn't really say how long I was waiting for the President to arrive, but it wasn't very long. The whole plaza was just filled with static electricity. You could feel it in the air, and it made the hairs on the back of your neck just stand right up. There's just no way to properly explain it... I took my camera out and took footage of the nearby buildings and people to make sure it was working. You could tell the President was approaching from the roaring of the crowd as it got near. I began filming again just before the President's car turned, and as it made the turn from Houston onto Elm I heard "bang-bang.. bang" a little to the right of where I was standing. I don't know if they still have them, but I thought it was one of those little poppers that people throw and they explode. Like the size of a gumball. And I actually thought to myself, "Who in their right mind would throw one of those down here today?" Then as the limousine got a little past me I heard "ba-boom", just deafeningly loud. And I saw the whole back of the President's head just explode. It looked like someone threw a bucket of blood out the back of the car. And then I saw Jackie on the back of the car reaching out for what I thought at the time was a piece of the President's skull. Then the car disappeared beneath the overpass... I did see Roscoe

White on the grassy knoll. He was just to the right of the steps. I couldn't tell where he was coming from. I assumed he was just over there to talk to people. I certainly recognized him, and we made eye contact and I'm sure he recognized me as well. He was used to seeing me in different hair colors, so I'm sure he didn't have any trouble recognizing me... I couldn't say whether the second set of sounds I heard was one shot and an echo, or two shots fired almost simultaneously. The sound seemed to originate just to my left, but I couldn't say for certain where any of the shots came from... I heard what I thought were the poppers just after the president had made the turn onto Elm. The car behind him was still on Houston." (When asked if she noticed anything as the car turned onto Elm) "Everything seemed normal right up until I heard the "bang-bang.. bang." (When asked if she noticed where Mary Moorman was standing at the time of the shots) "She was right on the curb. Right next to Jean Hill. I didn't ever see her in the street." (When asked if she saw the limo stop) "They were going pretty slow as it was. I've been asked this before, and I really can't tell you if the car slowed down or stopped. I was just so shocked at everything I had just seen. I just couldn't say for sure." (When asked if the explosion of skull apparent in the Zapruder film is consistent with her recollections) "I certainly believe I saw the back of his head come off, and I believe the film does show what I saw – the back of his head exploding... I suppose there is a chance it wasn't the back of his head, but I do not believe so. How else would a piece of his skull end up on the trunk of the car?" (Cron then reported: "When I asked if there was anything in the film that lead her to believe it had been doctored, she responded with a no.")

Analysis: while Oliver shares a characteristic with William Newman and Toni Foster—all three heard early sounds they originally thought was a firecracker--the rest of her story is in line with Mary Moorman and Jean Hill, who heard no early shots at all. While she originally stated she didn't know how many shots she heard she later indicated there were five. The acid-scented smoke drifting over from the knoll is almost certainly poetic license, however. And the other parts of her story, such as Jack Ruby's introducing her to Lee Harvey Oswald, or her seeing Roscoe White on the knoll, smell to high heaven. Her lack of credibility, moreover, may have nothing to do with whether or not she is in fact the woman in the film (many doubt it's even her), but have more to do with the long delay in her telling her story, and her ongoing contact with conspiracy theorists, many of whom believe both that Oswald and Ruby knew each other, and that shots were fired from the knoll. **Heard five shots? Two early shots. Last two shots bunched together. Saw smoke on knoll.**

Meanwhile, on the north side of the street...

Cheryl McKinnon was a short ways to the left of the Newmans and can be seen collapsed on the ground near the Newmans in the Wiegman film and Bond photo. (From an **11-22-83** article in the San Diego Star News) "As we stood watching the motorcade turn onto Elm Street, I tried to grasp every detail... Suddenly three shots in rapid succession rang out. Myself and dozens of others standing nearby turned in horror toward the back of the Grassy Knoll where it seemed the sounds had originated. Puffs of white smoke still hung in the air in patches. But no one was visible. Turning back to the street, now suddenly frightened, I suddenly realized the President was no longer sitting up in the seat waving to the crowd. He was slumped over to his wife whose facial expression left no doubt as to what had occurred... the only thing I am absolutely sure of today is that at least two of the shots fired that day in Dealey Plaza came from behind where I stood on the knoll, not from the book depository."

Analysis: her description of the shots is a little too vague to come to any conclusions. Intriguingly, McKinnon, as Oliver, took many years before coming forward. One should wonder then if their recollections of smoke on the knoll are accurate or are something they picked up along the way. **Too vague. Saw smoke on the knoll.**

Charles Hester was standing on the knoll with his wife. In the Wiegman film, they can be seen crouching down up on the white arcade. (**11-22-63** statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H478) "My wife Beatrice and I were sitting on the grass on the slope on Elm Street where the park is

located. When the President Kennedy's car got almost to the underpass, I heard two shots ring out...I grabbed my wife because I didn't know where the next shot was coming from and dragged her up next to the concrete embankment and got on the ground with her." (11-25-63 FBI report, 22H841) "Hester and his wife, Beatrice, were standing along the street at the point immediately preceding the underpass on Elm Street where President John F Kennedy was shot. Hester stated he saw the President slump in the seat of the car and that he heard two shots fired from what appeared to be a building located on the corner of Elm and Houston Street. He stated he and his wife were almost in a direct line of fire and that he immediately grabbed his wife and shoved her to the ground. He stated he thereafter immediately escorted his wife across to the North side of the street on an embankment in an attempt to gain shelter." **Analysis:** as Hester "immediately" threw his wife to the ground, he is almost certainly referring to the head shot and a succeeding shot. His grouping of the shots together in his first statement implies as much. The FBI is mistaken in reporting the Hesters were on the south side of the street and crossed over after the shots. The FBI's inclusion of Hester stating that the shots appeared to have come from a building on Elm and Houston (clearly a reference to the school book depository) is suspicious in light of Hester's earlier statement that he did not know where the next shot was coming from. **Did not hear the first shot. Only heard two shots. Last two shots bunched together.**

Mrs. Charles Hester (11-25-63 FBI report, 24H523) "Mrs. Hester advised she heard two loud noises which sounded like gunshots, and she saw President Kennedy slump in the car he was riding in. Her husband then grabbed her and shoved her to the ground. Shortly thereafter they then went across to the north side of the street on an embankment in an attempt to gain shelter." **Analysis:** a little too vague, but she is probably referring to the same two shots heard by her husband. **Did not hear the first shot. Only heard two shots. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Chapter 7b: More Pieces in the Plaza

Between the Signs

There are many disappointing aspects of the aspects of the FBI's investigation into the murder of President John F. Kennedy. The FBI simply didn't try as hard as they should have. Once they had their man, Oswald, they simply stopped looking elsewhere. When one reads Volume 22 of the 26 volumes of supporting information for the Warren Report, one comes across dozens of statements taken by the FBI in March 1964. These were statements made by employees working in Texas School Book Depository Building. What is troubling about these statements is that they all seemed to be designed to answer three questions—where were you during the shooting, did you know Oswald, and did you see any strange individuals in the building on November 22nd, 1963? The FBI was clearly not interested in what happened, only if anyone else was involved. As a result, numerous witnesses to Kennedy's death were not even asked what they saw. Still, enough of them said enough to give us an idea. Still others undermined the FBI's efforts by saying that they'd never seen Oswald before or only vaguely remembered Oswald, and had not seen any strangers in the building. These were, in fact, mutually exclusive statements. By saying they had never seen Oswald, or only vaguely remembered seeing Oswald, who'd only worked in the same building with them for six weeks, they were as much as acknowledging they wouldn't know what a stranger looked like. A number of these employees watched the motorcade from the north side of Elm between the Thornton Freeway and Stemmons Freeway signs. Here then are the witnesses between the signs, in order from west to east. My placement of these witnesses is based on the research of Don Roberdeau.

Louie Steven Witt stood just in front of the Stemmons Freeway sign. He stupidly opened up an umbrella in silent protest as Kennedy passed, and has come to be known as "The Umbrella Man." While some still doubt Witt was the "Umbrella Man," and suspect his admitting as much was a

government plot, many of those doubting his identity fail to understand that his identity was only discovered when, some months after the HSCA had called for the person holding the umbrella to come forward, a co-worker to whom Witt had confided revealed his identity to members of the conspiracy research community. (8-12-78 Dallas Morning News article by Earl Golz in which Witt's identity was revealed) "Witt, interviewed by The News at his job in the warehouse of a filing equipment company near the Stemmons Freeway, neither would confirm nor deny he was the Umbrella Man. He said he could not remember exactly where he was in downtown Dallas when the President was shot but thought he probably would have been on his lunch hour." (Handwritten notes by HSCA investigator Jack Moriarty on an 8-12-78 interview with Witt, found on the Baylor University website, in the John Armstrong collection) "I had just about decided to leave and go back to work. Then it arrived and kinda took me by surprised. I first saw it rounding that turn at the top of the hill (Elm St.). I got up--been sitting on the grass all this time. I (picked?) up my umbrella--walking forward toward the curb. I did get it open--I think it blocked my view--and heard this string of firecrackers go off. I (thought?) 'What a damn foolish thing for someone to be playing (games?) at a time like this.' As I moved to the edge of the little retaining wall, the vehicles had passed to my right now. The effect began to get to me; The President's car stopped--a motorcycle man swirled toward me--The second car nearly hit the first and a man ran up and jumped on the President's car. I don't think I saw everything--that damn umbrella got in my way. The next thing I recall was a bright pink movement in the car--JFK's car--I think it was Jackie's pink dress...My military training included 'Hit the dirt!' when you hear shots. It didn't occur to me that these were shots.' (Later, apparently in reference to the shots) 'I had no sense of direction--source--or number. All in one location--I think.'" (9-25-78 testimony before the HSCA, vol. 4 p.329-352) "As I moved to the street, still walking on the grass, I heard the shots that I eventually learned were shots. At the time it didn't register as shots because they were so close together, and it was like hearing a string of firecrackers...As I was moving forward I apparently had this umbrella in front of me for some few steps. Whereas other people I understand saw the President shot and his movements, I did not see this because of this thing in front of me. The next thing I saw after I saw the car coming down the street, down the hill to my left, the car was just about at a position like this [indicating] at this angle here. At this time there was the car stopping, the screeching of tires, the jamming on of brakes, motorcycle patrolman right there beside one of the cars. One car ran up on the President's car and a man jumped off and jumped on the back. These were the scenes that unfolded as I reached the point to where I was seeing things." (Later, when asked if he could tell from where the shots were being fired) "No, sir, really couldn't. Of course, there were a number of shots and they all seemed to be just rapid--just very close spaced. As to the direction, I couldn't say." (When asked how many shots he heard) "I really couldn't say. Just remembering--I would have to say three or more." (When asked if they were in rapid succession) "Very. As I recall, very rapid." (When asked to demonstrate the speed on the table) "I don't know if I could really give you a good example, but it was just [witness wraps three times rapidly on table]." **Analysis:** while Witt suggests he was walking forward when the shots rang out, this would imply that all the shots rang out before frame 202, when Witt can be seen standing with his umbrella in the Willis photo. Since he appears to have lifted his umbrella by frame 225 or so, when the Bronson photos shows it to have been higher above his head, however, we can probably assume he was still adjusting his umbrella at this time, and was not yet fully aware what was going on. His statements on the rapidity of the shots are much more helpful, as they are completely at odds with the LPM scenario, in which a five second pause precedes the last shot. **Last two shots bunched together.**

John Chism (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H471) "we were directly in front of the Stemmons Freeway sign...When I saw the motorcade round the corner, the President was standing and waving to the crowd. And just as he got just about in front of me, he turned and waved to the crowd on this side of the street, the right side; at this point I heard what sounded like one shot, and I saw him "The President," sit back in his seat and lean his head to his left side. At this point, I saw Mrs.

Kennedy stand up and pull his head over her lap, and then lay down over him as if to shield him. And the two men in the front seat, I don't know who they were, looked back, and just about the time they looked back, the second shot was fired. At this point, I looked behind me, to see whether it was a fireworks display or something. And then I saw a lot of people running for cover, behind the embankment there back up on the grass." (12-18-63 FBI report, 24H525) "According to Chism, he was standing on the curb in front of the concrete memorial on Elm Street...when the Presidential motorcade passed this point. As it passed in front of him he heard at least two shots and possibly three but no more. The first shot he thought was a firecracker until the second shot sounded and at the same instant he saw the President slump over in the seat of the limousine. On hearing the second shot he definitely knew the first was not a fire cracker and was of the opinion the shots came from behind him."

Analysis: as Kennedy was waving at the time of the first shot, and then leaned to his left, Chism failed to hear a shot at frame 160. As he failed to hear another shot until after Greer and Kellerman looked back, the next shot he heard was almost certainly the head shot, when the President "slumped." As he thought he might have heard three shots, he may have heard a shot after the head shot. Only heard two clear shots. **First shot hit 190-224.**

Marvin Faye Chism was John Chism's wife and stood beside him in front of the Stemmons Freeway sign. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H472) "As the President was coming through, I heard this first shot, and the President fell to his left. The President's wife immediately stood over him, and she pulled him up, and lay him down in the seat, and she stood up over him in the car. The President was standing and waving and smiling at the people when the shot happened. And then there was the second shot that I heard...It came from what I thought was behind us and I looked but I couldn't see anything. The two men in the front of the car stood up, and then when the second shot was fired, they all fell down and the car took off just like that." **Analysis:** while Mr. Chism noted that Kennedy leaned his head to the left after the first shot—a reference to his actions after frame 190 of the Zapruder film-- Mrs. Chism said he *fell* to his left. Still, her recollection of Jackie "standing over" Kennedy can only be a reference to the frames leading up to the head shot. Her statement that the men on the front of the car fell down was merely her way of expressing that Greer and Kellerman ducked down after the head shot. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

Gloria Jean Holt (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H652) "I left the Depository building and walked down toward the Stemmons expressway underpass west of the building approximately fifty yards and took up a position on the curb on the south side of Elm Street to await the presidential procession...I was still standing on the curb at the time the president was shot." **Analysis:** Holt is one of a number of witnesses who described the north side of Elm Street as the south side. It's possible they thought that by crossing the dead end of Elm Street in front of the building to get to where they stood, that they had crossed onto the south side of the street. **Too vague.**

Sharon Simmons (Sharon Nelson) (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H665) "I was with Jeanie Holt... at the time the President was shot." **Analysis: too vague.**

Stella Jacob (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H655) "I left the Depository building and walked down toward the Stemmons expressway underpass west of the building approximately fifty yards and took up a position on the curb on the south side of Elm Street to await the presidential procession... (names Sharon Simmons and Gloria Jean Holt as companions) I was still standing on the curb at the time President John F. Kennedy was shot...." **Analysis: too vague.**

Carol Reed (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H668) "At the time President Kennedy was shot I was standing on the curb of Elm Street about mid-way between the Texas school book Depository Building and the Elm Street railroad overpass. I was with Mrs. Karen Hicks...Miss Karen Westbrook...and Mrs. Gloria Calvery...at the time the President was shot." **Analysis: too vague.**

Karen Hicks (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H650) “we walked to Elm Street and stopped at a point on the north side of Elm Street about halfway between Houston Street and the Triple Underpass. We were standing at this point when President John F. Kennedy was shot. The car he was in was almost directly in front of where I was standing when I heard the first explosion” (She names Calvery, Reed, and Westbrook as companions). **Analysis:** as Hicks was far down the street from Kennedy’s position at Z-160, she did not hear a first shot that missed. Number of shots??? **First shot 190-224.**

Karen Westbrook (11-23-63 UPI article found in the Fresno Bee) “I saw the president's hair fly up...I knew he was hit,' Karen Westbrook, 19 year old stenographer, sobbed.” (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H679) “On November 22, 1963, I left my office...I was with (Calvery, Reed, and Hicks)...about halfway between Houston Street and the Triple Underpass. We were standing at this point when President John F. Kennedy was shot. The car he was in was almost directly in front of where I was standing when I heard the first explosion. I did not immediately recognize this sound as a gun shot.” **Analysis:** as Westbrook was far down the street from Kennedy’s position at Z-160, she did not hear a first shot that missed. **Number of shots??? First shot 190-224.**

Gloria Calvery (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H638) “we walked to Elm Street and stopped at a point on the north side of Elm Street about halfway between Houston Street and the Triple Underpass. We were standing at this point when President John F. Kennedy was shot. The car he was in was almost directly in front of where I was standing when I heard the first shot.” **Analysis:** as Calvery was far down the street from Kennedy’s position at Z-160, the first shot she heard was not at Z-160. **Number of shots??? First shot 190-224.**

June Dishong (Letter written on 11-22-63, as read by her daughter on CNN, 11-21-2003, and featured on the Sixth Floor Museum website) “here come the president and his wife...His arm in the air waving...He drops his arm as they go by, possibly 20 feet. Suddenly--a sound. Gun shots? So hard to tell above the clamor of the crowd. The president bent forward into his wife’s lap as his arm slipped off the side of the car. Jackie circled him with her arm. Another shot. Panic among the people. Woman with children. Parents pushing them to the ground. No one knows where the shots are coming from. A cry. The President has been shot. A third shot, people scatter. I can't believe what I have seen. The picture of the man falling forward.” **Analysis:** this letter, which was only discovered after Dishong’s death, sums up what would seem to be the majority view quite nicely: a first shot hit at 190 (when Kennedy stopped waving, and Jackie moved closer to him), followed by the head shot (when people started screaming and dropping to the ground), followed by a third shot. **First shot hit 190. Last shot after the head shot.**

Jean Newman (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H489, 24H218) “I was standing right on the side of the Stemmons Freeway sign, about halfway between the sign and the edge of the building on the corner... The motorcade had just passed me when I heard something that I thought was a firecracker at first, and the President had just passed me, because after he had just passed, there was a loud report, it just scared me, and I noticed that the President jumped, he sort of ducked his head down, and I thought at the time that it probably scared him too, just like it did me, because he flinched like he jumped. I saw him put his elbows like this, with his hands on his chest...the motorcade never did stop, and the President fell to his left, and his wife jumped up on her knees...I just heard two shots” (11-28-63 FBI report, 22H843) “She then walked in front of the building and turned right on Elm Street and stood on the curb on the North. A car carrying the President and other persons had just passed her when she heard a report and saw the President jump, raising his hands to his chest area. She stated she assumed the report to be a firecracker and thought how “human” the president was that he too would react by jumping at a sudden noise. She stated the car had proceeded to approximately 12 feet to her right when she heard a second report and saw the President slump to the front of the car...Mrs. Newman said she only heard the two shots but cannot definitely state that

additional shot or shots were not fired as people around her realizing what had happened began milling around and screaming.” **Analysis:** Mrs. Newman’s contention that screams may have prevented her from hearing additional shots indicates that she believed no shots were fired before the first one she heard. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

Ernest Brandt claims to have been standing along the north side of Elm at the time of the assassination. He is readily observed in the Zapruder film. For many years, on the anniversary of the assassination, he returned to his place on the street wearing the same hat, and spoke freely to tourists, researchers, and newsmen. (12-07-93 article in the St. Petersburg Times) "Ernie Brandt, 67, wore the same small, brown hat he had worn that day. He heard two shots." (Oral History interview performed for the Sixth Floor Museum, 5-12-94) "Nothing had happened by the time the limo was exactly opposite us, from the curb straight out to the street. Nothing had happened, But I was still watching Kennedy from the back... I think the limousine was probably about 60 or 70 feet past us, three or four seconds I guess from the time. He wasn't moving real slow but yet not real fast either, y'know. And--60 or 70 feet past us, then BAM! the first shot was fired and boy it just reverberated around Dealey Plaza something terrible. It sounded like an elephant rifle to me." (11-22-95 article in the Dallas Morning News) "Ernest Brandt, a salesman, watched from the curb as President John F Kennedy's motorcade turned down the Elm Street slope toward Stemmons Freeway... "Kennedy's limo was about 15 to 20 feet past us when the first shot was fired. I was still looking at him and I saw his arms come up. My first thought at that instant was that it was a motorcycle backfire. But in a couple or three seconds there was a second shot and instantaneously everybody realized it wasn't a motorcycle backfire, including me and my customer... There was a big tree up the hill and I ran for that tree. My customer stayed right on the curb, and he saw the last shot hit Kennedy, but I didn't see it. I was running for that tree..." (11-23-98 article in the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram) "Dallas resident Ernest Brandt, 72, was wearing a hat yesterday, the same hat he wore on the day he stood under a tree and saw Kennedy shot, he said. Although many conspiracy theorists asked Brandt questions, he said that he only heard three shots and that all of them came from Oswald." (6-08-09 post by Don Roberdeau on the alt.assassination.JFK Forum) "ERNEST CARL BRANDT is one of the 41 DP witnesses that I have communicated with. The following is an exact transcript of the **July 2000** hand-written, 3-page letter that I received from BRANDT after I contacted him (all EMPHASIS and quotation marks were as BRANDT originally wrote them).... "President Kennedy was about 15 feet from me when the **FIRST SHOT WAS FIRED!!!** He was **SLIGHTLY PAST ME** at a **"ONE O'CLOCK POSITION"** in relation to my location on the **NORTH SIDE** of the Elm street curb. My observation of JFK's re-action to the **FIRST SHOT** (I WAS STILL LOOKING AT HIM) was that he **INSTANTLY RAISED HIS ARMS** (ACTUALLY I COULD ONLY SEE HIS RIGHT ARM)-(HIS BODY + HEAD OBSCURED MY VIEW OF HIS LEFT ARM) - TO A POSITION PARALLEL WITH THE GROUND, BUT BENT AT THE ELBOW. MY CLOSE SCRUTINY of the "Z" film tells me that JFK is apparently **UNHIT** prior to passing behind the highway sign, but, of course, his arms are moving **UPWARD** as he emerges from behind the sign. I **SEEM TO RECALL** JFK WAS **CASUALLY WAVING** to the very sparse crowd in Dealey Plaza as he approached my location. My feeling is that he was hit in the neck at about frame #208 to #210 in the "Z" film + that is only a **FRACTION** of a second **AFTER HE DISAPPEARED BEHIND** the sign - or possibly at the **VERY INSTANT** of moving behind the **"LEADING EDGE"** of the **SIGN!!!** Gerald Posner thinks (his book, "Case Closed") that the **FIRST SHOT** hit a tree limb and missed JFK, but, I disagree **EMPHATICALLY**. I am **TOTALLY CONVINCED** the **FIRST SHOT HIT** JFK in the back of the lower neck!!! Hence his reason for raising his hands up to his face - **HE WAS HIT** in the **NECK** + his **IMMEDIATE RESPONSE** WAS TO GO TO THAT GENERAL AREA WITH HIS HANDS!!! The **FIRST SHOT** WAS, I THOUGHT, A **POLICE MOTORCYCLE BACKFIRE** - (MY CUSTOMER** WITH ME THOUGHT THE SAME) AND AS JFK RAISED HIS ARMS I THOUGHT HE HAD **ALSO HEARD** the **BACKFIRE** + WAS **PLAYFULLY RE-ACTING** to it!!! **STRANGE THOUGHTS**

BUT, AN ASSASSINATION of the PRESIDENT of the U.S. WAS CERTAINLY THE LEAST LIKELY THING IN THE WORLD TO OCCUR!!! WHEN the 2nd shot occurred, it was the time I realized that SHOTS were being fired!!! and FEAR GRABBED ME QUICKLY!!! MY HEART BEGAN TO "POND" [sp] !!! I KNEW SHOTS WERE BEING FIRED BUT HAD NO IDEA AT ALL FROM WHERE!!! (MY CUSTOMER** DIDN'T KNOW EITHER) So I LOOKED BEHIND ME FOR A PLACE TO RUN - ABOUT A DOZEN FEET DIRECTLY BEHIND ME WAS A "LONE" TREE - + I RAN QUICKLY TO THAT TREE!!! ONCE THERE I FELT A LITTLE MEASURE OF SECURITY!!! I REALLY CANNOT TELL YOU THE DISTANCE BETWEEN ME + JFK WHEN THE 2ND SHOT WAS FIRED FOR THE ABOVE REASON. WHEN AT THE TREE I IMMEDIATELY GLANCED DOWN ELM STREET TOWARD THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS! THE JFK "LIMO" WAS CLOSE TO THE UNDERPASS + IT WAS OVER - THE SHOOTING HAD STOPPED - (THE THIRD SHOT WAS FIRED AS I RAN FOR THE TREE) - THE "LIMO'S" TAIL LITES WERE "ON" WHICH TOLD ME THE DRIVER (GREER) HAD HIS FOOT ON THE BRAKES + THEN BLACK SMOKE SPEWED FROM THE EXHAUST PIPE + THE "LIMO" SPED OFF IN A SUDDEN BURST OF SPEED + IT WAS ALL OVER!!!"

(From a 10-31-01 alt.assassination.JFK post by Dave Reitzes which included a **7-15-01** e-mail response from Brandt) (when asked if he heard two or three shots) "I did indeed think I heard only TWO shots at the time of the assassination...I KNOW, REPEAT, KNOW, THAT I HEARD THE FIRST SHOT. IT WAS EXTREMELY LOUD...When the second shot occurred I realized that the FIRST "noise" I had heard was NOT a police motorcycle back-fire...I quickly glanced behind me and saw a rather large tree... While consumed with FEAR & concentrating FULLY on arriving safely at that tree, the THIRD SHOT, OBVIOUSLY, was fired. I feel sure now that my ear-drums HEARD THAT THIRD SHOT." (**11-20-01** article in the Dallas Morning News) "Ernest Carl Brandt sent me a businesslike letter last week, offering his expertise on the shooting of President... He recalls standing at the curb, barely 15 feet from the presidential limousine, when the first shot was fired." (**2-10-02** article in the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram) "Ernest C. Brandt, who stood a few feet from the president's motorcade that day, says he believes he heard three shots. The first, which struck Kennedy's neck, sounded like a motorcycle backfiring, but the second, although a stray, was so loud, he knew it had to be from a rifle. 'Pandemonium broke loose,' Brandt recalled. 'My heart started pounding. I saw a big tree behind me. When I was running for it, the third shot was fired. I didn't see that shot; I was scared and running for that tree. But a customer of mine stayed on the curb, and he saw Kennedy's head explode.'" (**4-12-02** article in the Dallas Morning News) "Mr. Brandt, 75, was 15 feet from the president's motorcade when the first shot was fired. He didn't immediately realize what was happening, even as he watched it... 'In about three seconds there was a second shot. Then I realized it was not a backfire.' Mr. Brandt said he ran for cover behind a nearby tree, but the man standing with him was too frightened to move. He said the man witnessed a third shot as it hit Kennedy's head, but by the time Mr. Brandt reached the tree and glanced back, the car was approaching the triple underpass." (From a **2-06-03** article in Park Cities People) "'I stood only about 15 feet from President Kennedy when the first shot was fired,' Brandt said. He heard three shots at the time. 'I thought it was a motorcycle backfire at first,' he said." (From a **2-7-03** article printed in The Shorthorn Online, a college publication) "As he got closer, the crowd began to stir, and the ladies began to squeal. Then we heard the first shot—he was not 15 feet from me." (From an **11-22-03** WBAP radio program posted on Youtube) "Just as he got a little passed us (slaps hands together) BANG, a loud report. My first thought was it was a motorcycle backfire. My second thought immediately was that Kennedy heard that motorcycle backfire and he was just playfully reacting to it, see. Boy, and then in about three seconds or so there was a second loud report (slaps hands together) like that. And then I realized it was not a motorcycle backfire and somebody was shooting from somewhere and I got scared and looked for a tree." (From a **6-03-09** online article by Megan Blank for North Penn Life) "Ernest Brandt was only 15 feet from President John F. Kennedy when the first shot

was fired at 12:30 p.m. on Nov. 22, 1963. Previously, as that first motorcycle rounded the corner in Dealey Plaza in Dallas, a woman in a blue dress standing next to him commented on how all the police were probably along the parade route, adding, "It sure would be a great day to rob a bank in the suburbs, eh?" Then the shot, as loud as a Howitzer," Brandt said..."The crowd was happy, yelling, some of the ladies were yelling, 'Hi, Jackie,'" he said. "When Kennedy was directly in front of me, there were no shots, all was fine. Then, "I thought it was a motorcycle backfire," he said. "I saw him throw his arms up. I thought Kennedy was playfully reacting. Then two or three seconds later, another [shot]. Then I knew it wasn't." Brandt added that the press called that bullet the "pristine," or magic, bullet, which he thought was ridiculous. "I have a picture of it at my house," he said. "It's got the usual markings of a bullet shot through a gun." Another of the three shots missed, but "the third shot literally blew his brains out, and I mean literally," Brandt said...Terrified the shooter was facing him, Brandt ran behind a nearby tree. When he ran back, his customer was still standing there, out of shock." **Analysis:** it's interesting how Brandt told the Sixth Floor Museum he was 60-70 feet from Kennedy at the time of the first shot, but then began telling the press he was but 15 feet from Kennedy. While Brandt, a committed single-assassin theorist, has taught classes on the assassination, moreover, he needs to go back to school and re-evaluate his position. If the first shot was fired and hit Kennedy around Z-207, then who shot Connally at Z-224? His discussion of the head shot is also intriguing. He believes the third shot was fired after he started running, but the photographic evidence proves no one started running or ducking until after the head shot. This suggests that Brandt started running upon hearing the muzzle blast of the head shot, without even realizing it had struck anyone. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224. Second shot head shot. Last shot (which he did not hear) is by implication after the head shot.**

John Templin was the man standing to Brandt's left. (12-07-93 article in the St. Petersburg Times) "John Templin, 55, had voted for the first time, for Kennedy. He heard three shots invade the plaza..."You can't believe what goes through your head after seeing something like that," Templin said." (From Don Roberdeau's 6-08-09 post on the alt.assassination.JFK Forum, in which he recounts Templin's 6-28-95 Oral History interview with the Sixth Floor Museum) "TEMPLIN remembered hearing 3 audible muzzle blasts and/or mechanically suppress fired bullet bow shockwaves with the first two bunched distinctly closer together than last two he remembered... TEMPLIN said the first blast/shockwave originated from his left, "his" 2nd remembered blast/shockwave came from his right towards the railroad yard and hit JFK in head and it sounded different, and TEMPLIN's 3rd remembered blast/shockwave came from his left, with the total shots sequence lasting about 6 seconds...TEMPLIN thought "his" 1st remembered blast/shockwave was a motorcycle backfire... TEMPLIN saw limo brake lights illuminated during the shots...afterwards TEMPLIN - like BRANDT - did not go public with his claims until the early 1990's...afterwards TEMPLIN provided a 6-28-95 "Sixth Floor Museum" oral-histories interview and detailed that "his" 1st blast/shockwave occurred when limo was 30' PAST himself ---- again, negating the posner/myers shots scenario theory, adding further support for the many witnesses who timestamped a "1st remembered shot = 1st JFK impact" AFTER the President had already started his Z-170 starting right hand wave (and large tree hid JFK from *anyone* in the warrenatti, supposed, "lone nut" "sniper lair" from seeing-targeting him from Z-162 to 208)" (11-23-98 article in the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram) "Fairview resident John Templin, 60, who was with Brandt the day Kennedy was shot, said that remembering had been so painful he hadn't returned to the scene in almost 30 years. 'After it happened, I had a hard time sleeping for about two or three weeks,' he said." (11-22-00 article by David Flick in the Dallas Morning News) "John Templin...was on Dealey Plaza 37 years ago..."The first shot, I thought it was a motorcycle backfiring,' he said. 'I thought Kennedy was just playing, throwing his hands up in the air pretending to protect himself. But the second one came, and I knew it was the real thing." (from Brandt's 7-15-01 e-mail to Dave Reitzes, posted online) "So when John (Templin) my customer & I joined again at the curb only a

few seconds after the THIRD shot, I told him I only heard TWO shots...but he had heard THREE SHOTS...I then came to the realization that I really did HEAR the THIRD shot.” **Analysis:** Although Templin apparently believes the first two shots were closer together than the second and third, this is at odds with his recollection that second shot hit Kennedy in the head. One can only assume then that he has misremembered which pair was closer together. His appraisal of the last shot also needs some clarification. While Roberdeau reports that Templin said the last shot was fired after the head shot, and the 11-22-00 article by Flick seems to support this, Brandt insists Templin saw the impact of the final shot on Kennedy's head. Both of them can't be right. **First Shot Hit 190-224. Last shot after the head shot?**

Georgia Ruth Hendrix (3-24-64 statement to the FBI, 22H649) repeats “At approximately 12:15 PM on November 22, 1963, I left the Depository Building and took up a position along the parade route along Elm Street about 150 feet west from the Depository Building entrance and viewed the presidential motorcade... I recall that just a few seconds after the car in which President John F. Kennedy was riding passed the position where I was standing, I heard a shot. At first I thought it was salute to the President, but when the second shot was fired and I saw the President fall down in the car I knew someone was shooting at him. When I heard the third shot I turned and fled back into the Depository Building.” (No More Silence p. 73-78, published 1998) “When that first shot rang out, I thought it was a firecracker...But as I looked, he fell over, and about that time Mrs. Kennedy raised up and pulled the man up over the back of the car...With that, they were out of my view and in an instant they were gone!...In the meantime, there had been two other shots...we didn't know at first that they were targeting him anymore than they were just shooting at random. In all, I heard three shots, and it seemed to me that there was more time between the first and second and less between the second and third shots.” **Analysis:** while Ms. Hendrix first had one shot after the head shot and later had two shots after the head shot, she is consistent in that she heard a shot after the head shot. Since she says the first shot rang out as the limousine was just past her position, and she was west of Kennedy's position at Z-160, and as Kennedy was hit at least once before the head shot, she confirms that the first shot hit. **First shot hit 190-224. Last shot after the head shot.**

Billie Clay (3-23-64 statement to the FBI, 22H641) “At approximately 12:15 PM on November 22, 1963, I left the Depository Building and took up a position along the parade route along Elm Street about 150 feet west from the Depository Building entrance and viewed the presidential motorcade... (names Mary Williams, Georgia Ruth Hendrix, Sue Dickerson, and Mrs. John Hawkins as accompanying her) “Just a few seconds after the car in which President John F. Kennedy was riding passed the position I was standing I heard a shot. At first I thought it might be a firecracker or a motorcycle backfire, but when I heard the second and third shots I knew someone was shooting at the President...At this point the car president Kennedy was in slowed and I, along with others, moved toward the President's car. As we neared the car it sped off.” **Analysis:** as she states she heard three shots and that the first rang out as the limousine passed her, she is indicating that there was no first shot miss at frame 160. **First shot 190-224.**

Peggy Burney (11-23-63 first person account published in the Dallas Times-Herald) "I saw the President die. I was standing at the curb on Elm about a third the way from Houston Street near the overpass. When the President's car made the curve around the corner, he was smiling and waving. He was not standing, as I heard some reports say later. He was sitting, but he was happy and Jackie was happy and smiling as they passed. The car had passed about 15 feet beyond me when I heard the first shot. I did not realize it was a shot; I thought it was a backfire. The President ducked; instinctively I told myself 'something is happening,' but nobody knew what. Then I heard a second shot. I noticed that Jackie didn't duck - I could no longer see the President. The car momentarily stopped, then veered slightly to the right and speeded off. People around me were screaming; some were falling to the

ground. I could not tell whether they were hit, or not - or just dodging. There was pandemonium. Everybody realized that the shots were coming from up high. People were running around cars and jumping over things. Soon, all the buildings around here were locked - including ours. Squad cars converged. There must have been a hundred of them right away. My employer, Mr. (Abe) Zapruder was making a movie at the time it happened. He is still with the Secret Service men. As soon as we were inside the building before any reports on the condition of the President, Mr. Zapruder had already told us 'The President of the United States is dead.' 'We saw him die...' (11-23-63 UPI article found in the Fresno Bee) "'We all saw him die,' Mrs. Peggy Burney said. But neither she nor the others who witnessed the assassination of the President could believe what they saw. They thought the first of the three shots from the assassin's rifle was the backfire of a car." **Analysis:** Mrs. Burney's placement of the car at the time of the first shot--and assertion that Kennedy ducked in response to this shot--suggests a shot fired after frame 160. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

Peggy Hawkins (3-26-64 FBI report, CD897 p.35-36) "Mrs. Hawkins said that the car containing the Presidential party had just passed in front of the building shortly after noon when she heard two or three shots fired in the near vicinity. She said she immediately recognized them as firearm shots and not as fireworks and had the impression that they came from the direction of the railroad yards adjacent to the TSBD building. . . . She said that she was looking at the President's car at the time and saw the President straighten up in the back and then slump over on his side. . . . She estimated that the President was less than fifty feet away from her when he was shot, that the car slowed down almost coming to a full stop and then started off again." **Analysis:** as she says she saw the President straighten up in the back and then slump over on his side before the limo slowed down, she is describing Kennedy's reaction in frames 190-224, and not the head shot, which happened after the limo slowed down. **First shot hit 190-224.**

Mary Sue Dickerson (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H644) "On November 22, 1963, at the time President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, I was standing at the curb on the north side of Elm Street about equal distance between the point where the President was shot and the west end of the Texas School Book Depository." (Oral History interview for the Sixth Floor Museum, 7-29-10) (When complaining about conspiracy theorists) "There's just been so much misinformation. Well, Billy Lovelady was standing on the front there, and so many people since then thought that was Oswald. But, y'know it wasn't. It was Billy, and he was the most innocent, as could be." (Article by Beverly Shay in the 11-01-11 online edition of Now Magazine) "Mary Sue (Sue) Randall Bennett will never forget where she was on Friday, November 22, 1963. She was on the curb in front of the Texas School Book Depository in Dealey Plaza. She worked on the fifth floor for Allyn and Bacon Publishers, one of the many publishing firms in the building. "I was so excited to be on the street that day. And then," Sue paused, "the motorcade drove right in front of me, well us," she amended. "I was looking at the handsome, young president, admiring his lush hair, and he looked right at me! My heart fluttered, and I knew I was part of history in the making. I just didn't know how intently a part of history." As she was making eye contact with the president of the United States, several things occurred at once. She heard what she thought were fire crackers, which initially seemed so celebratory, but then he slumped forward. Sue realized something was very, very wrong, but her mind refused to process it. "People screamed and ran, but it all seemed to be in slow motion. I remember turning and walking back toward the building, noticing one of my associates was still standing near the front door as he had been when I came out. I don't know if it had even registered with me yet that the president had been shot," Sue stated, as dazed now as she had been then." **Analysis:** from her 1964 description of her location at the time of the shooting and her 2011 description of the shots, it seems clear Mary Sue thought Kennedy was hit by the first shot or firecracker sound, long after he'd passed his location at frame 160 of the Zapruder film. **First shot hit 190-224.**

Mary Lea Williams (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H682) (accompanied by Mrs. Sue Dickerson, Billie Clay, Ruth Hendrix, and Mrs. John Hawkins and her four year old son John) “Our group took up a position along the motorcade route about halfway between the first and second light poles on the curbside slightly west of Depository building. We were on the north side of Elm Street...Following the shooting of President John F. Kennedy, we continued to stand in that area for another five to ten minutes...I do not recall having ever seen Lee Harvey Oswald at any time on or prior to November 22, 1963.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Betty Jean Thornton (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p.63) (On Oswald) “she had never seen him before as far as she knows...she was standing on the street when the President’s car passed by and she heard what she thought was a number of firecrackers.” **(3-23-64** statement to the FBI, 22H677) “On November 22, 1963, at approximately 12:35 PM, I was standing with Jane Berry...on Elm Street in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building to watch a motorcade bearing President John F. Kennedy pass by. As the car in which the President was riding passed by, I heard what I thought were firecrackers being discharged, but I did not actually see the President hit with any shots.” **Analysis:** as she didn’t hear any shots until Kennedy was passing by, and as she was far west of where Kennedy was at Z-160, she failed to hear a shot as early as Z-160. Had no recollection of Oswald **Number of shots??? First shot 190-224.**

Jane Berry (11-25-63 FBI report, CD5 p.42) “Just as the car was passing by her, she heard a rifle shot. A few seconds later, she heard a second and third shot. She observed President Kennedy slump over and everyone began falling to the ground or running...It sounded as if it had been fired from a position west of where she had been standing.” **(3-19-64** statement, 22H637) “On November 22, 1963, at approximately 12:35 PM, I was standing in front of the Texas School Book Depository with Betty Thornton...As the motorcade passed by the building I heard three shots and observed the President slump over in the automobile in which he was riding. (On Oswald) “I don’t recall having seen him around the Texas School Book Depository Building.” **Analysis:** as she heard a second and third shot “a few seconds later,” without mention of a gap between them, she probably heard them close together. As she heard the first of the three shots as the limo was passing by her, and she was far west of Z-160, she heard no first shot miss. **First shot 190-224. Probable first shot hit. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

The Last Wave



As the limousine cruises down Elm Street in Z-161, Kennedy is looking ahead.



But the crowd by the Thornton Freeway sign calls out, as seen in the Betzner photo at Z-186 (1 ½ seconds later).



And Kennedy smiles and waves back, as seen in Z-188.



But then, his head jerks to the right and his hand falls across his face, as seen in Z-206 (1 second later).



By Z-225 (1 second later), he has clearly been hit, at least once, probably twice.

The Last Wave

The testimony of those standing near the Thornton Freeway sign are particularly important in establishing the time of the first shot. As we've seen most have said Kennedy had already passed them when the first shot rang out, and none of them said he had yet to reach them. A number of others have said they saw Kennedy waving just before the first shot. This wave suddenly stopped around Z-190, a likely moment of impact according to the Zapruder film jiggle analysis. Convincingly, not one witness near the Thornton Freeway sign said that Kennedy had yet to reach them when the first shot rang out, and no eyewitnesses who mentioned Kennedy waving said he resumed waving after the first shot rang out.

Mary Woodward (11-23-63 newspaper article Witness From the News Describes Assassination written by Woodward for the Dallas Morning News) "We decided to cross Elm Street and wait there on the grassy slope just east of the Triple Underpass... We had been waiting about half an hour when the first motorcycle escorts came by, followed shortly by the President's car. The President was looking straight ahead and we were afraid we would not get to see his face. But we started clapping and cheering and both he and Mrs. Kennedy turned, and smiled and waved, directly at us... After acknowledging our cheers, he [JFK] faced forward again and suddenly there was a horrible, ear-splitting noise coming from behind us and a little to the right. My first reaction, and also my friends', was that as a joke someone had backfired their car. Apparently, the driver and occupants of the President's car had the same impression, because instead of speeding up, the car came almost to a halt... I don't believe anyone was hit with the first bullet. The President and Mrs. Kennedy turned and

looked around, as if they, too, didn't believe the noise was really coming from a gun...Then after a moment's pause, there was another shot and I saw the President start slumping in the car. This was followed rapidly by another shot. Mrs. Kennedy stood up in the car, turned halfway around, then fell on top of her husband's body... The cars behind stopped and *several* men--Secret Service men,--I suppose-- got out and started rushing forward, obstructing our view of the car... About ten feet from where we were standing, a man and a woman had thrown their small child to the ground and covered his body with theirs. Apparently the bullets had whizzed directly over their heads." (12-7-63 FBI report, 24H520) "She stated she was watching President and Mrs. Kennedy closely, and all of her group cheered loudly as they went by. Just as President and Mrs. Kennedy went by, they turned and waved at them. Just a second or two later, she heard a loud noise. At this point, it appeared to her that President and Mrs. Kennedy probably were about one hundred feet from her. There seemed to be a pause of a few seconds, and then there were two more loud noises which she suddenly realized were shots, and she saw President Kennedy fall over and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and started crawling over the back of the car. She stated that her first reaction was that the shots had been fired from above her head and from possibly behind her." (12-23-63 FBI report, recounting a 12-5-63 discussion between U.S. Attorney Barefoot Sanders and an FBI agent, CD205, p39) "a reporter for the Dallas Morning News, name unrecalled, has advised him that four of the women working in the Society Section of the Dallas Morning News were reportedly standing next to Mr. Zapruda when the assassination shots were fired. According to this reporter, these women, names unknown, stated that the shots, according to their opinion, came from a direction other than from the Texas School Book Depository Building." (3-24-64 testimony of Mark Lane before the Warren Commission, 2H32-61) "on November 23, 1963, the Dallas Morning News ran a story by Miss Woodward, and I have since that time spoken with Miss Woodward by telephone, and she has confirmed portions--the entire portion which I will quote from now--in her conversation with me. That is, that as she and her three coworkers waited for the President to pass, on the grassy slope just east of the triple overpass, she explained that the President approached and acknowledged their cheers and the cheers of others, 'he faced forward again, and suddenly there was an ear-shattering noise coming from behind us and a little to the right.' Here we have a statement, then, by an employee of the Dallas Morning News, evidently speaking--she indicated to me that she was speaking on behalf of all four employees, all of whom stated that the shots came from the direction of the overpass, which was to their right, and not at all from the Book Depository Building, which was to their left." (Mark Lane's comments regarding Woodward at the Associated Press Managing Editors Convention in San Diego, California, 11-17-66, as published in an AP story found in the 11-27-66 Eugene Register-Guard.) "The press found Mary Woodward over there. In fact, she works for the press--the Dallas Morning News--and she wrote her own article, published in the Dallas Morning News on Nov. 23, and she said: 'I heard the shots. It was a horrible ear-shattering sound coming from directly behind me, from behind the wooden fence on the top of the grassy hill.'" (Lane had, apparently, presented his interpretation of Woodward's words as if it was a direct quote.)

(Interview in The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "One thing I am totally positive about in my own mind is how many shots there were. And there were three shots. The second two shots were immediate. It was almost as if one were an echo of the other. They came so quickly the sound of one did not cease until the second shot. With the second and third shot I did see the president being hit. I literally saw his head explode. So, I felt that the shots had come, as I wrote in my article, from behind me and to my right, which would have been the direction of the grassy knoll, and the railroad overpass." (11-21-93 Reporters Remember conference, as quoted in Reporting the Kennedy Assassination). "(We) stationed ourselves just down from the School Book Depository building and waited for the parade to come by.) And we were chatting, and as we were talking, I looked up at the grassy knoll. And I said to my friends, 'That's a very dangerous-looking spot to me, it must be, there must be a lot of security up there, because it looks a perfect spot, if somebody wanted to do something.'

And then the motorcade came along and I couldn't believe it: finally, I'm gonna see Jacqueline Kennedy, and she's looking in the other direction. So I yelled and I said 'Please look this way!' And they looked right at us, waved, and at that moment, I heard a very loud noise. And I wasn't sure what it was at that point, and I turned to my friends and asked 'what was that; is some jerk shooting off firecrackers?' And, uh, then I heard the second one, and this time I knew what had happened, because I saw the president's motion, and then the third shot came very, very quickly, on top of the second one. And that time, I saw his head blow open, and I very well knew what had happened by that point...we waited for just a few minutes... and walked back to the Dallas Morning News...I started writing my story, and I wrote it exactly as I knew it...And to this day, I think I wrote it correctly...The only thing that I guess I got myself in a little bit of controversy about, I said that the shots appeared to have come from behind me and to my right...I didn't say they did come from that direction...I had spoken to my friends just prior to the event, suggesting that the grassy knoll would be the perfect spot for an assassin... when it happened, I naturally expected it to have come from where I had predicted it would come from. So in reality, I do believe they did come from the School Book Depository Building. So I get a little bit upset when I get put into the other column... I never spoke to Mark Lane in my life, except to say I couldn't speak to him." **Analysis:** while the recollections of many if not most witnesses get wilder and wilder as they get older, Ms. Woodward has in recent years been trying to bring hers in line with the official story. In the 1993 conference quoted above, she bent over backwards to let the good old boys in the journalism profession know she was not a "conspiracist." To no avail. Her assertion that the last two shots were bunched together locks her forever in the conspiracy camp. Her words are completely at odds with the LPM scenario--she says the President was past her when the first shot rang out, she says the limousine slowed down after the first shot, she said the President slumped down in his seat after the first of two closely grouped together shots. It was only in recent years that she started adding on that this last shot was the head shot. While some LPM defenders might choose to focus on Woodward's repeated assertion that the first shot missed, they will have to overlook that she says the President looked around after this shot—and that it came after the wave of his hand (which can be seen at frame 188 of the Zapruder film). **First shot hit 190. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Aurelia Alonzo, Margaret Brown, and Ann Donaldson were Woodward's companions on November 22, 1963. (12-7-63 FBI report, CD7 p.19) "Ann Donaldson...Margaret Brown...and Miss Aurelio Alonzo...were interviewed December 6, 1963...All furnished the same information as that previously furnished by Mary Elizabeth Woodward." **Ann Atterberry** (formerly Donaldson) (1-5-92 article in the Dallas Morning News) "Another journalist friend, Ann Atterberry, was on the curb in Dealey Plaza that afternoon with a couple of friends. Like Tom, she heard three shots, no more, no fewer. Unlike some of the professional theorists, she has not shifted her memories later to fit the latest line-- she wrote an eyewitness account for her hometown paper that afternoon and thus is on the record for what she saw and heard." (9-5-93 article in the Dallas Morning News) "Ann Atterberry, who works on The Dallas Morning News' library staff, was probably closest to the president when he was shot... 'The youngest member of our group, Mary Elizabeth Ann Woodward, saw Kennedy hit, but he was already slumped down when I saw him. We halfway had to carry Mary Elizabeth back to the newspaper, she was so upset. I phoned in an eyewitness account to my hometown newspaper in Jackson, Miss., and reported that I heard three gunshots. I guess that's why no conspiracy theorists have bothered me over the years. Mary Elizabeth was so troubled by what she'd seen that she went off and joined the Peace Corps.'" (11-16-03 article in the San Francisco Chronicle travel section) "Jack and Jackie both looked pleased, and relieved," Atterberry said. "As they passed by us they waved, and they both made eye contact with us." Tears moistened her eyes, and her voice cracked. "I've often wondered if the four of us were the last thing he ever saw." At almost the same instant, she heard the first crack of gunfire. "My first reaction was that it was a firecracker," she said. "I thought that was awfully rude. I was just turning to see where

the sound came from when I heard the second shot. Just as I realized what it was, I heard the third shot, and then there was no doubt in my mind. We all burst into tears. It was absolute chaos. People on the knoll threw themselves on the ground. A motorcycle fell over and was left in the middle of the street. People were running everywhere." (5-29-05 article for The Independent on Sunday, found on the BNET Business Network website) "We saw them round the corner and I heard what I thought were firecrackers and looked around to see where the noise came from. I then heard two more shots and saw the motorcade speed away and people fall to the ground. It seemed unreal and then I felt horror. We headed back to the paper crying. Later we were interviewed by the FBI and the CIA. It was only recently that I've been comfortable talking about it because of the negative impact it had on the city of Dallas and on the Dallas Morning News, where I worked until I retired in 1999. In the wake of the assassination the paper was reviled. It had run an ad that morning taken out by a group criticizing Kennedy's politics. It affected me deeply, just the mental anguish of it. Most people don't know I was a witness. But I don't wish that I hadn't been there. It was a moment in history and it was one of the most momentous things in my life." (2-17-09 post by Honorfligh...@Aol.com, discussing personal contacts with eyewitnesses, found on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup) "I have spoken with one, Ann Atterberry, about 21 years ago. Ann described for us in still mournful detail that approximately one second or so before she heard the first very loud shot JFK then Jackie were both looking towards her and she was absolutely thrilled by that. JFK had also started waving towards her (which thrilled Ann even more) and then JFK made direct eye contact with Ann, THEN the first of 3 shots happened, and JFK immediately quickly reacted to being hit. As anyone can clearly see JFK started his wave only a second or two BEFORE he first "disappeared" behind the sign in the Zapruder film. She also described that one of the shots most definitely came from her right. (she was standing on the sidewalk street curb between the depository and the GK picket fence)." (10-27-09 Dallas Morning News article on Atterberry's death) "'In the first two frames of Zapruder's film, the four of us show,' she said recently. Ms. Atterberry said she looked up at the crack of the first rifle shot. 'I thought it was fireworks,' she said. 'I thought that was really rude and socially unacceptable. I was looking to see where the noise came from. I heard two more shots and looked around, and the motorcade was speeding away.' The friends cried all the way back to the newspaper, several blocks away." **Analysis:** While it appears that all three of these women remembered the shooting much the same as Woodward, we can't be absolutely sure. **Probable first shot hit 190 (X 3). Last two shots probably bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot). (X3).**

A.J. Millican (11-22-63, 19H486) "I was standing on the North side of Elm Street, about half way between Houston and the Underpass... Just after the President's car passed, I heard three shots come from up toward Houston and Elm right by the Book Depository Building, and then I immediately heard two more shots come from the Arcade between the Book Store and the Underpass, and then three more shots came from the same direction only sounded further back... Then everybody started running up the hill. A man standing on the South side of Elm Street was either hit in the foot or the ankle and fell down..." **Analysis:** Millican had trouble differentiating shots from echoes. He is probably describing three shots. Since Millican said he was "halfway to the underpass", and that the limo was past him when the first shot rang out, he's certainly not talking about a first shot at frame 160. **Heard eight shots? First shot 190-224.**

Willis Country



As 10-year old Rosemary Willis rounds the corner of Houston and Elm in the Martin film,



she runs into history in the Zapruder film. Here at Z-133, she is passing the fountain.



By frame 193 she is slowing down.



By frame 202, a half-second later, she's come to a dead stop, precisely at the moment her father snapped a picture.

Willis Country

By now, it's become quite clear that most people heard three shots, and that the last two were bunched closely together. However, we still need to complete our trek across the Plaza to get the full picture. Those in what we'll call "Willis Country" were on the south side of Elm Street, but to the west of Houston Street.

Rosemary Willis is the little girl seen running in the Zapruder film, as discussed on the Finding the Right Time slide. (11-8-78 HSCA staff interview, summarized in HSCA Report, vol. 12, p.7) "Ms. Willis said she was aware of three shots being fired. She gave no information on the direction or location of the shots, but stated that her father became upset when the policeman in the area appeared to run away from where he thought the shots came from; that is, they were running away from the grassy knoll." (6-3-79 article by David Lui, as found in the Syracuse Herald Journal) (When asked why she stopped chasing the Presidential limousine) "I stopped when I heard the shot." (Interview with Dallas Times-Herald reporter Marcia Smith-Durk, published 6-3-79) "In that first split second, I thought it was a firecracker. But maybe within one tenth of a second, I knew it was a gunshot...I think I probably turned to look toward the noise, toward the Book Depository." (6-5-79 UPI article found in the Reading Eagle) "I heard three shots and they all came from across the street from the direction of the book depository...Oswald was up there as clear as can be. I think he was up there on purpose to make people think he was the one. The sounds I heard came from the book depository but they weren't necessarily the shots that killed him. Someone with a gun with a silencer could have been in the gutter where they later found shells, or on the railroad trestle or behind the wall." (11-19-93 article in USA Today) "For 30 of her 40 years, Rosemary Roach has lived trapped inside a few grainy frames of film, a little girl in a red, checked dress perpetually running across Dealey Plaza. "I will never forget it as long as I live," Roach says of the day three decades ago, when she watched the assassination of John F. Kennedy, and was captured running alongside the motorcade in a famous home movie of the tragedy.

"It was the most frightening experience I ever had." But Roach says she saw more than just the shot that killed Kennedy as his limousine passed the old Texas School Book Depository. She says she saw the gunsmoke of a second gunman - evidence of a conspiracy. Thirty years after the assassination - and hundreds of books, movies and documentaries on the subject - conspiracy theories abound, undiluted even by a spate of new analyses that agree with the Warren Commission that Lee Harvey Oswald acting alone, killed the president... For her part, Roach is sure there was a conspiracy. She says she heard four shots - not three, as was concluded by the Warren Commission. She believes she saw a man in a storm sewer near the site, a man who some theorists say was a conspirator. She insists at least one shot came from the grassy knoll, a hillock from which many believe a second gunman was firing. At the moment of the fatal head shot, she says, she spotted a puff of smoke atop the knoll. 'It was definitely gunsmoke,' Roach says." (Interview with Texas Monthly, published November, 1998) "As they made the turn from Houston to Elm Street, they'd just gone a few feet when the first shot rang out, and upon hearing the sound, my normal body reaction was to look up and follow the sound that I heard... And the pigeons immediately ascended off that roof of the school book depository building and that's what caught my eye... Next thing I know, right after that, there's another shot. And after that, there's another shot and another shot... My ears heard four shots... I really think that there were six, but I heard four and I'll tell you why... the first shot rang out. It was to the front of me, and to the right of me, up high. The second shot that I heard came across my right shoulder. By that time, the limousine had already moved further down. And that shot came across my shoulder. And the next one, right after that, still came from the right but not from as far back, it was up some. Still behind me, but not as far back as the other one. And the next one that came was from the grassy knoll and I saw the smoke coming through the trees, into the air... Fragments of his head ascended into the air, and from my vision, focal point, the smoke and fragments, you know, everything met." **Analysis:** it's a shame Miss Willis was never interviewed when her memories were fresh. In 1979, she said she heard three shots from the right, and in 1998 she said she heard three shots from the right, and then one from in front of the limousine. Did she come to believe she'd heard a shot that before she'd only theorized? If so, then it would seem she'd heard the first two shots grouped together. On the other hand, by 1998 she'd also convinced herself these shots sounded differently, and implied that the second shot came from a lower floor of the Dal-Tex Building. From this it seems likely that Ms. Willis' memories had been compromised by her exposure to too many conspiracy theories. Even so, her behavior in the Zapruder film and her confirmation that she was responding to shots is invaluable in establishing the moment of the first shot. **Heard four shots? Heard two early shots? First shot 190.**

Robert Croft is to Rosemary Willis' right in frame 193 of the Zapruder film. In the film, he can be seen snapping a picture at frame 161. This photograph is frame 18 on his roll of 22 frames. (12-3-63 FBI Airtel, FBI file # 62-109060-1388) "frame number 18 appears to show the Presidential car on Elm Street south of Houston Street just moments before the President was shot... Croft believed the last picture taken by him was taken simultaneously with the shot which killed the President. This no doubt refers to frame number 19 which is a complete blank which probably was occasioned by some malfunction of Mr. Croft's camera or some other fault." (Pictures of the Pain p.224-226, Trask interview with Croft, 4-20-88) "in this third Croft photograph, Mrs. Kennedy appears to be looking right at Croft... Quickly winding his camera, Croft takes another picture of the vehicle as it passes by his position. As he makes this fourth photo, he hears a shot, and believes that this picture was 'taken simultaneously with the shot which killed the President...' Following the shots, pandemonium broke out all around the Plaza... "I can't tell you at this point anything about the shots, numbers, or where they were. I was on my way back, as I remember, before the car ever got—it was kind of going down a hill under a railroad track. And I noticed what time it was and took off, because I was going to be late for the train..." **Analysis:** while Croft says he can't remember anything about the shots, he had a clear memory of taking his fourth photo "simultaneously with the shot which killed the President." As he has

not yet raised his camera back to his eye by frame 215 of the Zapruder film, this is probably a reference to the head shot. And yet this is the one photo which failed to come out after Croft gave his film to the FBI! In light of the FBI's refusal to look at the autopsy evidence, one can't help but wonder if this photo wasn't made to disappear. Still, since the existence of the Moorman photo and the Zapruder film were well known almost immediately after the shots, it's questionable the FBI would risk scandal over what could only have been an inferior image of the President's death. When one reflects on Croft's belief that this fourth photo was taken simultaneously with the head shot, and realizes his third photo was taken at frame 161, and that Croft makes no mention of taking this photo simultaneously with the first shot, then one should really question if there was a shot at this time. **First shot 190-224.**

Phil Willis was Rosemary Willis' father and he can be seen to Robert Croft's right, snapping his famous picture at frame 202 of the Zapruder film. (6-22-64 FBI report, CD1245 p. 46-48) "Willis advised that just about the same time that the limousine carrying President Kennedy was opposite the Stemmons Freeway road sign he heard a loud report and knew immediately it was a rifle shot and knew also the shot "had hit"...About two seconds later he heard another rifle shot which also hit, as did the third, which came approximately two seconds later. Willis said he knew from his war experience the sound a rifle makes when it finds its mark and he said he is sure all three shots fired found their mark." (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H492-497) "my next shot was taken at the very—in fact the shot caused me to squeeze the camera shutter, and I got a picture of the President as he was hit with the first shot. So instantaneous, in fact, that the crowd hadn't had time to react...I proceeded down the street and didn't take any other pictures instantly, because the three shots were fired approximately two seconds apart, and I knew my little daughters were running alongside the Presidential car, and I was immediately concerned about them, and I was screaming for them to come back, and they didn't hear me...When I took slide No. 4, the President was smiling and waving and looking straight ahead, and Mrs. Kennedy was likewise smiling and facing more to my side of the street. When the first shot was fired, her head seemed to just snap in that direction, and he more or less faced the other side of the street and slumped forward." (When asked if he actually saw Kennedy when he was hit in the head) "No sir, I did not. I could not see that well, and I was more concerned about the shots coming from that building. The minute the third shot was fired, I screamed, hoping a policeman would hear me, to ring that building because it had to come from there." (2-14-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) "I cocked my camera for another picture and this loud shot went off and the first reaction was that could it be a crank or a firecracker but it was so loud and of such a sound it had to be rifle so I became alarmed. I was trying to take a picture at the moment and the reflex from the shot caused me to take one of these pictures...My two little daughters were running along down the hill paralleling the Presidential car there and I yelled to one of them, which is the first thing I did, and then I heard at least two more shots and then I started looking for them and looking down and hollering for them to come back to me and they came running back crying." (6-5-79 UPI article found in the Reading Eagle) "There's no doubt in our mind the final shot that blew his head off did not come from the depository (located to the rear of the motorcade). His head blew up like a halo. The brains and matter went to the left and rear." (11-22-85 Trask interview, p.171, Pictures of the Pain) "As I was about to squeeze my shutter, that is when the first shot rang out and my reflex just took that picture at that moment. I might have waited another moment...when that shot rang out, I just flinched and I got it...I don't care what any experts say. They're full of baloney. I've shot too many deer...no one will ever convince us that the last shot did not come from the right front, from the knoll area." (Interview in The Men Who Killed Kennedy, in episode 5, first shown 1988) "At least one shot--including the one that took the President's skull off--had to come from the right front." (Same interview, but broadcast in a different episode) "No one will ever convince me—I know damn well the shot that blew his head off, came from the right front." (Interview with Jim Marrs in Crossfire, published 1989) (About the possibility Kennedy leaned forward while behind the Stemmons Freeway sign in the Zapruder film)

"That is not right. I got the nearest, best shot while JFK was behind the sign. He was upright and waving to the crowd. A split second later he was grabbing at his throat." (About the possibility a shot came from somewhere other than the sniper's nest.) "I always thought there had to be another shot from somewhere. I have always gone against the one-gunman theory. I always thought there had to have been some help. I saw blood going to the rear and left. That doesn't happen if that bullet came from the Depository." **Analysis:** Willis is sort of the anti-Woodward. Unlike Ms. Woodward, who has tried to make her statements fit the official story, Willis has tried to make his statements fit the unofficial story, but the official story of the rest of his family. His initial impression was that the shots came from the school book depository. Perhaps realizing that he was more focused on finding his daughters after the first shot than paying attention to the shots, he eventually began saying that the last shot came from the knoll. Similarly, while he told the FBI the last two shots were two seconds apart, he told the Warren Commission that there was also a similar gap between the first two, which helped them believe that all the shots were fired by one man using a bolt rifle. As he was hurriedly looking for his daughters at this time, and yelling out, it's doubtful he was paying much attention to the time span between the first two shots. In any event, his statement that there were two seconds between the last two shots, when the LPM scenario holds there was a five second gap between these two, is an indication that the last two shots were bunched together. **First shot hit 190. Last two shots bunched together.**

Linda Willis was Rosemary Willis' older sister. She can be seen standing to the right and in back of her father in Zapruder frame 202. (7-22-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H498-499) (When asked if she heard shots) "Yes; I heard one. Then there was a little bit of time, and then there were two real fast bullets together. When the first one hit, well, the President turned from waving to the people, and he grabbed his throat, and he kind of slumped forward, and then I couldn't tell where the second shot went... I was right across from the sign that points to where Stemmons Freeway is. I was directly across when the first shot hit him...I wasn't very far away from him. (When asked if she was about 25 feet away from Kennedy when he was hit in the head) "About that...I heard the first shot come and then he slumped forward, and then I couldn't tell where the second shot went, and then the third one, and that was the last one that hit him in the head. No; when the first shot rang out, I thought, well, it's probably fireworks, because everybody is glad the President is in town. Then I realized it was too loud and too close to be fireworks, and then when I saw, when I realized that the President was falling over, I knew he had been hit." (11-29-66 Interview with Josiah Thompson, as recounted in Six Seconds in Dallas, 1967) "In November 1966...Linda Kay Willis told me she thought the shots were evenly spaced, while earlier she had told the Warren Commission she thought the last two were bunched." (When asked if it seemed clear Kennedy was hit by the first shot, Connally the second, and then Kennedy the third) "Absolutely." (When asked if this was her conviction all along) "We've had these opinions ever since the night." (When asked what they'd have said should the government have told them Kennedy and Connally were wounded by the same bullet) "We would have said that's wrong." (1978 Interview with Jim Marrs, published in Crossfire, 1989) "I very much agree that shots came from somewhere other than the Depository. And, where we were standing, we had a good view." (11-7-78 HSCA staff interview, summarized in HSCA Report, Vol. 12 p.8) "The only information she provided relevant to the shots was that she had a distinct impression that the head wound to President Kennedy was the result of a front-to-rear shot. She also heard three shots and saw the President's head "blow-up." (The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "The particular head shot must have come from another direction besides behind him because the back of his head blew off...The back of his head blew off." (1998 interview with Texas Monthly) "when the shots rang, my impression was firecrackers at first. But the report was loud and came again and again...I saw the President's hands come up to his throat and then I saw the head shot and I never took my eyes away from the president during those shots." **Analysis:** as an arrow from her location at Z-193 to the Stemmons sign crosses the President's position at Z-190, she is identifying a first shot hit at Z-190, followed by two quick shots in rapid

succession. While she believes the last shot was the head shot, the shots were fired in such rapid succession it may have been difficult for her to distinguish. **First shot hit 190. Last two shots bunched together.**

Marilyn Willis was the mother of the Willis girls and the wife of Phil Willis. She watched the shooting from the wall running north to south on the east side of the grassy infield. (6-19-64 FBI report, CD1245 p. 44-45) "Mrs. Willis advised when the motorcade passed on Elm Street in front of where she was standing she heard a noise that sounded like a firecracker or a backfire. A few seconds following this she stated she heard another report and saw the top of President Kennedy's head "blow off and ringed by a red halo." She stated she believes she heard another shot following this." (11-29-66 Interview with Josiah Thompson, as recounted in Six Seconds in Dallas, 1967) (When asked if she felt Kennedy was hit by the first shot, Connally the second, and Kennedy the third) "Yes, that's right." (When asked if she'd felt this right away) "Oh, yes, from the very first thing." (When asked if it seemed clear) "That's right. The Warren Commission didn't seek us out and finally Linda and I were interviewed a long time later. But at home we all agreed. We stayed home there for a week just glued to the television. And we agreed all along as to how and what happened." (When asked again about when they all agreed) "The night that it happened." (2-14-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) (When asked how many shots) "I heard three." (When asked about the first one) "I thought it was a firecracker. (When asked about the second shot) "I knew it was a gunshot then." (And what the effects were of the second) "The second noise drew my attention back to the motorcade." (And what about the third?) "It was a loud gunshot... On the third shot his head exploded and went back and to the left." (The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) "The head shot seemed to come from the right front. It seemed to strike him here and all the brain matter went out the back of his head. It was like a red halo, a red circle with bright matter in the middle of it." (When asked her clearest memory) "The head shot--seeing his head blow up—I can see it just as plain—it's red, it's cone-shaped, going back." (Interview with Robert Groden for his video, The Case for Conspiracy, 1993) "His head was back this way (she leans her head back) It looked like a red halo--just matter coming out of his head." (When asked from where she thought the shots derived) "Well, the results of what I saw, his head exploded, absolutely exploded. I would think that the shots came from behind the picket fence, which borders the top of the grassy knoll." (When asked where the wound was) "This side" (She grabs her head above her right ear, exactly where the large wound is on the Zapruder film) like this, and it goes to the back. (She leans her head back) His head was like this, see." (1998 interview with Texas Monthly) "all of a sudden we heard the noise. To a woman I said "Oh, they're shooting firecrackers" Bang. Bangbang, you know it went. Then I said "No, that's gunshots." Then I looked up and his head was blown up like that. I heard three shots." **Analysis:** Mrs. Willis initially believed there was a shot after the headshot but then "corrected" her memory, probably for the same reasons her husband corrected his memory about the origin of the last shot: family unity. Since she remembers the last shots as bangbang, moreover, she may have convinced herself she was simply wrong. Still, her proximity to the school book depository was such that she may have heard the shot close enough to the moment of impact that she could have looked to Kennedy a split second after the impact, just in time to see the particles disperse into the air. As from her angle it would have been very difficult to determine if the cloud of brain, blood, and bone went back or forwards, her statement that it went back was probably influenced by the family decision to believe the last shot was fired from the knoll. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Mrs. Dolores Kounas stood back behind Phil Willis, near Linda Willis. (11-23-63 FBI report, 22H846): "After the car had passed her point and was almost to the underpass she heard a noise like a firecracker. She stated that there were three of these noises which she now knows were shots equally spaced by a few seconds and that it sounded as though these shots were coming from the triple underpass. She stated she looked in that direction but was unable to see the car in which President

Kennedy was riding due to the mass of people in front of her.” (**3-23-64** statement to the FBI, 22H659), “I recall that moments after the car bearing President John F. Kennedy passed my position, I heard a loud report which I first thought to be a firecracker. Following the second shot, however, I then heard screaming and saw people running and I then believed the reports I had heard were gunfire...I had thought the shots came from a westerly direction in the vicinity of the viaduct.” **Analysis:** as she was standing approximately forty feet from where the limousine was at frame 160, near the corner of Elm and Houston, it’s doubtful she would describe this President’s location at frame 160 as halfway to the underpass. As she describes chaos breaking out after the second shot, moreover, this would appear to be the head shots, and yet she heard a shot after this. Even though she stated the shots were equally spaced, that she describes the last shot as coming a few seconds after the second shot, indicates she probably heard the last two shots bunched together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Roberta Parker (12-16-63 FBI report, CD205 p.504) “The car in which President Kennedy... (was) riding had passed Mrs. Parker only a short distance when she heard what she thought was a shot. The shot sounded to her as though it had come from a cement memorial building to the north of the Texas School Book Depository on Elm Street. She looked in that direction but saw nothing....During this time, she heard two additional shots.” (**3-20-64** statement to the FBI, 22H657) “On November 22, 1963, at the time the motorcade was passing the Texas School Book Depository Building and President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, I was standing across the street from the Texas School Book Depository Building entrance with Dolores Kounas and Lloyd R. Viles.” **Analysis:** last two shots grouped together in the first FBI report. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Lloyd R. Viles (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H678) “On November 22, 1963, at the time President Kennedy was assassinated, I was standing across Elm Street from the main entrance of the Texas School Book Depository Building with Mrs. Dolores Kounas and Mrs. Roberta Parker.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Hugh Betzner was on Elm Street, 20 feet or so to the east of Phil Willis. (**11-22-63** statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H467) “I then ran down to the corner of Elm and Houston Streets, this being the southwest corner. I took another picture just as President Kennedy’s car rounded the corner...I ran on down Elm a little more and President Kennedy’s car was starting to go down the hill to the triple underpass. I took another picture as the President’s car was going down the hill on Elm Street. I started to wind my film again and I heard a loud noise. I looked up and it seemed like there was another loud noise in the matter of a few seconds. I looked down the street and I could see the President’s car and another one and they looked like the cars were stopped. Then I saw a flash of pink like someone standing up and then sitting back down in the car...I cannot remember exactly where I was when I saw the following: I heard at least two shots fired and I saw what looked like a firecracker going off in the president’s car. My assumption for this was because I saw fragments going up in the air. I also saw a man in either the President’s car or the car behind his and someone down in one of those cars pull out what looked like a rifle. I also remember seeing what looked like a nickel revolver in someone’s hand in the President’s car or somewhere immediately around his car. Then the President’s car sped on under the underpass. Police and a lot of spectators started running up the hill on the opposite side of the street from me to a fence of wood. I assumed that was where the shot was fired from at that time. I kept watching the crowd. Then I came around the monument over to Main Street. I walked down toward where the President’s car had stopped.” (**11-23-63** article by Betzner for UPI) “I was standing on the southwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets as the motorcade came along. I began taking pictures—one on Houston Street and one as the President’s car rounded the corner. I took another picture of the limousine as it drove off down the hill, and I had just lowered the camera and

was rewinding the film when I heard the first shot. I looked up. There was another shot and I saw what looked like a puff of paper splattering apart outside the car. I couldn't see the President any more, but someone in the back of the limousine pulled out a big long gun. It looked like a rifle... Suddenly the motorcade took off fast under the viaduct... I went around to the other side of the monument, and it looked like the police thought the shots came from a wooden fence on top of the hill. So I went up there, because I figured that if he got shot from the fence, I might have a picture of the man who did the shooting. My last picture was taken looking that way." **Analysis:** as Betzner took his photo at frame 186, the shot he heard as he started to wind his film was not the shot at frame 160 in the LPM scenario, but at 190 or afterwards. As the fragments he saw go up in the air were almost certainly the blood, brain, and bone ejected by the head shot, the next shot he heard was the head shot, meaning the first shot he heard most logically caused the neck wound. While it's possible he missed an early shot at frame 160, this seems unlikely, as he was directly across the street from the Texas School Book Depository at the time. It seems more likely he missed one of the last two shots heard close together, and interpreted them as one shot. **Only heard two shots. First shot hit 190-224.**

Hank Farmer is a little known-witness who apparently stood on the south side of Elm in this area. (11-22-63 FBI memo from Joe Pearce to J. Gordon Shanklin, as described in *The Zapruder Film* by David Wrone, 2003) "At 5:36 PM on November 22, he telephoned the Dallas FBI office to report he had seen President Kennedy hit in the face by a bullet from the front and Governor Connally hit in the back by a bullet fired from the 'opposite direction'." (12-14-63 FBI report, CD205 p.34) "He waited in the park at the corner of Houston and Elm Streets and watched the motorcade come west off Main Street on to Houston Street and then west on Elm. He stated he saw President Kennedy appear to fall over in the car and then he saw Governor Connally also appear to fall over. He did not hear any shots fired and did not know what happened. There was confusion with many people running in all directions, and then the President's car drove off at a high rate of speed." **Analysis:** while Farmer's interpretations of the direction from which the shots were fired is interesting, he, apparently did not hear the shots themselves. As a consequence, his words carry little weight. Even so, it is intriguing that the FBI report failed to report Farmer's impression the head shot came from in front of Kennedy. That people started running after Connally fell into the car but before the limo sped off is also intriguing, as it re-affirms our impression that the crowd panicked after the fatal head shot, and not before. **Too vague.**

Down on the Corner



Above: a frame from the Dorman film, with the Towner family filming the limousine.



Above: a crop from Zapruder frame 133, depicting Howard Brennan sitting on the eastern wall of the fountain. Pierce Allman, Amos Euins, Robert Fischer, Robert Edwards and John Martin are somewhere nearby.



Above: a photo by James Altgens, depicting the crowd along Houston Street, with Elm Street in the distance.



Above: a frame from the Towner film, depicting the crowd on the east side Houston and Elm

Down on the Corner

As standing on the southwest corner of Elm and Houston, with the grassy knoll on the left and the school book depository on the right, would put one in perfect position to judge the source of the shots, the recollections of those on this corner are particularly vital.

Jim Towner was standing on the southwest corner of Elm and Houston, taking pictures, along with his daughter and his wife. His wife, Pat Towner, never publicly commented on the assassination. (Article in Life Magazine, **11-24-67**) "Towner remembers noticing people in some of the Depository windows, one of whom he now believes was Oswald... At the sound of the shots, (his daughter Tina) shouted, "some dummy is lighting firecrackers!" But her father, an experienced rifleman, knew better. He sprinted down the motorcade route and took one final picture." (**Pictures of the Pain, p.217**) (After taking a picture as the Presidential limousine turned the corner) "Jim Towner had rushed a number of yards further down Elm Street. Somewhere along the way he became aware that the noise was caused by a high-powered rifle. As the presidential, vice-presidential and follow-up vehicles had quickly departed, he now took a picture of activity further down Elm Street." (**Summary of Towner on the Sixth Floor Museum website**) "Having served in the military, Jim Towner recognized gunfire immediately. He later recalled, 'Pat said, 'Oh mercy, some fool is shooting firecrackers.' I said, 'That's no firecracker. That's a .30-06 rifle.'" **Analysis:** The last Towner picture was taken from approximately 40 feet further down the street from where he had been standing, and was taken at least 20 seconds after the last shot had been fired. This might be taken as an indication that he didn't respond to the gunshots until after the last one was fired, and that there was not a five second gap between the last

shots. It's also intriguing that Towner is quoted in both Pictures of the Pain and on the Sixth Floor Museum website, when he never gave an official interview. Perhaps he just didn't want to bother. Or perhaps he knew his memory was too muddled to be of much value. The three accounts above vary, after all, on the only bit they have in common--on the circumstance of Towner's realizing he was hearing rifle shots. **Too vague.**

Tina Towner was with her father on the corner, filming Kennedy's turn onto Elm with a movie camera. (Article in Life Magazine, **11-24-67**) "was using a movie camera to film the procession...up to within moments of the first shot. She stopped when all she could see was the rear of the President's car. At the sound of shots she shouted "Some dummy is lighting firecrackers." (Article in Teen Magazine, **6-19-68**, as quoted in Pictures of the Pain, p. 217) "Now I was beginning to leave when I heard the sky fall in--the loudest crack of a rifle I had ever heard! At that time I had the least notion it was a gun. The truth of the matter was that I thought it was a firecracker." (After hearing another boom I) "looked around to see where they were coming from. Finally, the third and last boom and, with that one, I turned to look at the School Book Depository Building." (**3-30-96** oral history for the Sixth Floor Museum) "I was looking through the viewfinder, so I saw what the camera saw." (Interview in JFK: The Lost Bullet, broadcast **11-20-11**) "My dad recognized the gunshot." (The former Miss Towner, now Mrs. Pender, says this while looking at a copy of Kennedy's limo in the location historian Max Holland has proposed Kennedy's limo was at the time of the first shot. The program does not quote her on the accuracy of this location, and it's obvious to any long-time researcher why they do not. At Holland's location the limo is a good 20 feet closer to Pender than the limo was at the end of her film, which she has consistently claimed ended BEFORE the first shot was fired! The program's creators then cut to her discussing the relative closeness of the limo to the curb, and use this to suggest the first shot, if aimed at the limo when they propose the first shot was fired, could have hit a traffic light.) (**11-22-11** news report and interview on KXAN, found on the KXAN.com website. The italicized statements are additional statements found only in the televised version of this news report, as found on youtube) "*I don't know if it was the first shot, or the second shot, but somebody pulled me down to the ground...* When I couldn't see anything but the back of the limo I stopped taking pictures," said Pender. 'About that time is when the first gunshot rang out. It sounded like firecrackers. That's what I thought was going on. *My father told me that he knew what was happening. He said somebody had tried to shoot the President.*' Pender's film is part of a new documentary by National Geographic, JFK: The Lost Bullet. The channel called on Austin-based Image Trends to restore several films from that day. 'We know that film captures a lot more than is normally shown,' said Image Trends CEO Dan Sullivan. The company normally uses a custom machine and software to restore Hollywood features. The restoration revealed several new details of that day. 'We were able to gather information about images beneath the bridge, the railroad bridge,' said Sullivan. 'We found out we could capture the film at 10 times the normal exposure and look into the shadows and see there was no shooter on the grassy knoll.' The main coup was determining what happened to a missing third bullet. Witnesses including Pender recall hearing three shots. 'The first bullet was actually shot way before they thought, and it hit the traffic light,' said Sullivan. 'Consequently, we went back, looked at images of the traffic light, sure enough there was a hole.' (Sullivan's comments confirm that those working on JFK: The Lost Bullet KNEW Pender thought the first shot was fired when the limo was further down the street than where they assumed it had been.)

(Tina Towner, My Story as the Youngest Photographer at the Kennedy Assassination, published **2012**) (As to whether or not she saw the President get shot) "No." (On what she heard) "Three shots." (Describing the shooting) "Standing to my left Daddy opened the viewfinder on the top of his Yashica...and captured one magnificent color photograph of the presidential limousine...At the same time, I took 8 mm movies...I looked through the viewfinder, as Daddy taught me to do, and smoothly panned the camera in motion with the limousine, as it turned left onto Elm directly in front of and

around me...I believe Daddy was about to head down the hill to get another photo, but there was not enough time before the first gunshot sounded only a second or two, if that, after I stopped filming. My first thought was that someone was throwing firecrackers out of a building window. I wasn't the only one who thought that. When I heard the first gunshot, there had been enough time for me to move back toward or onto the curb. I stopped and looked up at the buildings. I didn't see anything, but I didn't know what I was looking for. I heard three gunshots, and sometime between the first and last an unknown man grabbed my arm and pulled me to the ground. He held onto my arm until he thought it was safe to get up." (Final thoughts) "I heard three shots, which seemed equidistant apart, and sounded, to my young ears, like firecrackers." **Analysis:** as Towner's film concludes approximately 1 ½ seconds before Z-160 (Dale Myers' study of the films indicates it was more like 2.2 seconds), and as she said she was beginning to leave when she heard the first shot, it makes more sense for her to have heard this shot at Z-190 or afterward, than at Z-160. Additionally, if this first crack was as loud as she says it was, and at Z-160, it seems that more than one or two people would have looked around. It bears noting that Sixth Floor Museum Curator Gary Mack has used Towner as evidence the first shot was fired circa Z-160. To do this, however, he claims Towner has "always been specific" that the first shot came a second or two after she stopped filming--an assertion unsupported by her earliest statements. He also inches the timing of the shot she heard up a bit by claiming she stopped filming a second or two before Zapruder started filming at Z-133, when even Dale Myers, to whom Mack usually defers, acknowledges she stopped filming less than one second before Zapruder started filming. Myers, in fact, says it was .7 seconds. Myers' claim is even more problematic for historian Holland than Mack, however. You see, Holland's theory is that the first shot was fired 1.4 seconds before Z-133. This would place it, according to single-assassin theorist Myers' analysis, about .7 seconds *before* Towner stopped filming, when Towner has long insisted she heard the shot *after* she stopped filming. Holland's theory was thus thoroughly at odds with the long-time recollections of one of the witnesses the creators of JFK: The Lost Bullet used to support his silly theory. Their use of her in their program, and their hiding from their viewers that she disagreed with the premise of their program, is a violation of the public trust. **Probable first shot 190-224.**

L.R. Terry and his statements appear in Jim Marrs' 1989 book *Crossfire*, and nowhere else. He claimed to have been standing across the street from the school book depository. His credibility is open to question. Still, there are many unidentified witnesses in this location, and he may very well have been one of them. (Interview with Jim Marrs, published in *Crossfire*, 1989) "I was right across from that book store when Kennedy was shot. I saw a gun come out of there just after I saw Kennedy and Connally go by. I could only see a hand, but I couldn't tell if (the man) was right-handed or left-handed. He did not have on a white shirt. The parade stopped right in front of the building. There was a man with him. They (investigators) could find out that the man who killed Kennedy had somebody with him. But I don't know who it is...I just saw the gun barrel and the hand." **Analysis:** it's hard to see how he could see just the hand of the shooter, and yet be so sure there was another man with him. **Too vague.**

Pierce Allman (11-22-63 report by Allman on WFAA radio, presumably around 12:50 PM, as presented on the LP *Four Days That Shocked The World*) "Just a few minutes ago, the President of the United States turned from Houston Street onto Elm Street on his way to a scheduled luncheon appearance at the Stemmons Trade Mart. And as he went by the Texas School Book Depository, headed for the triple underpass, there were three loud reverberating explosions. Nobody moved. Everyone seemed stunned. A few seemed to look around wondering who had the firecrackers. Then suddenly the Secret Service men sprang into action. The convertible bearing the President and Mrs. Kennedy sped away, and officers both plain clothes and uniformed seemed to spring from everywhere at once, guns drawn, ordering people to lie flat." (11-22-63 eyewitness report on WFAA, between 1:45 and 2:00 PM CST) "Right after Mr. Kennedy passed in front of me I heard one big explosion and my immediate

thought like most of the people standing around me was "this is firecrackers, but it's in pretty poor taste". I looked and saw the president, I thought, duck. Evidently, he was slumping at the time. The car immediately sped on. No one seemed galvanized into immediate action. The shots didn't seem rapid at all. They were pretty well spaced, reverberating shots." (When asked how far he was from the President at the time of the shots) "The car was in the middle of the street. I was on the left hand side of the street. I'd say about two--ten feet." (When asked if the car stopped at that time) "No, the car kept going. The car did not stop. The policeman immediately came over and said "All right, hit the dirt" and everyone concerned scrambled right away including this young man what the--Bill Newman, whom I did talk to right after it had happened. I, like five or six rather foolish other people, immediately ran up the knoll over there by the viaduct and looked over the fence. We saw nobody except a lot of people running around. And then I headed into the Texas School Book Depository where they were beginning to search..." (When asked if he thought the shots came from a building.) "Yes, I think that this was the consensus at the time, although now I notice Mr. Newman says he felt the shots were fired from a knoll. I think the logical place to have fired them would have been from the building and when I left a few minutes ago, they were still searching..." (When asked how many shots he heard) "Three. I heard three well spaced shots." (When asked if any of the shots could have been shots fired in return) "This is possible, however, the three I heard. I heard a boom and then a space and then another boom and it was not until after the third distinct sound, this third boom, that police were able to draw their revolvers and start firing in return. And in the course of this--they, actually, they were reluctant to fire. I imagine there was a few shots exchanged. I don't remember frankly but they were reluctant probably because of all the crowds around." (11-22-63 eyewitness report on WBAP radio, around 2:30 PM) "He turned the corner just before going under a triple underpass... Suddenly we heard a reverberating explosion. My first thought was not to look at the President...I rather looked around as if to say 'Well, someone has fireworks and it's in pretty poor taste at this moment.' The President ducked at least that's what it looked like to me. I thought, this was a natural reaction. I didn't realize at the time that he had been shot, and was slumping. There were three shots fired. They were spaced. They didn't seem to come from any automatic weapon of any kind, rather careful and deliberate aim. A Secret Service man was killed. No one seemed galvanized into instant action. Everyone was rather stunned. And suddenly the Lincoln convertible sped away at top speed." (2-3-64 Secret Service report, based on 1-29-64 interview, CD354 p4-6) "Mr. Allman stated that he was watching the parade from a position near the corner of Elm and Houston. Upon hearing the shots he ran across Elm Street to a couple who had fallen on the ground. He asked the man if he was all right; the man stated that he was. Allman then ran up an incline toward Houston Street. Upon reaching the top of the incline, he turned and ran down. He stated that he is at a loss to explain this action other than he was extremely excited and upset by the assassination. Mr. Allman then stated that he ran full speed into the Texas School Book Depository Building with intention of locating a phone and calling his television station WFAA." (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950, p52) "Subject stated that he and Terrence Ford were at Elm and Houston streets watching the parade at the time President Kennedy was shot. Subject stated that immediately after the shooting he went into the Texas School Book Depository and called radio station WFAA."

(BBC program The Day The President Died, transcript found in the Weisberg Archives. Purported to be from 11-22-63, but apparently recorded afterwards, as Allman describes things only visible in the Zapruder film. Broadcast on WBAI on 11-23-64) "They turned the corner and as they came by me I broke into applause. And just after they went by me there was a big loud BOOM. It was a reverberating explosion. It was not a sharp, flat crack one normally associates with a rifle and this is why it didn't even enter my mind at the time that it could be a shot. It was just a BOOM, a big, dull sounding explosion, rather like a shotgun fired in a concrete chamber that reverberates. No one sprang into action, there were mixed reactions, everyone was sort of looking around like I was, and then another very deliberate BOOM! And I looked and the President had slumped--I thought at the time he was

ducking--but now I know of course that he was slumping. He had slumped forward, his left arm was thrown up. Mrs. Kennedy's left hand was on his left arm. The Governor and Mrs. Connally were in the jump seats, the little seats behind the front seat, and the Governor was half-turned, and it was the second shot that got him. The President--then there was another one of those dull, one of those booms. These were deliberately paced things. There was no haste, no panic, no automatic rapidity to them at all, just a Boom, Boom--BOOM! A very dramatic thing. I can't forget it at all. I keep hearing the shots. And on the third one the President then--instead of slumping forward it looked like he was--he jerked back or was thrown back a little bit. And Mrs. Kennedy then was halfway out of the seat and a Secret Service man--I presume he was--a Secret Service man was then over Mrs. Kennedy. And the car had stopped only momentarily and then immediately sped away at top speed. And there was a couple on the other side of the street who were on the ground, and immediately after this happened a policeman came toward me, drawing his gun. It was after the third shot that everything erupted, and guns appeared from all directions but they were afraid to fire, because of the crowd, and they didn't know where to fire, quite frankly. And a policeman threw me to the ground, and said "Hit the dirt," and I got up, immediately ran across the street because I thought this young couple had been hit, and I said "Are you all right?" And he was beating the ground with his fist, saying, "My God, they shot him! They shot him!" (12-14-91 AP article found in the Frederick Maryland News) "Just as they turned (onto Elm) I heard the first explosion," says Mr. Allman, who is now a public relations consultant. "That is still the descriptive term. It was not a thin, brittle, sharp sound. It was a loud reverberating sound...While I was still wondering what was going on, a second and then a third." (November 1998 interview in Texas Monthly) "So, we walked over, ended up standing on the corner, directly opposite the School Book Depository Building, and I'm standing right next to Mr. Brennan...who ended up giving a lot of testimony to the Warren Commission...the first shot, that loud explosion—it wasn't a sharp, flat crack sound at all, the first shot. It didn't enter my mind at all that it was a shot. I thought, "now that was poor taste, this is firecrackers..." Then bam!, the second one. And you realized indeed that it was shooting, then the third shot...on the second shot, I glanced up, my gaze stopped one floor below on the depository building. I saw the three guys looking out the window, looking up. And I went back to the scene on the street and it was pretty obvious Kennedy had been hit... On about the second shot, we all got down and of course popped back up as the car sped off." (11-25-98 article in the Dallas Morning News) (The caption to the accompanying photo) "Pierce Allman was standing across Elm Street from the Texas School Book Depository when he heard the shots that killed President John F. Kennedy." (From the article) "Mr. Allman said the passing of 35 years hasn't erased the images of what he saw and heard. He recalled Jackie Kennedy's pink suit and pillbox hat, the president's tanned face and a distinctive parade greeting, more a salute than a wave... The first shot was a tremendous boom. He said the shot was very close and seemed to rattle the entire plaza. 'My first thought was, if that's [a] firecracker, God that's in poor taste,' he said. 'The sound was not to the right. The sound was not to the left. It was straight ahead. Loud. Very loud,' he said. At the second shot, Mr. Allman said he looked up at the Texas School Book Depository from where he was standing at Houston and Elm streets. 'There were three guys on the fifth floor looking up at the sixth floor,' he said. He witnessed the third shot, which struck the president in the head, and watched Mrs. Kennedy crawl onto the trunk as a Secret Service agent hopped onto the car's bumper... He always tells of three shots from the book depository. 'There were three shots. And yes, I believe the three shots were from a single place,' Mr. Allman said."

(Chopped-up interview in CNN program Kennedy Has Been Shot, broadcast 11-16-03) "I took a position on a corner, right across the street from the Depository Building. And as the motorcade approached, I was caught up in it like everybody else. There were the motorcycle escorts. And then as the limo bearing the Connallys and the Kennedys came, I was riveted by the appearance of the Kennedys. They just looked great. They looked like a first couple should look. And then as they turned the corner, there was this loud, explosive sound." (Later) "Things were happening in the limousine. Mr.

Kennedy had -- his arms had gone up and he was beginning to topple to the left. And then Jackie came out of her seat and was coming up over him. And about that time, I guess a Secret Service man from the following car jumped over the left rear fender of the car and covered them both. And they sped off." (Later) "It looked to me like the President was shot. If, in that very brief, chaotic visual moment, if what I saw and registered was accurate, it looked to me as if it was fatal." (11-24-03 article in U.S. News and World Report) "There were three shots. They were very distinct. Later on, in asking to re-create the time sequence, my timing on it was six and a half seconds. It was a very, very vivid memory. Mr. Kennedy didn't really slump. He sort of jerked up, and his arms went up and his hands went up towards his chin. As the shots continued, Jackie screamed something and tried to get up...the Secret Service man sprinted in from the trailing car and vaulted over the left rear fender and put himself on top of both of them and shoved them down. That's when they were both in the back seat and Kennedy's foot was dangling over the side." (History Channel program "Our Generation", broadcast 2007) (The shots) "And I glanced over here at the Depository Building, and then boom the second shot..." (After the shots) "A cop he got off his motorcycle and he said "everybody get down" and I bounced right back up and ran across the street and picked up Bill and Gayle Newman--I didn't know their names of the couple at the time--they had two little kids--and I said "Are you okay?" And he said "Yeah, but they got the President. They blew the side of his head in." **Analysis:** as Allman raced across the street to the knoll after the shots, and as he didn't logically deduce the shots came from the building until afterward, it seems clear he did not initially believe he heard three loud shots come from the building. Although he said the limo was near him at the time of the shots, and that the shots were well-spaced, which support the LPM scenario, he also said he couldn't remember if the cops returned fire, indicating he really didn't remember how many shots he'd heard and whether or not they came from the same location. In his initial comments, furthermore, he'd indicated that he'd seen Kennedy slump as a response to the first shot, which is in absolute disagreement with the LPM scenario. So he's a hard one to pigeon-hole. His latter-day statements seem a hodge-podge of his actual memories and memories implanted from reading about the case. He most certainly never saw Kennedy's foot dangle over the side of the limousine. If one is to give his latter-day statements any credence, in fact, one should note that his saying "we all got down" after the second shot, after his mentioning that Howard Brennan was next to him, suggests that there was a shot fired after the last shot fired from the sniper's nest. Brennan, as we shall see, could recall only two shots, and said he jumped off the wall only after witnessing the last shot fired from the sniper's nest. **Possible LPM scenario. Possible first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots possibly bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot.)**

Terrance Ford was with Allman. (2-3-64 Secret Service Report, based on a 1-31-64 interview with Ford, CD354 p4-6)) "Mr. Ford stated that he accompanied Mr. Allman to the corner of Houston and Elm streets to watch the procession; then, upon hearing shots, he retreated to a concrete building near the side of the small park bordering Elm Street, then running back towards the Texas School Book Depository." (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950, p50) "Subject stated that on November 22, 1963, he and Pierce M. Allman, also with WFAA, were standing near the corner of Elm and Houston watching President John F. Kennedy's motorcade. Suddenly, three shots rang out and he and Allman started running. A few moments later they ran into the Texas School Book Depository Building where Allman used a telephone to call his radio station." **Analysis:** it's clear from the early statements of Allman and Ford that they had no inkling the shots came from the sniper's nest, across the street and above them. As they told the Secret Service and DPD that an unidentified white male pointed out a phone to them when they entered the building, and as it was later determined this man was Oswald, it seems clear neither of them were very observant that day. **Too vague.**

Howard Brennan was sitting on the Houston side of a cement wall encircling the fountain at Houston and Elm. He can be seen in Zapruder film wearing a hard hat. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 19H470) "I was sitting on a ledge or wall near the intersection of Houston Street

and Elm Street near the red light pole. I was facing in a northerly direction looking across the street from where I was sitting. I take this building across the street to be about 7 stories anyway in the east end of the building and the second row of windows from the top I saw a man in this window. I had seen him before the President's car arrived. He was just sitting up there looking down apparently waiting for the same thing I was to see the President. I did not notice anything unusual about this man. He was a white man in his early 30's, slender, nice looking, slender and would weigh about 165 to 175 pounds. He had on light colored clothing but definately not a suit. I proceeded to watch the President's car as it turned left at the corner where I was and about 50 yards from the intersection of Elm and Houston and to a point I would say the President's back was in line with the last windows I have previously described I heard what I thought was a back fire. It run in my mind that it might be someone throwing firecrackers out the window of the red brick building and I looked up at the building. I then saw this man I have described in the window and he was taking aim with a high powered rifle. I could see all of the barrel of the gun. I do not know if it had a scope on it or not. I was looking at the man in this windows at the time of the last explosion. Then this man let the gun down to his side and stepped down out of sight. He did not seem to be in any hurry. I could see this man from about his belt up. There was nothing unusual about him at all in appearance. I believe that I could identify this man if I ever saw him again." (11-23-63 article in the San Francisco Chronicle, quoting an article in the Dallas Morning News) "Steamfitter H.L. Brennan told the Dallas Morning News he saw the assassin. 'He was a slender guy, a nice looking guy. He didn't seem to be in no hurry,' Brennan related. 'After the first shot, I looked up and saw him. The gun was sticking out of the window. I saw him fire a second time.'" (11-23-63 article in the Chicago Tribune) "One of these was HL Brennan, 44, a steam-fitter, who told police later, 'After the first shot I looked back and up the building wall and saw the man in the window with a gun. 'The barrel was sticking out the window. I saw him steady it, aim, and fire again.'" (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p12-14) "He said the automobile had passed down Elm Street (going in a westerly direction) 30 yards from where he (Brennan) was seated, when he heard a loud report which he first thought to be the 'backfire' of an automobile. He said he does not distinctly remember a second shot but he remembers "more than one noise" as if someone was shooting fire crackers, and consequently he believes there must have been a second shot before he looked in the direction of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Upon hearing the report, or reports, he looked across the street to the Texas School Book Depository, where he saw a man in a window on the sixth floor near the southeast corner of the building. The man he observed in the window had what appeared to be a 'heavy' rifle in his hands. He could not tell whether or not this rifle had a telescopic sight, as the rifle was protruding only about half its length outside the window. He was positive that after he had observed this man in the window, he saw this person take 'deliberate aim' and fire a shot. He then observed this person take the rifle from his shoulder and hold it by the barrel of the rifle, as if he were resting the butt of the rifle on the floor. He said this individual observed the scene on the street below, and then stepped back from the window." (12-18-63 FBI report, CD205 p14) "He advised that about 7 p.m., November 22, 1963, when he observed a line-up of individuals in the Dallas Police Department he selected Lee Harvey Oswald as the individual most closely resembling the person whom he had seen with a rifle in the window of the TSBD building...He stated that he now can say that he is sure that Lee Harvey Oswald was the person he saw in the window at the time of the President's assassination...Brennan stated that he was able to observe Oswald's head and shoulders in the window and possibly down as far as Oswald's belt." (1-10-64 FBI report, CD329, p7-8) "Approximately ten minutes after sitting down on this retaining wall, the Presidential motorcade turned onto Houston Street, and he was able to see President Kennedy and his wife pass approximately 30 yards west on Elm Street from where he was seated. The car passed out of sight and shortly thereafter, he heard one shot, which he first believed to have been a firecracker, and he immediately looked toward the TSBD Building and saw a man in the same window, near the southeast corner of the building, and noticed that this man took deliberate aim and shot the rifle again. When he saw the man shoot the rifle this time, he realized it was the same man that he had seen standing in the

window a few minutes before. After the last shot, he immediately fell off the retaining wall and ran for an officer...Mr. Brennan estimated that it was approximately ninety yards from the window where the shots were fired to the area where the President's car had passed out of sight." (3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H140-161) "after the President had passed my position, I really couldn't say how many feet or how far, a short distance I would say, I heard this crack that I positively would say was a backfire... Well, then something, just right after this explosion, made me think it was a firecracker being thrown from the Texas book store. And I glanced up. And this man I saw previous was aiming for his last shot...it appeared to me he was standing up or leaning against the left window sill, with gun shouldered to his right shoulder, holding the gun with his left hand and taking positive aim and fired his last shot. As I calculate a couple of seconds. He drew the gun back from the window as though he was drawing it back to his side and maybe paused for another second as though to assure himself that he hit his mark and then he disappeared. And at the same moment, I was diving off of approximately that firewall and to the right for bullet protection of this stone wall that is a little higher on the Houston side...I don't know what made me think that there was firecrackers throwed out of the book store unless I did hear the second shot, because I positively thought the first shot was a backfire, and subconsciously I must have heard a second shot but I do not recall it. I could not swear to it."

(Interview with CBS, aired 9-27-64) "I looked directly across and up, possibly at a 45 degree angle. And this man, same man I had saw prior to the President's arrival, was in the window and taking aim for his last shot. After he fired the last or the third shot he didn't seem to be in a great rush, hurry. He seemed to pause for a moment to see if for sure he'd accomplished his purpose. And he brought the gun back to rest in an upright position as though he was satisfied. (About the impact of this shot on Kennedy) "His head just exploded." (His statement to CBS as quoted in his book, Eyewitness to History, published 1987) "There were three shots fired and all of them came from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building." (Eyewitness to History, published 1987) "When the presidential car moved just a few feet past where I was sitting, President Kennedy looked back to our side of the street. Just at that moment the whole joy and good will of the day was shattered by the sound of a shot. It took an instant to realize that something had happened. My first instinct was to disbelieve my own ears....My first thought was that it must have been a backfire...I looked up at the Texas School Book Depository. What I saw made my "blood run cold!" Poised in the corner window of the sixth floor was the same young man I had noticed several times before the motorcade arrived. There was one difference—this time he had a rifle in his hands, pointing toward the presidential car. He steadied the rifle against the cornice and while he moved quickly, he didn't seem to be in any kind of a panic. All of this happened in the matter of a second or two. Then came the sickening sound of a second shot and I looked quickly back in the presidential car which had moved only a few feet, still not apparently aware that it was the assassin's target. I saw Governor John Connally reacting to being wounded and the instinctive response of his wife to try and help him. I remember thinking, "Oh my God! He's going to kill them, he's going to kill them all!"...Just then a woman close to me screamed in full realization of what was happening. She uttered something like "Oh my God!" But even as she did my eyes darted back to that solitary figure who was changing history. He was aiming again and I wanted to pray, to beg God to somehow make him miss his target...Then another shot rang out. All of this took only a few seconds...Simultaneous with the third shot, I swung my eyes back to the Presidential car which had moved on down my left on Elm, and I saw a sight that made my whole being sink in despair. A spray of red came from around the President's head. I knew the bullet had struck its intended target...By the time the third shot had been fired, there was sheer pandemonium."

Analysis: Brennan, of course, is most famous for seeing someone who could have been Oswald, and who he later claimed was Oswald, firing the last shot from the sniper's nest. Some, like the Warren Commission and writer Gerald Posner, consider him the most important witness. But one mustn't overlook the problems with Brennan's statements. His recollection of telling CBS that there were three

shots fired from the sniper's nest, when he testified to hearing only two shots, one of which he thought was a backfire, and his seeing only one fired from the nest, is indicative of a desire to please. This should make one wonder about Brennan's refusing to identify Oswald while he was alive, but then fingering the man once he was dead. His oft-repeated claim that he did so out of fear for his life is belied by his talking to a UPI reporter, and describing the shooter, within 24 hours of the assassination, when Oswald was still alive. Brennan's ability to rewrite his memories to fit his desired scenario is demonstrated best in his memoirs. Here he remembers the President and Connally being just a few feet away from him at the time of the shots, not 150, and his hearing three shots, not two, and his seeing two shots fired, not one, and his seeing them hit Connally and Kennedy. Not only did he never mention this last assertion previously but it contradicts his assertion to the FBI that he watched Kennedy disappear from view before the first shot. It's extremely doubtful, furthermore, that he could even have seen the Connallys react to the shots as described, as the Connallys were on the far side of the motorcycle escorts and the Kennedys from him, on a downward slope. Based purely on his early statements, then, Brennan says he heard a shot, turned to the window after something caught his attention, and then saw the sniper take aim for a final shot. Overlooked by all too many is that he looked up because he thought that someone had *thrown* firecrackers from a window, which means he didn't hear a *sound come from* the window itself, but below it. He also said *firecrackers*--plural--indicating he'd heard more than one sound at this point. Most every other witness said the second shot was quite loud. This raises the possibility that Brennan heard an early shot, most likely the shot at around Z-190 heard by most everyone at the corner but dismissed it as a firecracker, and that shortly thereafter he heard the bullet of a silenced weapon whiz past, thus "more than one noise". This second burst could be the bullet or bullets striking Kennedy and Connally at frame 224, the second shot "heard" by Nellie Connally. Brennan then looked up and saw the sniper take aim and fire the last shot from the school book depository, the second shot heard by most others. As he was "diving off approximately that firewall" at this same time it seems possible he could have failed to appreciate a shot or noise coming just after this shot. **Only heard two clear shots. Possible LPM scenario. Possible first shot hit 190.**

Amos Euins sat on the fountain wall to the right of Brennan. There is considerable confusion over Euins' earliest statements, and whether or not he said the shooter was a white man or a black man. Statements regarding his identification of the shooter's race have been highlighted. (11-22-63 report to KRLD and CBS by Jim Underwood, about 30 minutes after the assassination) "As I told you earlier, **a youngster said that he saw a colored man fire three times from the window of that building...** one of the officers found a small colored boy who said he that he saw a man fire from about the fourth floor window of the school book depository building." (Note: this officer was D.V. Harkness, who never confirmed nor denied Underwood's claim Euins said the shooter was black.)(11-22-63 signed statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 16H963, 19H474) "I saw the President turn the corner in front of me and I waived at him and he waived back. I watched the car on down the street and about the time the car got near the black and white sign I heard a shot. I started looking around and then I looked up in the red brick building. I saw a man in the window with a gun and I saw him shoot twice...I could tell the gun was a rifle and it sounded like an automatic rifle the way he was shooting. **This was a white man**, he did not have on a hat. I just saw this man for a few seconds." (12-14-63 FBI report, CD205 p12) "He said after the President's car started down the hill, he heard what he thought was a car backfire and he looked around and also glanced at the TSBD building, and on the fifth floor where he he had seen what he thought to be a metal rod, he noticed a rifle in the window and saw the second and third shots fired. He stated he saw a man's hand on what appeared to be the trigger housing and he could also see a bald spot on the man's head. He stated he did not see the face of this individual and could not identify him. **He said he was sure this man was white**, because his hand extended outside the window on the rifle. He stated he also heard what he believes was a fourth shot, and that the

individual in the window, after firing the fourth shot, began looking around and he (EUINS) at this time hid behind a concrete partition. He said he saw this individual withdraw his rifle and step back in the window... Euins advised he could not distinguish the features of the man standing at the window, and as he had previously stated, he only saw his hand and a bald spot on his head." (12-23-63 FBI report, CD205 p.i) **"Amos Lee Euins, age 14, states saw white man...in window...with rifle after first shot and observed this man fire second and third shots and what he believes may have been a fourth shot."** (3-10-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H201-210) 'then when the first shot was fired, I started looking around, thinking it was backfire. Everybody else started looking round. Then I looked up at the window, and he shot again... I got behind this little fountain, and then he shot again. (When asked how many shots he heard) "I believe there was four to be exact...After he shot the first two times, I was just standing back here. And then after he shot again, he pulled the gun back in the window. And then all the police ran back over here in the track vicinity... The first shot I was standing here... And as I looked up there, you know, he fired another shot, you know, as I was looking. So I got behind this fountain thing right in there, at this point B... I got behind there. And then I watched, he did fire again. Then he started looking down towards my way, and then he fired again." (When asked what he saw in the building) "I seen a bald spot on this man's head, trying to look out the window. He had a bald spot on his head. I was looking at the bald spot. I could see his hand, you know the rifle laying across in his hand. And I could see his hand sticking out on the trigger part. And after he got through, he just pulled it back in the window." (When asked what kind of a look he got at the shooter) "All I got to see was the man with a spot in his head, because he had his head something like this." (When asked for the record if he means the man was looking down the rifle) "Yes, sir, and I could see the spot on his head." (When asked to describe the man) "I wouldn't know how to describe him, because all I could see was the spot and his hand." (When if he was slender or fat) "I didn't get to see him." (When asked if he could if he was tall or short) "No." **(When asked the man's race) "I couldn't tell, because these boxes were throwing a reflection, shaded."** **(When asked if he could tell if the man was black or white) "No, sir."** (When asked by an incredulous Arlen Specter 'Couldn't even tell that? But you have described that he had a bald--') "Spot in his head. Yes, sir; I could see the bald spot in his head." (When asked if he could tell the color of the man's hair) "No, sir." (When asked if he could tell if his hair was dark or light) "No, sir." (When asked how far back the bald spot stretched) "I would say about right along in here." (Specter then asks: "Indicating about 2 1/2 inches above where you hairline is. Is that about what you are saying? To which Euins responds) "Yes, sir; right along in here." (When asked again if he'd got a good look at the man) "No, sir; I did not." (When asked if he could tell anything about the man's clothes) "No, sir." **(Specter then reads Euins the statement he'd signed in which he claimed the shooter was a white man. He is then asked if the statement refreshes his memory) "No, sir; I told the man that I could see a white spot on his head, but I didn't actually say it was a white man. I said I couldn't tell. But I saw a white spot in his head."** **(When then asked if his best recollection was that he doesn't know if the man was a white man or a negro) "Yes, sir."** **(When then asked if he'd told the police he'd seen a white man, or if they'd made a mistake) "They must have made a mistake, because I told them I could see a white spot on his head."**

(4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission of KRLD reporter James Underwood) (Describing the aftermath of the shooting, 6H167-171) "I ran down there and I think I took some pictures of some men--yes, I know I did, going in and out of the building. By that time there was one police officer there and he was a three-wheeled motorcycle officer and a little colored boy whose last name I remember as Eunice." (When asked "Euins?") "It may have been Euins. It was difficult to understand when he said his name. **He was telling the motorcycle officer he had seen a colored man lean out of the window upstairs and he had a rifle.** He was telling this to the officer and the officer took him over and put him in a squad car. By that time, motorcycle officers were arriving, homicide officers were arriving and I

went over and asked this boy if he had seen someone with a rifle and he said "Yes, sir." I said, "Were they white or black?" He said, "It was a colored man." I said, "Are you sure it was a colored man?" He said, "Yes, sir" and I asked him his name and the only thing I could understand was what I thought his name was Eunice." (5-7-64 testimony before the Warren Commission of Secret Service Agent Forrest Sorrels, 7H332-350) (When asked if he'd interviewed Euins in Dealey Plaza a short period after the shots had been fired) "Yes, sir; I did. And he also said that he had heard the noise there, and that he had looked up and saw the man at the window with the rifle, and **I asked him if he could identify the person, and he said, no, he couldn't, he said he couldn't tell whether he was colored or white.**" (11-21-64 AP article found in the Brandon Manitoba Sun) "Amos Lee Euins, 16, schoolboy who went with friends to the end of the motorcade route because he thought they could get a better view than in the crowds downtown. He saw the president fine. And also saw a rifle being withdrawn from the sixth floor of the Depository. Ever since the phone has been ringing at the Euins home. Often it is a man with a heavy voice saying "Amos better be careful with what he says. I have a complete copy of what he told police." "I got a phone call just last week," said Amos' mother, Eva, 40. "Twenty minutes later he called back. It sounded like the same heavy voice. I don't think it's a prank 'cuz no grown man is going to play that much. It makes me uneasy, it really does." The Euins' told police but didn't ask for protection and none was offered. There have been a lot of crank calls to figures in the assassination. Meanwhile at the Euins home a light burns on the front and back porches all night. Amos doesn't usually take the bus to school. Members of the family take him by car. He isn't allowed to roam too far alone. Amos does not appear concerned over the calls." (12-15-64 interview with Dallas Police Officer J. Herbert Sawyer as reported in FBI File 105-82555, sec. 224, p39) "Sawyer continued that only one other person was brought to him who had reportedly seen the assassin. This person was a young negro boy named Euins. However, **upon talking to this youth, it was determined that the boy could not describe the subject, not even to the detail as to whether the man he had seen had been a white man or a negro.**" (1967 interview with CBS, as shown in JFK: The Lost Bullet, 11-20-11) (When asked how many shots he heard from the window) "Well, I heard three."

(1-19-92 interview with Gerald Posner, reported in Case Closed, 1993) "I saw what I thought was a pipe. I saw it ahead of time. It looked like a dark metal pipe hanging from the window, and I figured 'Hey, it's got a pipe hanging off of it.' I never realized it was a gun until the shooting started." (Interview by Max Holland in Dealey Plaza presented in JFK: The Lost Bullet, broadcast 11-20-11) "About the time they got right over there below that sign" (Euins points to a street sign stretching out over Elm, which correlates to Kennedy's approximate position circa Z-160), "then some shots started to ring out, and that's when I got down, behind this." (At this, he ducks down behind the concrete pedestal on the east side of the fountain). The narrator then claims: "Euins has lived most of his life outside the media spotlight, but his story remains the same--that all three shots, including bullet C, came from the sixth floor of the book depository, not from the grassy knoll." Later, the program returns to Euins, claiming "He's one of the few who can recall where the President was when he heard the first shot." It then shows Euins pointing to the limo used in the program at a location a few feet east of where he'd pointed before, at a point correlating to Kennedy's limo's location circa Z-150. It then cuts to a shot taken from behind Euins, showing directly where he is pointing. He is now pointing a few feet further west of where he'd just been pointing. The limo used in the program is no longer there, however, but is back in the location proposed by Holland for the first shot. This is approximately 30 feet east of this position. The program's creators then cut to Max Holland saying "He places it at a specific point in time just as the president passed a black and white sign." They then show Holland asking Euins "What sign was that?" and Euins responding "right there" while pointing to the vertical Highway 80 sign adjacent to the Kennedy stand-in in Holland's proposed location, about 30 feet east of where he'd just been pointing. They then show the limo in position by the Highway 80 sign and Holland asking Euins if "this is approximately the position it was." (Euins responds) "Right. It was just like that (unintelligible)

right there about where it is now when the first shot sounded out. That's where the first shot, it speeded up, and then more shots came out." (He then describes the shots) "There were three altogether. Like pow...pow pow." (The shooting sequence Euins recreates lasts less than 4 seconds.) **Analysis:** Euins' statements fit quite nicely with the second interpretation of Brennan's statements. He hears a shot, the same first shot as Brennan, then looks up at the window, and sees a man in the window with a rifle as the silenced shot which caught Brennan's attention whizzes past. Euins, of course, interprets this as having been fired by the man he sees with a rifle. He then watches this man fire the head shot. The man looks down, and Brennan jumps off the wall. But Euins, who'd already jumped off the wall, hears another shot at this point. Since Euins failed to see the man operate the bolt between these last two shots, and they were very close together, moreover, he goes away thinking the man had fired an automatic rifle. The one problem with this is that Euins' original statement was that he'd heard but three shots. Where did the fourth shot come from? Well, look again--in Euins' original statement he doesn't say he heard three shots, he says "I saw him shoot twice" and that it "sounded like an automatic rifle." In other words, he heard more than one shot one or more of the times he saw the man shoot. As the black and white sign appears to be a reference to the Thornton Freeway sign, moreover, Euins' statements are inconsistent with a first shot miss circa frame 160, or earlier. This is confirmed by his interview in 2011, although the director of JFK: The Lost Bullet, Robert Stone, led people to believe the sign Euins mentioned was the Highway 80 sign. The program, after all, was pushing Max Holland's ridiculous theory the first shot was fired as JFK's limo turned in front of Euins, before Zapruder even started filming. And that's not even the worst of Stone's lies and/or over-sights. The program also claimed Euins' story had remained the same, and that all three shots came from the sniper's nest. Presumably, Stone never even read Euins' Warren Commission testimony, where he specified that he'd heard FOUR shots. It is also of interest that the 1967 CBS footage of Euins used in JFK: The Lost Bullet appears to have come from the same interview of Euins broadcast by CBS on 6-25-67, in which he discussed seeing the rifle sticking out from the sniper's nest. So why did CBS cut Euins' claim of hearing three shots--which completely undermined his then widely-quoted testimony he'd heard four shots--from their program? Your guess is as good as mine. **Heard four shots. First shot 190. Last two shots bunched together. Last shot after the head shot and quite possibly not even fired from the sniper's nest.**

Toni Glover was an 11-year old girl in 1963, and claims to have been one of the two girls watching the assassination from the pedestal along the east side of the fountain on 11-22-63. (She can be seen in the Martin film, [here](#). She is the one in blue, with the other girl in front of her.) In 2012, she announced that she was writing a book. Although her full story is yet to be revealed, here are some online posts which reflect her conclusions. (Description of Glover's interviews with the Sixth Floor Museum, as found on the museum's website) "Standing on a concrete pedestal at the corner of Houston and Elm Streets in Dealey Plaza, eleven-year-old Toni Glover witnessed the Kennedy assassination. Seeing the president's death, connected emotionally to her abusive childhood, had a traumatic impact on her life. Recorded **January 20, 1999**, and **March 14, 2012**." (Email to Gerda Dunkel from Sixth Floor Museum curator Gary Mack, regarding the young girl's identity, posted on the JFK Assassination Forum, **2-2-12**) "Her name was Toni Glover, she was 11 years old and she did not know who the other girl was. Toni did an oral history for The Sixth Floor Museum in 1999, though a transcript has not yet been made. She thought two shots were fired and she's recently returned to the Museum's Reading Room to do research for some project." (**4-15-12** post on youtube, in response to comments on a video by Gerda Dunkel, in which the identity of the girl in blue was discussed) "This is Toni Glover. And, yes, I was standing on top of a cement block at the end of the stone wall. I've been back recently and taped 2 Oral Histories for The Sixth Floor Museum." (**4-16-12** post on youtube, in response to Dunkel's questions about what Glover remembered) "I'm afraid I'm not much help with conspiracy theories. I think a nutcase had a fight with his wife that morning. Then he carried out a delusional thought process and got lucky with

his shots. I heard 2 clear shots, maybe 3. The thing is, sounds downtown bounce off the buildings making it almost impossible to identify shots and direction." (4-16-12 post on alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, in which Glover announced her upcoming book.) "I've been writing a memoir about watching Kennedy's head explode, and I came across this site. For what it's worth, I was standing on top of a cement block at the corner of Houston and Elm. Eleven year old girl in a blue ski jacket. Robert Hughes, Mark Bell and Frances Dornan films all catch glimpses. And as hard as it is for folks to believe it, one little jerk fired from the window and got off a couple of lucky shots. An idiot killed Kennedy. One idiot who had a huge fight with his wife that morning. I had a panoramic view, and there was no conspiracy. Terrible sadness, but no conspiracy." (4-19-12 post on alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, in which she responded to some of the researchers expressing skepticism) "Oh Lordy. I have stepped into it. I knew nothing about this site. It was late and I searched my name and Kennedy. When John's work showed up I was stunned and wrote a stupid email. Let's start over. My name is Toni (Antoinette) Glover. I was born in Dallas, Texas at Methodist Hospital on February, 14, 1952. (That's right, Valentine's Day) I lived in Oak Cliff, about 5 minutes from downtown. I was eleven. After a lot of begging, my mom took me to the parade. We went straight to Dealey Plaza thinking the end of the parade would have the least people. I don't remember anyone else there when we arrived. An excited 11 year old, I kept running back and forth from my "perch" to Main Street looking down it to see if I could tell the cars were coming. I did this several times. On one of those trips to Main, a guy had a seizure at Main and Houston. I was afraid they would divert the parade because of the ambulance. I went back to my cement block before they turned onto Houston. When the limo passed he looked up, waved and smiled. Then he turned the corner and a couple of seconds later, his head exploded. There is a column that blocked my view for a couple of seconds, but then the car reappeared and bang. From my perspective, the plume of brains and blood sparkled a little in the Texas sun. I told my mom someone threw sparklers in the car!!!! I have no other evidence of any kind about the assassination. Announcing that Oswald was, "an idiot" and other remarkable statements I made were at best ill-informed. I am not an historian. I will stick to telling my experience and let you historians figure out who did what. My personal belief is that Oswald acted alone. But that's just my opinion. I didn't see anything like odd individuals, or flashes or anything else that would make me think otherwise. Loud noises echo in downtown Dallas. I "think" I heard 2 shots, but I have always qualified that by saying "everything echoes down there". I'm not sure how anyone can tell where the shots came from. But many feel otherwise. I'm happy to answer questions about my life and experience, but drawing conclusions is above my pay grade. I know I was standing on the cement block the entire time Kennedy was on Houston and Elm. I have no idea who's view I blocked. And I'm not sure who is on the block with me. I doubt my mom would have crawled up that high."

(4-21-12 post on alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup in response to a series of questions from Don Roberdeau) (When asked if she was on the pedestal for all the shots) "Yes. I was up on the pedestal from the moment the limo turned onto Houston, to the second it went under the Triple Underpass. So I was up there for the shots." (When asked if she followed the limo the whole way) "There is a column in the Plaza that blocked my view for a second. I think the first shot was when my view was blocked. I'll send the video and you can see exactly when I could see what." (When asked how many shots she recalled hearing) "I have no idea how many shots were fired (I think I heard 2), but anyone serious about this needs to go down there and listen to how much it echoes in the canyons of downtown Dallas. I have always qualified my answer by saying it echoed so much, I couldn't tell how many shots (at least 2) or where any of them came from. After the first shot, I looked at my mom, but other than that, my eyes were glued on the car. It was an extraordinarily emotional time for me. I don't know how many people have seen a human head explode, but I was eleven and it traumatized me. So remembering details is mixed with a LOT of emotion. I do my best." (When asked if she smelled gunpowder) "Didn't smell anything (certain on that one)." (When asked if she noticed the behavior of the motorcycles and

cars in the motorcade other than the limousine) "I saw there were cars following, but again, my gaze was transfixed on the president's car. You can see in one of the photos I'm waving my arms at the president as he turned the corner onto Elm. I didn't pay any attention to the other cars." (When asked what happened after the shots) "In the aftermath people were stunned at first, then it became chaotic. I had yelled "someone threw fireworks in the car" and I remember people looking up at me cause they couldn't see anything and I could. But that lasted only second, because I immediately tried to get down and people had started moving down Elm...As soon as I got down, I looked around for sources that might know what's really happening, and saw a police motorcycle (maybe 2?) parked in front of the SBD steps. I ran over there to listen to what the police were being told. I tried not to act like I was listening. I was there for maybe 30 seconds (I don't know exactly) when I heard the words "shot in the head." I immediately ran back to my mom. She had a heart condition and we were always trying to protect her from stress, so I lied and said, "It only grazed his head, let's go home." We walked the block to our car and drove straight down Elm like any other day. It wasn't blocked off. It amazes me that they let cars drive through the scene 5 minutes after the assassination. Now that we have all the crime solving TV, it seems odd that a crime scene was not blocked off. SO, in a nutshell: I was on the pedestal until the car vanished, I got off and ran across the street to listen to the police radios, I went back to my mom (still near the pedestal) and told her his head was grazed and that we should leave right away. I was acutely aware of her heart condition and wanted to get her out of there ASAP. SO I was in the Plaza 2-3 minutes after the final shot? Timing this is very difficult for me. It could have been 1 minute, but not more than 5. I'm guessing it took 2-3 minutes for me to go hear the radios, get back to my mom and leave. I know it was fast." (When asked her mom's recollections and if the other person on the pedestal could be her mother) "Mom died in 1996. In fact it was her death that made me start thinking I needed to contact someone at the Museum. The thing she talked about most was the guy who wouldn't let us down. Geez it's hard for me to remember what she wore. I know I tried to get her up on the pedestal, but it was high. At one point when we were waiting, we both sat on the stone fence. But that was long before anything happened. I want to say that's mom next to me, but I can't be sure. Logically, it would have been odd for her to lose all dignity and climb up there. But it looks like her coat in Dorman. The woman could definitely be my mom. It looks like I hug her as the limo turns onto Elm. The top of the pedestal is slanted, very slightly from the edge to the center. That made it a little tricky not to fall off. I was probably trying to steady whoever is up there. That's the best I can do unless I find a family picture of her in that coat. I'll tell my sisters to go through some family albums." (When asked if she'd brought along any friends) "No friends there. Only me and mom." (Final comments) "I wish I had an exact schematic drawing of my end of the reflecting pool to the corner curb. I could point out exactly where I was and when. Trying to explain it with words doesn't produce a clear picture. Did I answer all the questions. Parts are clear and some parts are fuzzy. I can only do my best. That's how memory works, well mine does. Clear pieces/fuzzy pieces. Sometimes a picture clears up a fuzzy memory. I thought trees blocked my view for that second I couldn't see the car, but when I went back in March, I climbed up on the pedestal and discovered it was the column, not a tree, that blocked my view. Things like that show you how memory tries to fill in the blanks." **Analysis:** Glover's belief the column blocked her view of Kennedy at the time of the first shot suggests he was further down Elm Street at this time than he would have been circa frame 160. Researcher Don Roberdeau has added her onto his plat of Dealey Plaza and compared her position to that of the column at northwest end of the fountain, and concluded from this that the column would have blocked her view of Kennedy from Zapruder frame 180 to Zapruder frames 217-218. You can view his plat [here](#). **Only Heard Two Shots. First shot 190-224.**

Robert Edwards (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H 473, 19H647) "The motorcade rounded the corner at this time, and then I thought I heard four shots, but it never occurred to us what it was. The shots seemed to come from that building there." **(12-2-63** FBI report,

CD205 p.21-22) “Shortly after President Kennedy’s car passed his position, he heard shots, which he thought were three or four in very rapid sequence.” (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H200-205) (when asked how many shots he heard) “I heard one more than was fired, I believe... I still right now don’t know how many was fired. If I said four, then I thought I heard four. (when asked if he knew where the shots came from) “I have no idea” (when asked if he’d said the shots came from the building) “No, I didn’t say that.” **Analysis:** Edwards, to his credit, stuck to his impression that he’d heard four shots that seemed to come from the school book depository. **Heard four shots.**

Ronald Fischer (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff’s Department, 19H475, 19H650) “by that time the motorcade rounded the corner. And then I heard what I thought was three shots, and the motorcade was about where the Stemmons Freeway sign is there.” (12-2-63 FBI report, CD205 p.19-20) “Shortly after the President’s car had passed his position, he heard several shots, evenly spaced, with what he thought three or four seconds between each shot. He thought first shot was firecracker.” (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H191-200) “Well the motorcade—the limousine made the wide turn and —they went out of our view just as they began to straighten up onto Elm Street...as I looked around to watch these other cars, I heard a shot. At first I thought it was a firecracker. And—uh— everybody got quiet. There was no yelling or shouting or anything. Everything seemed to get real still. And—uh—the second shot rang out, and then everybody, from where I was standing, everybody started to scatter. And—uh—then the third shot. At first I thought there were four, but as I think about it more, there must have been just three... The—uh--first shot fooled me, I think, because of the sound bouncing off the buildings. But the second shot was too much like the first and it was too loud—both shots were too loud to be a firecracker... They appeared to be coming from just west of the School Book Depository.... there were some railroad cars back in there.” (9-23-64 interview with William Manchester, as presented in the Death of a President, 1967) (On seeing someone in the sniper's nest before the shooting) "Suddenly, Edwards pointed and said 'Look at that guy.' Fisher followed his finger. The weapon was below their line of sight; what had attracted Edwards' attention was Oswald's stance. Fischer agreed that it was peculiar. He was transfixed, staring to his right, away from Main. To Fischer it seemed that 'he never moved, he didn't even blink his eyes, he was just gazing, like a statue.'" (On the first shot) "Ronald Fischer and Bob Edwards, assuming that it was a backfire, chuckled." (7-9-98 video-taped interview posted on Youtube) "I originally said in my deposition in the Sheriff's office that there were four shots. And there were a number of people who had claimed that they heard four shots. However, I began to question that because I just simply could not remember exactly how many shots there were. It's like trying to remember if it was eight or nine--y'know it's a little easier with three or four--but becomes more difficult with eight or nine and still more difficult with nineteen or twenty. I don't know if there were three or four shots. I thought there was four and I had explained that to the investigator, Mr. Belin. I still think that there were probably four shots but I couldn't swear to it." **Analysis:** Fischer’s statement that he heard the shots evenly spaced feeds into the LPM scenario, but his placement of the motorcade by the Stemmons Freeway sign suggests a different scenario. His testimony that at first he thought he’d heard four shots, when taken with his latter statements, indicates that he most probably did hear what he took to be four shots.

Probable first shot 190-224. Probably heard four shots.

John Martin (4-2-64 FBI report, CD897 p.51-53) “Martin said he ran north on Houston Street and stopped at the north end of the reflection pool which lies west of and is adjacent to Houston Street... Martin said he took some movie shots of the President as he passed by on Elm Street. A few seconds after the President had passed and was departing from his view, he heard a loud report and at first thought that it was a firecracker and a few seconds later heard two more reports and then knew it was rifle fire...the shots sounded to him like they came from the Texas School Book Depository.” (2-27-79 interview by Dave Hawkins, as quoted in Pictures of the Pain, p.571) “the shot came over my head, and I looked around to see who was throwing a firecracker. Then a few seconds later there were two more

shots...One shot then a space of time, then two more rapidly.” **Analysis:** by separating the first shot off by itself, Martin is indicating the first shot must have hit. **First shot hit 190 -224. Last two shots bunched together.**

The next set of witnesses were on the south east corner of Houston and Elm.

James Crawford (1-10-64 FBI report, CD329 p.22) “Mr. Crawford estimated that approximately four or five vehicles, including the Presidential vehicle, had turned down Elm when Mr. Crawford heard sounds which at first were believed by Crawford to be the backfiring of an automobile. Mr. Crawford believed these sounds came from one of the cars in the front of the Presidential motorcade which was approaching the Triple Underpass... Mr. Crawford stated that to his best recollection there was a definite pause of as much as 15 to 20 seconds between the first and second sounds, and the second and third sounds came very close together.” (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H171-174) “I believe there was a car leading the President’s car, followed by the President’s car, and followed, I suppose, by the Vice President’s car, and in turn by the Secret Service in a yellow closed sedan. The doors of the sedan were open. It was after the Secret Service sedan had gone around the corner that I heard the first report and at that time I thought it was a backfire of a car...The second shot followed some seconds, a little time elapsed after the first one, and followed very quickly by a third one.”

Analysis: as the Vice-Presidential back-up car was completing its turn at Z-190, Crawford is not talking Z-160. **First shot hit 190. Last two shots bunched together.**

Mary Mitchell (1-18-64 FBI report, CD329 p.24) “as the Presidential car passed the curb in front of the Texas School Book Depository, (TSBD), she and her companion heard a loud report or explosion, then, after four or five seconds, there were two more rapid explosions. She said that she and her companion could not see the Presidential car at that time but the crowd became highly excited.” (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H175-177) “I was on the corner of Elm and record—I’m sorry, Elm and Houston... diagonally across the intersection from the Texas school Book Depository... Well, the President’s car passed and, of course, I watched it as long as I could see it... after the car turned the corner and started down the hill, I couldn’t see over the heads of the standing men for very long, so then I turned back to watch the other people in the caravan, whatever you call it, and probably about the time the car in which Senator Yarborough was riding had just passed, I heard some reports. The first one—there were three—the second and third being closer together than the first and second.” **Analysis:** while Mitchell cites the car with Yarborough as the last one through the intersection, she would not have known anyone in the back-up car to whom she could make reference. Even if she honestly believed the car with Yarborough was the last car through the intersection before the shots began, however, her description of the last shots being bunched and of the Presidential limo being out of sight at the time of the first shot should make one doubt there was a first shot miss at frame 160. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

TE Moore (1-10-64 FBI report, 24H534) “He was standing at the southeast corner of Elm and Houston and observed the motorcade going by, turning west from Houston onto Elm Street. By the time President Kennedy had reached the Thornton Freeway sign, a shot was fired and Mr. Moore observed the President slump forward in the Presidential car. Mr. Moore heard two more shots fired; however, the President was out of Mr. Moore’s sight when the last two shots were fired.” (No More Silence, p.90-93, published 1998) “There was a highway marker sign in front of the Book Depository, and as the President got around to that, the first shot was fired. As he got down a little further, the second shot was fired, and then I believe as it got further down, a third shot was fired... You couldn’t tell exactly where the shots were coming from, though.” **Analysis:** Mr. Moore moved the first shot up from the Thornton Freeway sign to the highway marker in front of the TSBD. Or maybe his choice of words was just unfortunate. Maybe, to him, the Thornton Freeway sign was a highway marker in front of the TSBD. **Probable first shot 190.**

Mrs. Carolyn Walther (12-5-63 FBI report, 24H522) (She was standing) “on the east side of Houston Street, about fifty or sixty feet south of the south curb of Elm Street...As soon as the President’s car passed where she was standing, she and Mrs. Springer turned away and started walking north toward Elm Street. At about the time they reached the curb at Elm Street, she heard a loud report and thought it was fireworks. There was a pause after this first report, then a second and third report almost at the same time, and then a pause followed by one and possibly more reports.” (**Late 1966** interview with Lawrence Schiller recounted in *The Scavengers and Critics of the Warren Report*, published 1967) "I heard one shot, and I thought at the time the first shot was a firecracker, and after the last car passed me I started walking back to work, and I had reached the curb, and two more shots, and then a second--two seconds later, one more. It wasn't as loud as the others. But the second and third shots were right together, and then I thought 'Oh, it's gunshots'.....I definitely feel that I heard four shots." (Interview with CBS broadcast **6-25-67**) “The President passed us, and he was smiling, and everybody was waving. Then the last of the cars went by, and I heard the shot. I thought it was a firecracker. Then I started back to work, and it was along the curb, and then two shots right together, and then another one. I'm sure there were four shots.” (**3-27-68** interview with Barry Ernest recounted in *The Girl on the Stairs*, published 2011) "Mrs. Walther said she 'heard four shots. And right after the last shot I saw this police officer drop his motorcycle and immediately run into the Depository.' Marrion Baker. She described the sounds as having a definite pause between the first and second shots, then the second and third shots sounded like they were fired 'at the same time.' After that there was another slight pause, and then she heard a fourth shot. (**2-14-69** testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) (When asked how many shots she heard) “All together I heard four” (When asked what the first one sounded like) “It was a loud popping sound and I thought it was just a firecracker...the last car was passing in front of me when I heard the first shot...The second one I was just stepping off the curb. “ (And the third?) “Almost to the center of the street.” (And fourth?) “In the center of the street.” (And how did they sound? The second?) “It sounded just like the first one.” (The third?) “The same” (And fourth?) “A little lower...I stopped and said "That is gunshots." **Analysis:** while most hearing two shots together were referring to the second and third shots of a three shot scenario, Mrs. Walther heard numbers two and three together in a four shot scenario. It’s possible she heard a first shot around frame 190, automatic weapon fire around frame 224, and then a final shot around the time of the head shot. Another possibility is she simply mistook an echo after the head shot for a separate shot. **Heard four shots.**

Mrs. Pearl Springer (12-5-63 FBI report, 24H523) (She and Mrs. Carolyn Walther) “walked south on Houston Street on the east side of Houston Street, stopping just south of a sign post. (This sign post is seventeen steps south of the Elm Street curb.)...After the presidential party passed her and turned the corner going west on Elm Street, she heard what she thought was a shot...She recalled that after the first shot, there was a pause, then two more shots were fired close together.” **Analysis:** as Springer’s recollections confirm the recollections of so many others, her contention that it was shots number two and three of a three shot scenario that were bunched together casts doubt on the accuracy of the statements of her companion, Mrs. Walther. First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.

There were also three traffic policeman in the intersection...

Edgar Smith (7-17-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, CD1259, p16) “I heard the three shots but was unable to determine the location they came from.” (**7-24-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H565-569) “I heard three shots. I guess they were shots. I thought that the first two were just firecrackers and kept my position and after the third one, I ran down the street there.” (When asked if he thought the shots came from a concrete structure on the knoll) “Yes, sir.” (No More Silence, p.197-203, published **1998**) “It seemed like a short time, maybe ten or fifteen seconds after they had made the turn, that the first shot rang out...I thought it was probably firecrackers...Then the next two

occurred. It seemed like a lot of time elapsed between the three shots. I couldn't really tell where the shots came from, but they sounded like they all came from the same direction. Certainly it didn't seem to me that they came from the sixth floor...At the time of the shooting, I was looking more toward the grassy knoll...I looked down there and was able to see the Presidential car lurch off...I reacted by running across the street from the south side of Elm toward the underpass." **Analysis:** by saying that the shots could have rang out as much as fifteen seconds after the car made the turn onto Elm, Smith implies there was no shot at frame 160. Similarly, by saying "the next two occurred" Smith is implying the last two shots were bunched together. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Joe Marshall Smith (12-9-63 FBI report, as summarized in CD205 p39) "was working on November 22, 1963, on traffic at Elm and Houston streets. He stated he was near the parking lot when the shots were fired which killed President Kennedy. The shots echoed so loudly he had no idea at the time where they had been fired from. He stated he did smell what he thought was gunpowder but stated this smell was in the parking lot by the TSBD Building and not by the underpass. He advised he never at any time went to the underpass and could not advise if there was the smell of gunpowder in the underpass. He stated he did not see the President when he was shot and stated he saw nothing which would assist in this matter." (12-13-63 article in the Texas Observer, as reported in Six Seconds in Dallas, 1967) "Patrolman Smith had earlier told Ronnie Dugger of the The Texas Observer that he had 'caught the smell of gunpowder' behind the fence. 'I could tell it was in the air.'" (7-16-64 Statement to the Dallas Police Department, 22H600) "I was standing in the middle of Elm Street from the southeast curb of Elm and Houston Streets at the time of the shooting. I heard the shots and thought they were coming from bushes of the overpass." (7-23-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H531-539) "Then I heard the shots...I started up toward the Book Depository after I heard the shots, and I didn't know where the shots came from. I had no idea, because it was such a ricochet...and this woman came up to me and she was just in hysterics. She told me, "They are shooting the President from the bushes." So I immediately proceeded up here...I was checking all the bushes and I checked all the cars in the parking lot...maybe it was a power of suggestion. But it sounded to me like they may have come from this vicinity here." **Analysis:** by the time his statements were taken, Smith knew that officially all the shots had come from the sniper's nest. He therefore had to explain why he rushed down towards the knoll immediately after the shots. That the other Officer Smith did the same thing is indicative that the shots did sound like they came from west of the sniper's nest. **Too vague. Smelled smoke near knoll.**

Welcome Eugene Barnett (11-25-63 interview with William Turner, recounted in Turner's book Rearview Mirror, published 2001) "As the President's motorcade swung past him, he heard a sharp report, like a firecracker. After about three seconds there was another shot. Dealey Plaza reverberated with the sounds. He looked over his shoulder to the roof of the depository but saw nothing. The Secret Service men in a car behind the President's limousine were looking around, unable to fix where the shots were coming from. In what seemed like another three seconds after the second shot, a third sounded. (7-16-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, 22H598) "When the shots were fired, I looked up and could not see anyone or anything extending out of the windows. I thought the shots were coming from top of the building." (7-23-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H539-544) "I didn't hear any echo. The whole sound echoed. The sound lingered, but as far as just two definite distinct sounds, when each shot was fired that one sound would linger in the air, but there would be nothing else until the next shot...I was looking at the President when the first shot was fired, and I thought I saw him slump down, but I am not sure, and I didn't look any more then. I thought he was ducking down....I thought it was a firecracker. But none of the people moved or took any action...And when the second shot was fired it sounded high...I looked up at the building and I saw nothing in the windows...because I was standing too close...And I looked back again at the crowd, and the third shot was fired." **Analysis:** as Kennedy does not duck down between Z-160 and Z-190, the movement

Barnett saw after the first shot could only be a reaction after Z-190. **Probable first shot hit 190-224.**

On the northeast corner of Houston and Elm there were many witnesses, but only a few have been interviewed.

Mrs. Ruby Henderson (12-6-63 FBI report, 24H524) "She was standing on the east side of Elm Street just north of Houston Street (they must mean the east side of Houston just north of Elm)...at the time the motorcade passed where she was standing, she heard what she initially thought was a firecracker, and saw what she thought was paper fly out of the Presidential car. She said she now realized it was a shot she heard and what she thought was paper was probably flesh. She said after the first shot, she believes she heard two more in rapid succession, and then a fourth shot." **Analysis:** as Henderson says paper flew out of the car, and not that confetti or fragments exploded in the car, the probability is she did indeed see paper and not flesh. Perhaps she saw the streamer flying along the ground reported by SS agent Warren Taylor. For Henderson to think there were three shots fired after the head shot, when she was standing just across from the sniper's nest, would make little sense indeed. Still, that Henderson recalls the two bunched shots in the middle, as Walther, who was only a short distance away, should make one suspect that maybe there was something to make them think this way. Were there two quick shots fired at frame 224 but unheard by most everyone else? Or was there a shot fired after the bangbang of the head shot, even as the limousine was speeding away? **Heard four shots.**

Mike Brownlow is a long-time assassination researcher and a regular presence in Dealey Plaza. He claims also to have been a witness. In **November 2004, and again in 2005**, I talked with him in Dealey Plaza and asked him where he was when the shots rang out. Both times he told me he was standing in front of the Dal-Tex Building on the northeast corner of Houston and Elm with his grandmother. Both times he said he heard four shots, but could not tell where they came from. (**12-6-11** article by Jay Gibbs on researcher Bruce Engelman, found on the Starlocalnews.com website) "Engelman, who has worked for several national news organizations, including ABC, has a national sports talk show that he records every Tuesday night. Last Tuesday, however, he had a special guest in his recording studio -- Mike Brownlow of Dallas. Brownlow was a 13-year-old kid who was near the Grassy Knoll in Dallas when JFK was shot. "I heard one shot and then, immediately after that, I heard a second shot," Brownlow said. "Then, after that, I heard several shots in succession -- POP! POP! POP! Then, in a matter of five or six seconds, it was all over. The shooting had stopped. And I definitely think that the last shot I heard came from the Grassy Knoll." **Analysis:** As a number of other witnesses near this intersection also heard four shots, I initially believed Brownlow's story to be credible. In 2010, however, the nephew of a Dallas Police Officer Brownlow claims to have known contacted me and assured me that Brownlow had never actually known his uncle, and is lying when he claims he did. The report on Brownlow's radio appearance is also problematic. It suggests that Brownlow is now claiming there may have been five shots, and that the last one came from the knoll. In Brownlow's defense, however, it should be pointed out that he said he thinks the last shot came from the knoll. This is not the same as claiming he'd initially thought it came from the knoll. **Heard four shots. Last shots bunched together.**

Chapter 8: Final Pieces

a look at the witnesses in front of and inside the Texas School Book Depository



Down in Front

Here we finally take a look at the statements of those standing directly in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building, many of them Oswald's co-workers. While reading these statements, one should keep in mind the words of Harvard Psychophysics Professor David Green, after studying the way shots were heard in Dealey Plaza for the HSCA. He said ""there are certain locations that are best for observing certain shots and in the general region of the book depository, right on the street beneath it, in our opinion it was extremely easy to tell it came from the book. There was a massive sound to the right and rear that sort of crawled down the building, presumably due to scatter on the regular surface of the building and it was quite evident."

Danny Arce (11-22-63 FBI report, CD205 p7) "The President's automobile had passed and was a short way down Elm Street towards the underpass when I heard something like a gunshot and then a second and third shot close together." **(3-18-64** statement to the FBI, 22H634) "when president John F. Kennedy was shot, I was standing on the grassy area directly in front of the Depository Building approximately thirty feet from the President's car. However I could not see the car when the shots rang out. To the best of my knowledge there were three shots and they came from the direction of the railroad tracks." **(4-7-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H365-367) "I seen him when he turned the corner and when he went down that underpass thing and I heard them shots and I couldn't see anything...I was directly in front, but then I walked a few steps down to the west side...there's a little sidewalk right across the street and there's some grass and things up there and that's where I was at...I guess you could say I was in front of the building but not directly in front of it." **Analysis:** Arce's words indicate that Kennedy had just passed his position, and that the last two shots were close together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Joyce Stansbury (3-24-64 statement to the FBI, 22H674) "On November 22, 1963, I recall I left the Depository building at approximately 12:15 PM and took up a position on the curbside on the north side of Elm Street leading into the triple viaduct about thirty feet west of the corner...I don't recall having ever observed Lee Harvey Oswald in the Texas School Book Depository." **Analysis:** another statement in which the witness said as little as possible. **Too vague.**

Mrs. Donald Baker (Virgie Rackley)(11-25-63 FBI report, CD5 p.66-67) "She was standing across the street immediately in front of the building...She observed President Kennedy's car pass...and almost immediately thereafter heard three explosions spaced at intervals which she at first thought were firecrackers. It sounded as though these sounds were coming from the direction of the Triple Underpass and looking in that direction after the first shot she saw something bounce from the roadway in front of the Presidential automobile and now presumes it was a bullet bouncing off the pavement." **(3-19-64** statement to the FBI, 22H635) "I recall that moments after the Presidential car passed I heard three loud reports, which I first thought to be a prankster throwing firecrackers." **(7-22-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 7H507-515) "well, after he passed us, then we heard a noise and I thought it was firecrackers, because I saw a shot or something hit the pavement...I thought there were some boys standing down there where he was—where the President's car was...close to the underpass." (When asked if she could see the Stemmons Freeway Sign) "No, I couldn't see the sign because it was angled—we were stepping out into the street then and it was approximately along in here, I presume, the first sign." (When asked if it was near the first sign) "As I can remember, it was...I thought it was a firecracker. It looked just like you could see the sparks from it and I just thought it was a firecracker and I was thinking that somebody was fixing to get in a lot of trouble and we thought the kids or whoever threw it were down below or standing near the underpass or back up here by the sign" (When asked if it would have been near the underpass or the sign) "It was near the signs" (When asked how close to the opposite curb it was) "It was approximately in the middle of the lane" (When asked where it hit compared to the car) "I thought it was—well—behind it." (When asked how many shots she heard) "three" (When asked where she believed they came from) "it sounded like it was coming from

—there was a railroad track...so I guess it would be by the underpass.” **Analysis:** Mrs. Baker is another one of those witnesses that LPM theorists and conspiracy theorists alike love to use to demonstrate that there was a first shot miss. A close look at her statements should lead one to question this, however. In the FBI report she merely mentioned seeing something hit the street in *front* of the limousine. When re-questioned in March, and given a statement to sign, she doesn’t mention a bullet striking the street, only hearing firecrackers. It isn’t until July—eight months after the shooting, that she begins to state she saw sparks or something hit the street *behind* the limousine. Since she thought the people throwing the firecrackers were in front of the limo, moreover, it’s possible she didn’t mean behind the limousine on the street, but behind the limousine from her perspective, i.e., in front of the limousine, as she’d previously told the FBI. In any event, even if she saw a first shot miss, and a bullet strike the street behind the limousine, her statements do not support the LPM scenario. She placed the limo down near the first sign—the Thornton Freeway sign--when the first shot rang out. This is past Kennedy’s location at frame 160. She also said the bullet or whatever struck the middle of the lane beside the car, behind the car, and that she thought the shots were coming from the underpass. This would indicate that the sparks or whatever she saw exploded along the asphalt in the opposite direction of a shot coming from the sniper’s nest, right in front of Officers Martin and Hargis. Well, why didn’t they or anyone else nearby see this? Not coincidentally, Mrs. Baker was asked during her testimony to put a mark on a photo of Dealey Plaza to indicate where she saw these "sparks" hit the street. This is exhibit 354. Not surprisingly, her mark is a good 70 feet or so further down the road than Kennedy at frame 160. This undoubtedly suggests she did not see the first shot miss proposed by far too many. **First shot hit 190-224.**

Carolyn Arnold (11-26-63 FBI report, CD5 p41) "As she was standing in front of the building, she stated she thought she caught a fleeting glimpse of Lee Harvey Oswald standing in the hall way between the front door and the double doors leading to the warehouse, located on the first floor. She could not be sure that this was Oswald, but felt it was and believed the time to be a few minutes before 12:15 P.M. She stated thereafter she viewed the presidential motorcade and heard the shots that were fired at the President; however, she could furnish no information of value as to the individual firing the shots or any other information concerning Oswald, whom she stated she did not know and had merely seen him working in the building." **(3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H635)** “at the time President Kennedy was shot, I was standing in front of the Texas School Book Depository...I left the Texas School Book Depository at about 12:25 P.M. November 22, 1963, and never returned to this building on that date.” **(3-31-64 radiogram from FBI HQ to Dallas FBI, FBIHQ file 62-109060, sec 55 p42)** "Re Bureau airtel, March sixteen, last and your airtels March twenty-five and twenty-eight, last relating for commission's request for signed statements from individuals known to have been in Texas School Book Depository on November twenty-two, nineteen sixty-three. Before statements can be disseminated to the commission, following corrections necessary: statement of Mrs R.E. "Carolyn" Arnold, paragraph six, line two, time indicated as 12:25 A.M. should be "P.M." If this is typo bureau will handle." **(November, 1978 interview with Anthony Summers published in Conspiracy, 1980--part of this quote may have come from an 11-26-78 article published in the Dallas Morning News)** "About a quarter of an hour before the assassination...about 12:15, it may have been later... I went into the lunchroom on the second floor for a moment...Oswald was sitting in one of the booth seats on the right-hand side of the room as you go in. He was alone as usual and appeared to be having lunch. I did not speak to him but I recognized him clearly." **Analysis:** As Mrs. Arnold claimed to have seen Oswald on the lower floors of the depository building at a time when he was supposedly upstairs, her words are quite controversial. So why wasn't she called to testify before the Warren Commission? Just as important...since the 1978 interview in which she claimed the FBI misrepresented her 1963 statements was published during the HSCA's lifetime (The 3-31 FBI radiogram confirms that her 3-18 statement was changed by the FBI before it was forwarded to the commission), why didn't they talk to her? **Too**

vague.

Betty Dragoo (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H645) “I walked just across the street in front of the building entrance. I was standing at this point when President John F. Kennedy was shot.” (She names Richey, Arnold, Baker, and Johnson as standing nearby.) **Analysis: too vague.**

Judy Johnson (3-23-64 statement to the FBI, 22H656) “I was with Miss Jeannie Holt...and Miss Stella Jacob... We walked to the southwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets...I was standing at this point on the sidewalk near the edge of Elm Street at the time President John F Kennedy was shot. I heard three explosions which sounded to me like firecrackers...I do not know Oswald and do not recall ever having seen him.” **Analysis:** another employee working in the school book depository who didn’t know Oswald from Adam. **Too vague.**

Bonnie Richey (3-18-64 statement to the FBI) “At the time President Kennedy was shot I was standing in the roadway directly south of the Texas School Book Depository.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Patricia Lawrence (11-24-63 FBI Report, 22H841): “When the motorcade passed she stated she was looking at Mrs. Kennedy who was looking to the other side of the car. The President was looking in her direction and she had waved. She heard the shot fired as the president was waving. Thereafter she heard two additional shots; shots which seemed to have come from right over her head.” (2-17-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950 p.48) "Subject also stated that she was standing on the front row of persons on Elm Street at the time of the assassination." (2-17-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950 p.57) "Subject heard the three shots that were fired but could not tell where they came from." (3-20-64 statement to FBI, 22H660) “I recall that when the car in which the president was riding passed my position I was looking at Mrs. Kennedy who was looking to the other side of the car. President Kennedy was looking in my direction and I waved. A few seconds following this I heard a shot and following this shot two more shots.” **Analysis:** as Lawrence reports that Kennedy was waving at the time of the first shot, she is probably talking about a shot circa Z-190, after Kennedy had resumed waving, as opposed to a shot at frame 160, before he'd resumed waving. Her grouping the last two shots together is at the same time indicative of what is now clearly the dominant scenario. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Lupe Whitaker (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H681) (was with Patricia Lawrence) “At the time President Kennedy was shot, I was standing on Elm Street directly south of the main entrance of the Texas School Book Depository.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Ochus Campbell (11-24-63 FBI report, 22H845) “he and several other associates were together stationed about 30 feet in front of this building facing away from the building observing the passing motorcade containing President Kennedy. At this time, he heard a loud report, which at first he considered to be a firecracker or some such object set off by a crank and believed the noise came away from his building...After hearing two more such reports, he realized that they must have been rifle shots and since President Kennedy’s car had advanced just out of his vision, he went forward a few feet to observe this automobile, inasmuch as he feared that the rifle shots were in connection with an attempt upon President Kennedy’s life. He then observed the car bearing President Kennedy to slow down, a near stop, and a motorcycle policeman rushed up. Immediately, following this, he observed the car rush away from the scene.” (11-26-63 FBI report, CD5 p336) "Mr. Campbell advised he had viewed the Presidential Motorcade and subsequently heard the shots being fired from a point which he thought was near the railroad tracks located over the viaduct on Elm Street." (2-17-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, box 3 folder 19 file 4 of the Dallas JFK Archive) "We then walked across Elm Street and stood on the curb near the parade as it turned from Houston Street down under the underpass. I heard the shots, it sounded like they came from the knoll near the railroad tracks. I thought it was fire crackers." (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H638) “Mr. Truly and I decided to view the

motorcade and took up a position next to the curb on Elm Street adjacent to the street signal light...I recall that shortly after the car in which the President was riding passed the Texas School Book Depository I heard shots being fired from a point which I thought was near the railroad tracks located over the viaduct on Elm Street...I have had occasion to view photographs of Lee Harvey Oswald and to the best of my recollection never saw him while he was employed at the Texas School Book Depository.” **Analysis:** as Campbell was the VP of the TSBD, his statement that he’d never seen Oswald, despite Oswald’s having worked there for six weeks, is revealing. There were just too many companies in the building, with too many employees, for people to notice whether or not the people in the building actually belonged there. His statement that the car had already passed the Depository when the shots rang out is an argument against a shot at frame 160, where the limousine was directly in front of the building. His initial grouping of the last two shots together is also informative. **First shot 190.**

Roy Truly (11-23-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 24H227) “After the President passed, we heard what sounded like an explosion. I heard three such explosions. Then I realized they must have been shots.” (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p322) “Shortly after 12:30 PM, as the President’s procession did pass in front of the building, he heard what he believes to be three shots. He was unable to place exactly the source of these shots but believed they came from the area of the railroad yards adjoining the depository building.” (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p324) “He saw the President go by and at about that time heard three explosions.” (12-2-63 FBI report on an investigation performed 11-25-63, CD385, p.7) “Mr. ROY S. TRULY, Warehouse Manager, TSBD, was exhibited an Associated Press photograph described as “DN 5, 11/22/63, Dallas, Texas,” depicting an individual standing in the entrance of the TSBD who resembled Lee Harvey Oswald. Mr. Truly, after viewing this photograph, stated, “That picture resembles Oswald, but it’s not Lee Oswald, it’s Billy Lovelady.” (12-4-63 sworn statement to the U.S. Secret Service, CD87 p793) “I heard three shots fired and moments later a man who I believed to be a motor cycle policeman came running up to the entrance of the building, and I accompanied him inside.” (12-7-63 Secret Service report based on interviews conducted between 12-2 and 12-5, CD87 p778) “Mr. Roy S. Truly...has been interviewed on several occasion between November 26 and December 4, 1963...the President’s automobile passed his location at about 12:30 P.M., and a moment later three shots rang out.” (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H677) “At the time President John F. Kennedy was shot I was standing with Mr. Campbell in the street just in front of the building entrance. I heard three shots fired...” (3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H212-241) (When asked where he was standing when the shots were fired) “I would judge out in Elm Street, 10 to 15 or 20 feet from the front steps. We first stood on the steps, the bottom steps a few minutes, and then we walked out in the line of spectators on the side of Elm Street.” (He was told to mark an “I” on Exhibit 361 showing his location. But the only identifiable mark on this exhibit as published by the Warren Commission appears to be on the north side of the Elm Street extension directly in front of the building, 20-30 feet west of the steps, not where Campbell claimed they’d been standing.) (When describing the turn of the limo onto Elm Street) “the driver of the presidential car swung out too far to the right, and he came almost within an inch of running into this little abutment here, between Elm and the Parkway. And he slowed down perceptibly and pulled back to the left to get over into the middle lane of the parkway. Not being familiar with the street, he came too far out this way when he made his turn.” (When asked the speed of the limousine) “he picked up speed along here, and then seemed to have fallen back into line, and I would say 10 or 12 miles an hour in this area.” (When asked what happened next) “I heard an explosion, which I thought was a toy cannon or a loud firecracker from west of the building. Nothing happened after the first explosion. Everything was frozen. And immediately after two more explosions, which I realized that I thought was a gun, a rifle of some kind. The President’s—I saw the President’s car swerve to the left and stop somewhere down in this area. It is misleading here. And that is the last I saw of his car, because this crowd, when the third shot rang out--there was a large crowd all along this abutment here, this little wall, and there was some

around us in front--they began screaming and falling to the ground. And the people in front of myself and Mr. Campbell surged back, either in terror or panic. They must have seen this thing. I became separated from Mr. Campbell. They just practically bore me back to the first step on the entrance of our building." (When asked how long the limo stopped) "It would be hard to say over a second or two or something like that. I didn't see, I just saw it stop. I don't know. I didn't see it start up." (9-26-64 interview with William Manchester, as represented in *The Death of a President*, 1967) (On the uncomfortable fact so many Secret Service agents failed to recognize the first shot as a shot) "It was comprehensible that Roy Truly should dismiss the first shot as a cherry bomb..." (3-21-68 interview with Barry Ernest recounted in *The Girl on the Stairs*, published 2011) "He had been standing outside when the motorcade passed. Truly 'distinctly heard three shots,' he said, and then accompanied a 'running' police officer, Marrion Baker, into the depository." (11-09-83 AP article found in the *Indiana Gazette*) "Twenty years later, he refuses to talk about what he saw on Nov. 22, 1963. 'That's something that was in the past and you don't talk about,' Truly said politely. 'Everybody who was there has lived through it and that's all I want to say.' **Analysis:** as Truly groups the last two shots as two more explosions, he probably heard them bunched together. While he said that people fell to the ground after the third shot, there was almost certainly a slight delay before the panic reached his location. **Probable first shot 190. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

Mrs. Robert A. Reid (11-22-63 Affidavit to Dallas County, 24H223) "I was standing on the front steps of the building, as the parade drew near I walked closer to the street...Just after the President passed by I heard three shots. The first thing I thought of was someone was shooting at the President." (11-26-63 FBI report, CD5 p.27) "She had observed the Presidential motorcade proceed down Elm Street from a position in front of the Texas School Book Depository, and had heard three shots which she later determined came from the above building...The only thing she noted was that the three shots had come from above somewhere." (12-4-63 sworn statement to the U.S. Secret Service, CD87 p798) "As the motorcade drove by I heard what sounded like three shots. I thought at the time that the shots had come from the School Book Depository Building." (12-7-63 Secret Service Report based on interviews conducted between 12-2 and 12-5, CD87 p785) "Mrs. Reid was standing on the street in front of the building and she heard three shots fired. She thought the shots had come from within the building." (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, CD706, p. 78) "When President John F. Kennedy was shot, I was standing in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building with Mr. O.V. Campbell and Mr. Roy Truly." (3-25-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H270-281) (When asked if she was standing directly in front of the main entrance to the depository building at the time of the shots) "That is correct." (When describing the shots) "I was naturally watching for the car as the President came by. I looked at him and I was very anxious to see Mrs. Kennedy. I looked at her and I was going to see how she was dressed and she was dressed very attractive and she put up her hand to her hat and was holding it on, the wind was blowing a little bit and then went on right on by me and that is the last as far as the parade, I mean as far as they were concerned. I did see Johnson, and that was it. I can't even tell you any more about the parade because after the shots I didn't know any part about that...I heard three shots...And I turned to Mr. Campbell and I said, 'Oh, my goodness, I am afraid those came from our building,' because it seemed like they came just so directly over my head, and then I looked up in the windows, and saw three colored boys up there, I only recognized one because I didn't know the rest of them so well...James Jarman." **Analysis:** Mrs. Reid's statements are consistent with the LPM scenario as well as many others. If one is to interpret her original Affidavit's "just after" as implying "within a second or two," her statements are more consistent with a shot at frame 160 than at 190. Still, her testimony, in which she acknowledges seeing Vice-President Johnson when the shots were fired, suggests the opposite. At frame 160, we should recall, Johnson was still in the intersection. On the other hand, she could have been looking forward into the motorcade when looking at Johnson, only to turn away at the first shot. As she walked back into the school book depository building just after the

shots and went back to work, moreover, and told Lee Harvey Oswald that "someone has shot the president," it seems highly unlikely she'd thought the shots had come from the building all along, as purported in her statements to the Secret Service and Warren Commission. **Possible LPM scenario. Possible first shot 190.**

James Worrell (11-23-63 affidavit to Dallas County, 16H959) "I was standing on the sidewalk against a building on the corner of Elm and Houston Streets watching the motorcade of the President. I heard a loud noise like a fire cracker or gun shots. I looked around to see where the noise came from. I looked up and saw the barrel of a rifle sticking out of a window... While I was looking at the gun it was fired again. I looked back at Mr. Kennedy and he was slumping over. I got scared and ran from that location. While I was running I heard the gun fire two more times. I ran from Elm Street to Pacific Street on Houston. When I was about 100 yards from the building I stopped to get my breath and looked back at the building. I saw a w/m, 5'8" to 5'10", dark hair, average weight for height, dark shirt or jacket open down front, no hat, didn't have anything in his hands, come out of the building and run in the opposite direction." (3-6-64 UPI article on Worrell in the Dallas Times-Herald) "He said he was standing directly below the sixth floor of the depository when he heard a shot. 'I looked up real quick and saw the barrel fire again. I looked to see where it hit and saw President Kennedy hit in the back of the head. Then I looked up again and saw it fire a third time. I was 'moving out' by then and didn't see where it hit,' he said. The youth, currently unemployed and no longer enrolled at Thomas Jefferson High School, also claims he heard a fourth shot as he ran around the corner. 'I heard four shots, I don't care what they say,' he said." (3-10-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H190-201) "as they went by me, they got, oh at least another 50, 75 feet on past me, and then I heard the shots... I looked up and saw the rifle... I looked to see where he was aiming and after the second shot and I have seen the President slumping down in the seat... I looked up again and turned around and started running and saw it fire a third time... I did it all in one motion, I looked up, turned around, and ran, pivoted... everybody was screaming and saying "duck"... Just as I got to the corner I heard the fourth shot... they were right in succession... I turned the corner, went right down beside the building on the sidewalk and when I got to the corner... Of this building (The Texas School Book Depository) (I) "Cut directly across, kind of at an angle... I rested there... approximately three minutes before I saw this man come out the back door." (When asked to estimate the time span of the shots) "best estimate 5, 6 seconds" (When asked how he knew the rifle fired the second shot) "I saw what you might call a little flame and smoke." (When asked about the third shot) "Same thing, a little flash of fire, and then smoke." **Analysis:** while the Warren Commission used Worrell to establish that the shots were fired from the sniper's nest, they ignored that he said there were four shots. His statement that the last two shots occurred while he was running a short distance is indicative they were fired close together in time. His statement that the shots were fired in succession is perhaps indicative of the extreme stress he was under as he ran from the building—people routinely over-estimate the duration of stressful activity by 50% or more. If this was a factor, then the last two shots might have seemed in cadence with the first two. Or perhaps Worrell simply encountered a previously un-noticed echo as he ran out into the street. Still, as he heard screaming after the third shot, and there was little, if any, screaming reported prior to the head shot, his recollection of another shot after the screaming began is consistent with the words of many of the closest witnesses. The extra shot heard by Worrell would then be an extra shot heard in the beginning or the middle of the shooting scenario. As he says Kennedy slumped after the second shot, and Kennedy slumped forward after frame 224 of the Zapruder film, this part of his story is consistent with both the LPM scenario and a scenario whereby Kennedy was hit at Z-190 and again at Z- 224. While he says he saw the second shot fired, perhaps he, as Euins, saw the rifle and heard the sound and incorrectly connected the two. Perhaps, by the time he testified, had come to remember seeing the smoke he saw with the third shot, with the second shot as well. Or perhaps he really did see smoke both times. **Heard four shots. Two early shots. Last two shots probably bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Clotile Williams (7-24 64 FBI report, CD1395, p.6) “she took up a position on the northwest corner of Houston and Elm Streets...shortly after President Kennedy’s car passed this position she heard some shots. She said she does not recall the number of shots fired...she did not see anything that aroused her suspicion and did not know where the shots came from.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Mrs. H.G. Whitaker worked on the third floor of the depository building. (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, box 3 folder 19 file 19 of the Dallas JFK Archive) (She) "got back to the steps of the building on the Elm Street side. This was the Texas School Book Depository Building. This was about 12:30 PM. She saw the motorcade pass and then heard two shots...She did not recall ever having seen Oswald...She stated the shots sounded like they came from the west of the building but they did sound as if they came from above." **Analysis: only heard two shots.**

Madie Reese (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p.59) “Mrs. Reese...heard three shots or what seemed...to be shots. At first she thought the shots came from the alcove near the benches.” (2-17-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950 p.47) "The subject stated that on the day of the assassination she was on the steps in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building, waving at the motorcade as it passed the building. She stated that she heard three reports, distinct and separate and knew that they were reports of gunfire." (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H669) “I...took up a position on the second step from the bottom (in front) of the main entrance of the Depository Building...Mrs. Dean was standing directly to my left at the time of the assassination...and we both heard the three shots...I do not recall having ever consciously seen Lee Harvey Oswald in the Texas School Book Depository Building.” **Analysis:** once again, someone who’d worked in the same building with Oswald for six weeks but who’d never noticed him. **Too vague.**

Mrs. Joseph Eddie Dean aka Ruth Dean (11-25-63 FBI report 22H839) “President Kennedy had just looked in their direction and waved when she heard a rifle shot. Shortly thereafter she heard another rifle shot and then a third. During these moments, she observed President Kennedy slump down into the car. After the first or second shot, she observed President Kennedy reach to the back of his neck just before he slumped down.” (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950 p.53) "Subject stated she was standing on the front steps of the building when President J. F. Kennedy was assassinated." (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950 p.55) "Subject further stated that she heard the three shots fired by the assassin. Subject stated that she thought the first shot was a firecracker exploding. After the second shot, subject stated that she knew it was gun shots. Subject further stated that after the third shot, she knew they came from above, but she did not see anyone." (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H643) “I was standing on the front steps of the Texas School Book Depository...As the motorcade passed by I heard three shots and observed the President slump over in the automobile in which he was riding.” (No More Silence, p.70-72, published 1998) “The view where we were was very good. But the motorcade went a little bit beyond us before the shooting started. I heard three shots with two being close together and one a little further apart...I remember seeing Jacqueline Kennedy climb over the back and on to the turtle back of the car, and the Secret service man jumped up and made her get back in the car.” **Analysis:** her statement that two shots were closer together is a little vague. Which two? Similarly, as Kennedy looks in her direction and waves in the middle of the Towner film, 5 seconds or so before frame 160 or 190, her statements that he had just looked in their direction can’t be taken literally. **Too vague.**

Mrs. Avery Davis (12-10-63 FBI report, CD7 p.23) “she was standing on the front steps of the building when the president passed and she then heard three explosions. She did not realize they were shots.” (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, box 3, folder 19, file 6 of Dallas JFK Archive) "She saw the motorcade pass her location. From her location she heard the three shots but thought they came from the railroad to the west." (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H642) “A moment after the car in which President John F. Kennedy was riding passed, I heard three explosions. At first I did not realize

these explosions were gun shots...I did not know...but thought they were from the direction of the viaduct which crosses Elm Street.” **Analysis: too vague.**

Judy McCully (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p. 432) "On November 22, 1963, McCully was watching the Presidential Procession from the fourth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building and just after the Presidential Car had passed the building, she heard a noise, which she thought to be a shooting. She did not know from which direction the shot was fired. At that time, she did not observe any suspicious activity on the part of anyone in the Texas School Book Depository Building, or among the persons in front of this building. McCully stated she is not acquainted with Lee Harvey Oswald and does not recall ever having seen him in the Texas School Book Depository Building." **(2-18-64** report of the Dallas Police Department, box 3 folder 19 file 13 of the Dallas JFK Archive) "Miss McCully stated that on November 22, 1963, she and Mrs. Avery Davis were standing on the front steps of the Texas School Book Depository at 12:30 PM, and were watching the Presidential parade. She saw the President's car go by, and as the car proceeded down toward the triple underpass, she heard three shots. The shots sounded like they came from the right side of the building in the arcade." **(3-20-64** statement to the FBI, 22H663) "I was standing on the front steps of the Texas School Book Depository Building with Mrs. Charles Davis, also an employee of Scott-Foresman, to watch the motorcade bearing President John F. Kennedy pass by the building. As the motorcade passed, I heard some shots fired, but did not know the direction from which they came." **Analysis:** while there's a discrepancy in the statements of Ms. McCully regarding her location at the time of the shooting, it seems possible this mistake was the fault of her FBI interviewer, and that he'd mistakenly assumed she'd watched the motorcade from her office--on the fourth floor. That she had a screw loose or was afraid of telling the truth to the FBI, however, also seems possible, seeing as she was twice quoted by them as saying she couldn't tell where the shots had come from, but told the DPD she thought the shots had come from west of the building. **Too vague.**

Carl Jones (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H657) "When President John F. Kennedy was shot I was sitting on the front steps of the Texas School Book Depository. With me were Mr. Roy Truly, Mr. O.V. Campbell, Mrs. R.A. Reid, and Billy Lovelady...I heard three shots just after President Kennedy passed by in his car and I saw him slump in his seat." **Analysis: too vague.**

Buell Wesley Frazier (11-22-63 affidavit for Dallas County, 24H209) "I was standing on the front steps of the building when the parade came by, and I watched the parade go by. After President Kennedy had got out of my sight, I heard three shots. I stood there, then people started running by, and I turned, and went back in the building." **(12-5-63** sworn statement to the U.S. Secret Service, CD87 p796) "I was standing on the front steps when the parade passed in front of the building. When the shooting occurred, I did not realize the shots were really shots until the second one. At first I thought it was backfire. I did not realize the shots had come from this building but thought they had come from somewhere around the triple underpass or railroad tracks." **(3-11-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H210-245) (On his location during the shooting) "I was standing on the steps there and watched for the parade to come by and so I did and I stood there until he come by." (On who was with him at this time) "I stayed around there pretty close to Mr. Shelley and this boy Billy Lovelady and just standing there, people talking and just talking about how pretty a day it turned out to be, because I told you earlier it was an old cloudy and misty day and then it didn't look like it was going to be a pretty day at all." (Anybody else?) "There was a lady there, a heavy-set lady who worked upstairs there whose name is Sarah something, I don't know her last name." (On the shooting) "just right after he went by he hadn't hardly got by, I heard a sound and if you have ever been around motorcycles you know how they backfire, and so I thought one of them motorcycles backfired...but it wasn't just a few seconds that, you know, I heard two more of the same type of, you know, sounds, and by that time people was running everywhere, and falling down and screaming, and naturally then I knew something was

wrong...to be frank with you I thought it come from down there, where that underpass is.” (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H647) “At the time President Kennedy was shot I was standing on the front steps of the Texas School Book Depository. I was with William H. Shelley...and Billy Lovelady.” (2-13-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) “Just right after they made the turn there was several motorcycle policeman leading the motorcade and right after they turned, after the car made the turn, it sounded like the motorcycles were backfiring...Shortly after there were two more in rapid succession.” (When asked if he knew they were rifle shots) “Well, the two that come in fast succession by that time, like I said, people were hollering, and then I recognized them, they were rifle shots.” (When asked the time lapse between the first and second shots) “It was just a few seconds.” (When asked the time lapse between the second and third) “When I heard the second noise, the third was followed nearly just right back to back. It was fired in rapid succession.” (He was then asked to demonstrate the spacing of the shots by clapping his hands, but the spacing of his hand claps was not noted on the transcripts of the trial) (11-21-77 interview with HSCA investigators Moriarty and Day, edited down from a transcript provided by Richard Gilbride) “everybody was following the presidential motorcade...then I heard a loud sound--motorcycle backfire...from where I was standing, there was some trees and some people--so I actually couldn't see. But what had actually happened was the first shot...and then I heard the same sound. It wasn't anywheres even close to me...It was then that I realized--as people were beginning to run--and it became quite still. Before I had the chance to be heard, a sound--like a motorcycle backfire--what sounded like a backfire erupt.” (When asked if the shots sounded the same) “the noises that I heard was all similar...they matched or they were from the 6th story...they seemed to be all pretty the same...Like I say, the first one that was fired, and then it seemed like it was only another few seconds and then they's coming up with another...they was in tandem. They was in the same area, the same direction. You know, like the same sound.”

(7-23-86 testimony in televised mock trial, On Trial: Lee Harvey Oswald) (When asked how many shots he heard) “Three.” (When asked if he thought the shots came from the railroad) “Yes, sir, from the knoll there.” (When asked again about the direction of the shots) “I thought they came from the knoll here.” (He is then asked to write the words “grassy knoll” on a map of Dealey Plaza and put an X where he thought the shots had come from. He writes the words on the map to the west of the arcade, and then puts an X by these words at the northernmost point of the picket fence, in the railroad yards to the west of the arcade.) (6-21-2002 oral history with the Sixth Floor Museum) “I was standing at the top of the steps, the entrance, to the Texas School Book Depository. I was standing in the shadows...When they turned from Houston Street onto Elm there, and started down to the underpasses there, I remember I remarked to myself, I said, ‘well, they look just like they do in the pictures’... (When asked how long it was after the limo had completed its turn onto Elm Street and started heading away that he heard the first shot) “It wasn't very long before there was a shot. And, as I said earlier, from listening to the motorcycles that was leading the President's car that had been backfiring, at first I thought it was a backfire from a motorcycle...” (When asked if the shot sounded like backfires) “Yes. But then shortly after, there was two more. By that time there was really chaos. There was people running and everything and you knew something wasn't right...I couldn't actually see what was going on in the President's car...After they had passed and dropped out of sight, I couldn't see what was going on.” (When asked when he first realized Kennedy had been shot) “By the time the second and third shot was fired, I realized it wasn't a motorcycle backfire, because it had a different sound to it. And I realized someone was firing, and people was, as I said in that whole area there was running and falling down...” (When asked from where he thought the shots were fired) “The sound to me at that time sounded like it was coming from up above...the only thing I can say is that I realized it was gunfire, but to be specific as to what building it was coming from other than saying it was coming from up above where we were standing, I can't be more specific than that...” (When asked how many shots) “I heard three shots. There was one, and then there was, the other two was much closer in succession.” (When asked the length of

the shooting) "I don't know exact, but probably, I would probably say all, and this is probably, I don't know for a fact, I would probably say all three shots was taken within 15 seconds...There was the first one, and then the second and third one was just almost just back to back. It was very fast." (When asked the time between the last two shots) "I would probably say, maybe five seconds, if it was that long." (When asked if there could have been more or fewer than three shots) "Not fewer than three...I heard three." (When asked where the car was when the first shot was fired) "It wasn't very far after it dropped out of my sight...I couldn't see the car...The car was out of my view when the first shot was fired...(When attempting to clarify his approximation of 15 seconds for the shooting) "If you take and fire a shot say like for instance on the first second, and then the second shot might not have been somewhere until like the 8th to 10th seconds, and then the third one I would say somewhere between the 10th and 15th." **Analysis:** while Frazier, Oswald's car-pool buddy, placed the limousine close enough to the corner to suggest the LPM scenario in his testimony at the Shaw trial, he originally specified that the car was much further down the street and out of his sight. His grouping of the last two shots together supports this earlier statement. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

William Lovelady stood on the front steps of the depository building and is easily identified in James Altgens' photo of the assassination, with the President's limo in the foreground and the front steps of the depository in the background. Due to Lovelady's resemblance to Oswald, however, some have tried to claim it is not Lovelady on the steps but Oswald--a claim refuted by everyone standing in the area. (11-22-63 sworn affidavit, 24H214) "When the President came by, Bill Shelley and I was standing on the steps in front of the building where I work. After he had passed and was about 50 yards past us I heard three shots. There was a slight pause after the first shot then the next two was right close together. I could not tell where the shots came from but sounded like they were across the street from us. However, that could have been caused by the echo." (11-22-63 FBI report, CD5 p332-333) "On November 22, 1963, Lovelady and his foreman, Bill Shelley, were standing on the front doorstep at 411 Elm Street at about 12:30 P.M. watching the Presidential motorcade pass. At about this time he heard three shots. At first he thought it was a firecracker or the backfire of a motorcycle." (12-2-63 FBI report on an investigation performed 11-25-63, CD385, p.8) "Mr. Billy Nolan Lovelady, 7722 Hume, Dallas, Texas, was exhibited an Associated Press photograph described as "DN 5, 11/22/63, Dallas, Texas," depicting an individual standing in the entrance of the TSBD who resembled Lee Harvey Oswald. Mr. Lovelady advised that he is an employee at the TSBD and is acquainted with Oswald. Lovelady immediately identified himself in the above-described photograph as being the individual who resembled OSWALD and stated he had observed himself previously in this photograph in the newspaper and was saving it. Lovelady stated there was no question whatsoever but that this was a photograph of him." (3-2-64 FBI report on an investigation performed 2-29-64) "Billy Nolan Lovelady appeared at the Dallas FBI office at which time he consented to be photographed. Lovelady advised that on the day of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963, at the time of the assassination and shortly before, he was standing in the doorway of the front entrance of the Texas School Book Depository...He stated he was wearing a red and white vertical striped shirt and blue jeans...Lovelady stated his picture has appeared in several publications which picture depict him on the far left side of the front doorway to the TSBD. Lovelady was exhibited a picture appearing on pages 4-5 of the magazine entitled Four Dark Days in History...He immediately identified the picture of the individual on the far left side of the doorway of the TSBD as being his photograph...Mr. Lovelady stated his close resemblance to Lee Harvey Oswald has become somewhat embarrassing." (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H662) "At the time the presidential motorcade passed the Depository building heading west on Elm Street I was standing on the top step to the far right of the wall to the entrance way to the Texas School Book Depository Building. At this time I recall that William H. Shelley...and Mrs. Sarah Stanton...both of whom are likewise employed at the Texas School Book Depository, were

standing next to me. I recall that following the passing of the Presidential motorcade, as the car in which the President was riding traveled down the Elm Street extension, I heard several loud reports which I first thought to be firecrackers, and which appeared to me to be in the direction of the Elm Street viaduct just ahead of the motorcade. I did not at any time believe the shots had come from the Texas School Book Depository Building. I am acquainted with Lee Harvey Oswald as a fellow employee only and I recall that on the morning of November 22, 1963, I was on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository putting down a new wooden floor when Oswald came over to me and asked where a certain book was stored. I don't recall name of the book but told him that book was out of stock. That is the last time I saw Oswald prior to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy...I recall that following the shooting, I ran toward the spot where President Kennedy's car had stopped. William Shelley and myself stayed in that area for approximately five minutes when we then re-entered the Depository building by the side door located on the west side of the building." (4-7-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H336-341) (When asked who was with him on the front steps when the shots were fired) "Bill Shelley and Sarah Stanton and right behind me..." (When asked what he heard) "I thought it was firecrackers or somebody celebrating the arrival of the President. It didn't occur to me at first what had happened until this Gloria came running up to us and told us the President had been shot." (When asked from where he thought the shots had been fired) "Right there around that concrete little deal on that knoll...to my right. I was standing as you are going down the steps, I was standing on the right, sounded like it was in that area...Between the underpass and the building right on that knoll." (When shown Exhibit 369--a photo by James Altgens of the shooting with President Kennedy's limo in the foreground, and Lovelady on the front steps of the book depository in the background, and asked to mark the picture and identify himself.) "Right there at the entrance of the building standing on the top of the step, would be here (indicating)...It would be your top level." (When asked what Gloria Calvery told him) "She had been right close to it to see and she had saw the blood and knew he had been hit." (When asked what he and Shelley did after talking to Calvery) "We went as far as the first tracks and everybody was hollering and crying...and we said we better get back into the building, so we went back into the west entrance on the back dock had that low ramp and went into the back dock back inside the building." (5-23-64 UPI article found in the 5-24-64 New York Times) "Billy Lovelady, an employee of the Texas Schoolbook Depository, identified himself today as the man seen in a doorway in a photo taken moments after President Kennedy was shot. 'I recall standing in the doorway and I have about 20 witnesses who were there near me,' he said. 'They will verify it was me.' Many newspapers in Europe published in weekend editions an American photograph taken a split second after Mr. Kennedy was shot last Nov. 22. The picture purported to show a man who looked like Lee H. Oswald, the accused assassin, standing in the doorway of the depository building. Newspaper descriptions said the man 'bears an extraordinary resemblance' to Oswald, who was shot two days later by Jack L. Ruby. Authorities said that minutes after the shooting Oswald was seen in a second-floor lunch-room of the building. The shots were fired from the sixth floor. The newspapers asked, 'If the man in the doorway was Oswald, who, then, fired the bullets which killed the President?' Mr. Lovelady, a stock clerk, said he had given testimony about the photo to agents of the Warren Commission investigating the assassination. He said he had also cooperated with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He said that investigators for both the F.B.I. and the Warren Commission were satisfied it was he and not Oswald in the doorway. Mr. Lovelady said the F.B.I. had taken pictures of him from various angles and that he had been shown a three-by-four foot blowup of the doorway picture and asked if he was in it. 'I immediately pointed to myself in the doorway,' Mr. Lovelady said. He said he was about 15 to 20 pounds heavier than Oswald and about three inches shorter. Asked whether there was any resemblance to Oswald, he replied, 'I'm fatter in the face.' 'It was me in the doorway,' he said. 'If anyone doesn't believe it, they will just have to take my word.' Dallas authorities said the photograph had been examined carefully after the assassination." (5-24-64 article by Dom Bonafede in the New York Herald-Tribune) (While discussing the person in the Altgens photo some claim is

Oswald) "Lovelady maintains it is he standing in the doorway at the moment of the assassination. 'I was standing on the first step,' he told me when I interviewed him in Dallas two weeks ago. 'Several people saw me. That lady shielding her eyes works here on the second floor.' (While discussing the shots) "He said that while watching the motorcade from the doorway of the Book Depository he distinctly heard three shots--'there was one, then a pause, then two fast ones.'" **Analysis:** Lovelady's and Shelley's testimony that they returned to the building through a western entrance, an entrance unknown to Warren Commission counsel Joseph Ball, is one of the more surprising moments of the testimony. As there was no mention of this entrance being sealed off by the Dallas Police Department in the immediate aftermath of the shooting, it's possible someone could have escaped through this door for some time after the shooting. Otherwise, Lovelady's description of the shots, and of where the limousine was at the time of the shots, supports the scenario described by the bulk of the witnesses.

First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.

William Shelley (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas Sheriff's Department, 24H226) "The President's car was about halfway from Houston Street to the Triple Underpass when I heard what sounded like three shots. I couldn't tell where they came from. I ran across the street to the corner of the park and ran into a girl crying and she said the President had been shot. The girl's name is Gloria Calvery... I went back to the building and went inside and called my wife and told her what had happened. I was on the first floor then and I stayed at the elevator and was told not to let anyone out of the elevator. **(3-18-64** statement to the FBI, 22H673) "as the Presidential motorcade passed I was standing just outside the glass doors of the entrance. At the time President Kennedy was shot, I was standing at this same place. Billy N. Lovelady who works under my supervision at the Texas School Book Depository was seated on the entrance steps just in front of me. I recall that Wesley Frazier, Mrs. Sarah Stanton, and Mrs. Carolyn Arnold, all employees of the Texas School Book Depository, were also standing in this entrance way near me at the time Pres. Kennedy was shot. I did not see Lee Harvey Oswald at the time Pres. Kennedy was shot. I did not observe any strangers in the building at any time during the morning of November 22, 1963. Immediately following the shooting, Billy N. Lovelady and I accompanied some uniformed police officers to the railroad yards just west of the building and returned through the west side door of the building about ten minutes later. I remained in the building until about 1:30 PM when I was asked to go to the Dallas Police Dept. to furnish an affidavit. I returned to the Texas School Book Depository about 5 PM. I did not leave the building until about 7 PM that day." **(4-7-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H327-334) (When asked with whom he had lunch out on the front steps) "Well, there was Lloyd Viles of McGraw-Hill, Sarah Stanton, she's with Texas School Book, and Wesley Frazier and Billy Lovelady joined us shortly afterwards." (When asked where they were standing) "Just outside the glass doors there." (When asked what he heard) "I heard something sounded like it was a firecracker and a slight pause and then two more a little bit closer together... Sounded like a miniature cannon or baby giant firecracker, wasn't real loud... Sounded like it came from the west... officers started running down to the lumber yards and Billy and I walked down that way. We walked on down to the first railroad track there on the dead-end street and stood there and watched them searching cars down there in the parking lots for a little while and then we came in through our parking lot at the west end... in the side door into the shipping room... I saw Eddie Piper... He was coming back from where he was watching the motorcade in the southwest corner of the shipping room." **Analysis:** Shelley places the limousine too far down Elm at the time of the first shots to be a reference to frame 160. He also heard the second two shots closer together. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Sarah Stanton (11-23-63 FBI report, CD7 p.20) "Sarah Stanton...advised that she is employed in the second floor office of the Texas School Book Depository...and at about 12:30 on November 22, 1963, she was standing on the front steps as the President passed and shortly thereafter she heard three explosions; however, she did not know where they came from and immediately went into the building,

caught the elevator, and went to the second floor offices, and into the office of the Southwestern Publishing Company, located there, to try to look out the window and see what was happening. She then went to the restroom and later returned to her desk.” (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H675) “when President John F. Kennedy was shot, I was standing on the front steps of the Texas School Book Depository with Mr. William Shelley...Mr. Otis Williams...Mrs. T.B. Saunders...and Billy Lovelady. I heard three shots after the President’s car passed the front of the building but I could not see the President’s car at that time. I cannot say positively where the shots came from. I did not see Lee Harvey Oswald at that time or at any time during that day.” **Analysis:** while Stanton's statements help debunk the surprisingly resilient claim it was Oswald, and not Lovelady, in the Altgens photo, her description of the shooting itself is of little help. It is intriguing, nonetheless, that the purportedly well-spaced shots purportedly coming from directly above Ms. Stanton...were not recognized as such. **Too vague.**

Pauline Saunders (11-24-63 FBI report, 22H844) “advised she arrived at work at 8:45 A.M. on November 22, 1963 and immediately reported to main office where she was employed...she went outside to watch the presidential parade about 11:25 A.M...she stood in the last line of spectators nearest the door to the School Book Depository building...she could not recall the exact time but immediately after the Presidential parade passed she heard three loud blasts and she immediately realized that the shots or whatever it was came from the building above her...Mr. Campbell, Office Manager, arrived shortly after the police officer entered the building and she told him the blasts came from the upper part of the building however he insisted the shots came from the embankment.” (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H672) “At approximately 12:20 PM on November 22, 1963, I left the lunchroom on the second floor of the building and went out the front entrance to await the arrival of the presidential motorcade which I knew was due to pass the Depository about 12:30 PM. I took up a position at the top of the front steps of the Depository building facing Elm Street. To the best of my recollection, I was standing on the top step at the east end of the entrance. I recall that while standing there I noticed Mrs. Sarah Stanton standing next to me, but I am unsure as to the others. Mrs. Stanton is likewise an employee of the Texas School Book Depository. To the best of my recollection I did not see Lee Harvey Oswald at any time on November 22, 1963, and although I knew him by sight as an employee of the building I did not know him by name and had never spoken to him at any time. I do not recall seeing any strangers in the Texas School Book Depository Building at any time on the morning of November 22, 1963. After the motorcade car carrying President John F. Kennedy passed, I remained a moment on the steps, then walked out to the concrete island in front of the Depository Building to see what had happened. I remained there a moment and then returned to the Depository Building through the main entrance. I then walked to the second floor where I usually worked.” **Analysis:** Although Mrs. Saunders tells us almost nothing on how the shots were fired, her brief statements are at least of some assistance in clearing up some other mysteries. For one, she says she left the lunch room at 12:20, but has no recollection of seeing Oswald on the day of the shooting. This works against Oswald's being in the second floor lunch room at that time. For two, she says she stood on the east side of the top step, and worked on the second floor. This, along with Billy Lovelady's claim the woman shielding her eyes in the Altgens photo worked on the second floor, suggests the possibility Saunders was this woman. If not her, then Stanton. **Too vague.**

Otis Williams (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p.64) “at the time the Presidential procession passed the Texas School Book Depository Building, Williams was on the front steps of the building. The Presidential car had just passed the building a few seconds and was out of sight over the embankment when Williams heard three loud blasts. He thought these blasts came from the location of the court house.” (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, box folder 19 file 20 of the Dallas JFK Archive) "He heard three shots that sounded like they were coming from the west side of the Texas School Book Depository. The president's car had gotten out of Mr. Williams' view when he heard the shots." (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H683) “On November 22, 1963, at the time the Presidential

motorcade passed the Texas School Book Depository, I was standing on the top step against the railing on the east side of the steps in front of the building. I do not recall who was standing at either side of me, but I do know that Mrs. Robert E. Saunders, also an employee of the Texas School Book Depository, viewed the motorcade. Just after the presidential car passed the building and went out of sight over the Elm Street embankment I heard three loud blasts. I thought these blasts or shots came from the direction of the viaduct which crosses Elm Street. I did not then know that President Kennedy had been shot. I remained momentarily on the steps and then returned inside the building.” (No More Silence p.116-120, published 1998) “when the motorcade came around the corner and then made that bend to get to the underpass, I had a clear view as it passed by of the President and all in the car, and then it went behind a little wall going toward the underpass. Probably five or ten seconds later is when I first thought I heard the shots. The first one I assumed someone threw a firecracker... It was about five or ten seconds before he was hit when he went out of my sight. I definitely heard three shots. Fact is, as soon as the third shot happened, and everybody commenced milling around, I thought it came from the underpass.” **Analysis:** even though Williams’ location for the shots appears to have changed (or maybe the FBI simply screwed up in their 11-24 report) he was consistent all along that the limousine had been out of his view for a number of seconds before the first shot was fired. This indicates the first shot rang out after frame 160. **First shot 190-224.**

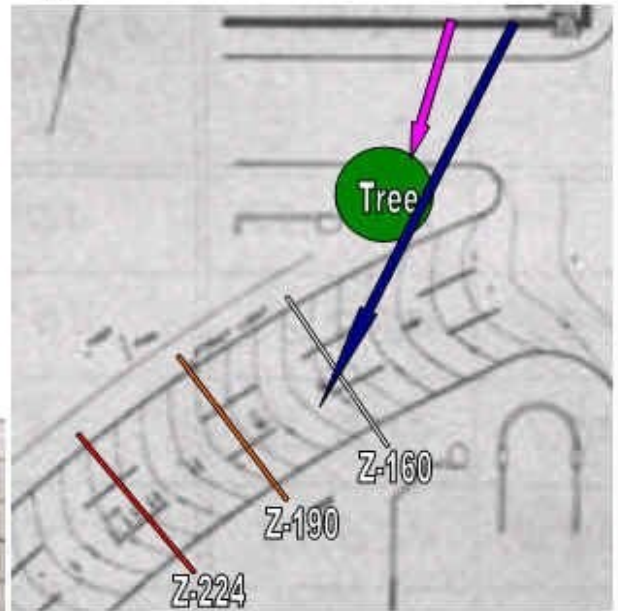
Joe Molina (11-23-63 report of the Dallas Police Department, box 3 folder 19 file 15 of the Dallas JFK Archive) "He states that he heard three shots; he did not know where they came from." **(3-25-64** statement to the FBI, 22H664) “the car in which President Kennedy was riding passed the building... Just after his car disappeared from my view I heard three shots.” **(4-7-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H368-373) "I was standing on the front steps...Right next left of me was Mr. Williams and close to there was Mrs. Sanders." (When asked what happened after the car passed) "I heard the shots...Sort of like it reverberated... kind of came from the west side...Of course, the first shot was fired then there was an interval between the first and second longer than the second and third.” **Analysis:** the familiar scenario. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Roy Lewis (12-9-63 FBI report, CD205, p23) “viewed the Presidential motorcade and heard the shots...but could offer no information as to where the shots had come from.” **(2-18-64** report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950, p.54) "Subject stated that he was in the entrance of the building when the president was assassinated." **(3-18-64** statement to the FBI, 22H661) “I stood by myself on the inside of the entrance to the Texas School Book Depository to watch President John F. Kennedy come by the building in a motorcade. I heard three shots fired from somewhere above me, but was unable to see the person who fired them.” (No More Silence, p.84-89, published 1998) “I was standing with some ladies from up in the offices right in the middle of the steps in front of the building that led to the sidewalk beyond the glass door. As the motorcade came by, I remember seeing Kennedy brushing back his hair. That’s when all hell broke loose! I heard BOOM!... BOOM!... BOOM! with the second and third shots being closer together. The people down in front of me hit the ground then everybody started running toward the grassy knoll... I didn’t see any smoke or smell any gunpowder, nor could I tell the direction of the shots because it was like an echo there. But no way did I suspect anything coming from the Texas School Book Depository.” **Analysis:** Lewis’ recent recollection differs quite a bit from what he told the FBI. Perhaps he was trying to keep the names of the women on the front steps out of his statement. As Kennedy brushed back his hair around Z-140, it’s possible Lewis is describing the LPM scenario. Still, since he says the last two shots were grouped together, it seems likely a few seconds passed before the first shot. **Probable first shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together.**

In the Building



At left: a photo by Tom Dillard taken just seconds after the shooting. Bonnie Ray Williams, L, and Harold Norman, R, can be seen in the windows just below the sniper's nest.



Above: a crop of CE 882, with the Z-film locations of Kennedy added in. Blue arrows show relative perspectives of Dorman and Wilson.

At left: a photo taken by Jack Weaver as the limo turned up Houston, with the School Book Depository in the distance. The colored circles reflect the locations of various witnesses. Red= Williams and Norman. Orange=James Jarman. Pink=Elsie Dorman and the fourth floor women. Dark blue=Steven Wilson. Light blue=the sniper.

In the Building

If the LPM scenario is to be accepted then certainly the majority of those closest to the shooting, some only a few feet from the sniper's nest, would have heard the shots as laid out by Lattimer, Posner, and Myers, with a five second gap between the second and third shots...

Troy West (12-7-63 Secret Service Report based on interviews conducted between 12-2 and 12-5, CD87 p785) "at the time of the president's assassination, he was just starting to eat his lunch on the first floor of the building near where he normally works. He heard the shots fired and stated that before he could leave the building, many people came in, including many police officers." (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H679) "When President John F. Kennedy was shot I was on the first floor making coffee for the employees. I was alone at the time and did not know at the time that President Kennedy had been shot. I was walking toward the front of the building when people rushed in the building and told me that someone had shot President Kennedy." (4-8-64 testimony before the Warren Commission 6H356) "I had started to eat my lunch. But before I got through, well all of this was, I mean the police and things was coming in, and I was just spellbound. I just didn't know what was the matter...(When asked if he heard the shots) "I didn't hear a one. Didn't hear a one." **Analysis:** first he hears 'em then he don't. What's that about? **Too vague.**

Eddie Piper (11-23-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H499) "I went to a front window on the first floor ...I saw the President pass and heard some shots...The shots seemed to me like they came from up inside the building." (12-20-63 FBI report, CD206 p13) "While looking out

the window, he heard what he believed to be three shots and saw people running, and later determined the President had been shot. He did not view the Presidential motorcade itself inasmuch as the crowd was in his line of sight, and did not see Lee Harvey Oswald after the shots were fired." (2-17-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950, p45) "Subject gave the following information..." "During the presidential parade, I was standing by a window on the lower floor at the front of the building watching the cars pass when I heard this shot. It shook the window and I moved away from the window and looked at the clock. It was exactly 12:25 P.M. Some more shots were fired. I distinctly heard three shots in all. Some one said they were coming from the railroad tracks, I said no they are coming from the top of the building." (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H668) "When President John F. Kennedy was shot, I was sitting on a box on the first floor of the Texas School Book Depository watching the parade from the window. I could not see the president's car from where I was sitting but I heard three shots ring out and saw people looking up at the building. It seemed to me the shots came from inside the Texas School Book Depository." (4-8-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H380) (When asked which window he was looking out) "it's the second window from the corner...I couldn't see anything--too many people...I heard one shot, and then the next shot went off, and I got up and went on back, back where they make coffee at the end of the counter where I could see what happened and before I could get there, the third shot went off, and I seen the people all running." (When asked if he could tell where the shots came from) "No, sir, not for sure." **Analysis:** Piper's telling the DPD that he looked at the clock after the first shot suggests there was a larger gap between this shot and the second than between the second and the third, but is a little **too vague**.

Geneva Hine was manning the phones in the second floor offices of the Texas School Book Depository, on the west end of the building. (11-23-63 FBI report, CD5 p369-370) "Mrs. Hine advised that sometime between 12:25 PM and 12:35 PM she was alone in her office on the second floor of the company building...At approximately that time she heard what she described as three shots. She heard these very distinctly and believes they came from somewhere inside the building, inasmuch as it sounded to her that the shots originated above and to the west of her." (11-23-63 report of the Dallas Police Department, box 1 folder 8 file 52 of the Dallas JFK Archives) "Was in the office alone the day of the shooting heard three shots and did not know what happened until the Police came in the office and told the president had been shot." (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H651) "At the time President Kennedy was shot I was on the second floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. I was alone at the time." (4-7-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H393-397) "I could see it from the east window of our office...I saw the President's car coming and I saw the President and saw him waving his hand in greeting up in the air and I saw his wife and I saw him turn the corner and after he turned the corner I looked and I saw the next car coming. Just at the instant I saw the next car coming up was when I heard the shots...Three...they came from inside the building...the building vibrated from the result of the explosion coming in...they sounded almost like cannon shots they were so terrific." (When asked if she was standing at the window at the time of the shots) "Yes, sir; that is when I was at the window, because the next car, you see, was coming up and turning and I looked. Of course I looked when I heard the shots. I just stood there and saw people running to the east up Elm Street. I saw people running; I saw people falling down, you know, lying down on the sidewalk." **Analysis:** Ms. Hine's testimony, if taken literally, would indicate the first shot missed somewhere back before the beginning of the Zapruder film sequence of the motorcade on Elm, at a time when Tina Towner was still filming the Presidential limo's turn onto Elm. Perhaps, by the "next car", then, she simply meant that the next car holding a politician was coming up to the corner when the first shot was fired. This would be the Lincoln holding Vice-President Johnson. If so, then her words are more compatible with the LPM scenario than with a first shot 190 scenario. If she meant the "next car" to mean the Presidential back-up car, however, then her words are incompatible with the LPM scenario as well as most other scenarios. Her statement that "Of course, I looked when I heard the shots" and then

describing people falling down--which did not happen until after the head shot--suggests that she was not paying much attention at the time of the first shot. In support of this is the fact that she never mentioned looking out the window until 4 1/2 months after the shooting. Her statement that she could tell the shots were from inside the building, by the way, is refuted by nearly every other witness in the building, and suggests she was not above exaggerating for the sake of self-grandification. Those nevertheless using this assertion as evidence Oswald fired all the shots from the sniper's nest ignore that she originally said she thought the shots came from above and to the west--which would indicate an open window on the west end of the building, where Arnold Rowland claimed to have seen a man with a gun. **Possible LPM scenario.**

Mrs. Carol Hughes (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H654) "I am employed by the South-Western Publishing Company, Room 203, Texas School Book Depository...On November 22, 1963, I went to south window near my desk which overlooks Elm Street to watch the Presidential motorcade pass along Houston and Elm Streets. I was standing looking out this window when President John F. Kennedy was shot. I was alone in the office as all the other people had gone to the street to watch the motorcade pass." **Analysis: too vague.**

Steven Wilson (1-9-64 FBI report, CD329 p.27) "Due to a large tree being in the way he could not view the entire procession, but as his view became obstructed, he heard three distinct shots which he thought came from a rifle." **(3-25-64** statement to the FBI, 22H684) "the fatal shots at the President were fired from a storage area which is three floors directly above my private office...I left my private office and went in my company's main office...From my position, I watched the motorcade as it approached, moving north on Houston Street, and turned west on Elm street...As the motorcade proceeded, my view of President Kennedy and his car and the other occupants, became obscured by some trees which are on Elm Street. In a matter of ten seconds or less after the President's car and occupants were obscured from view by the trees, I heard three shots...It is my opinion there was a greater space of time between the second and third shots than between the first and second. The three shots were fired within a matter of less than five seconds...At that time it seemed the shots came from the west end of the building or from the colonnade located on Elm Street across from the west end of our building...at the time the President's car and its occupants went out of my view, being obscured by the trees, as mentioned above, the car was not as far as 100 yards from me." **Analysis:** since the shots occurred "In a matter of ten seconds or less" after the limousine disappeared and the shots themselves were fired within a five second span, Wilson implies the shots began several seconds after the limo disappeared behind the tree. It did so around 160. **Possible LPM scenario. Probable first shot 190.**

Doris Burns (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, box 3 folder 19, file 2 of Dallas JFK Archive) "Miss Burns had the radio on and heard the motorcade was close to her location. She walked to Mr. Wilson's office on the third floor facing Elm Street. The window was open and she heard the last shot before she got to the window." **(3-19-64** statement to the FBI, 22H637) "at the time President John F. Kennedy was assassinated I was walking from my office...While walking I heard one loud noise which sounded like a shot." **(4-7-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H397-399) "I went around to American Book Co., which is the office closest to us that had a window looking out on Elm. There was nobody in there, so then I started down the hall to Allyn and Bacon. As I went down this hall towards the windows that looked out on Houston Street, I heard a shot, but I didn't think much about it. I didn't, of course, know it was a shot because when you hear tires backfire and all, they all sound alike to me, so I didn't think a thing about that... It must have been the last one because I didn't hear any more...it just sounded as though it was back of me. You see, I was going towards Houston Street. I was facing east and it sounded to me as it came toward my back." **Analysis:** Miss Burns' statements support that the final loud noise came from west of the building. **Too vague.**

Sandra Sue Elerson (11-25-63 FBI report, CD5, p. 433) "On November 22, 1963, she was assigned

for work by the Kelly Girl service at the MacMillan Company in the Texas School Book Depository Building...When the President's motorcade passed the Texas School Book Depository building, Mrs. Elerson stated that she was looking out the third floor window on the south side of the building. She saw the President turn the corner at Elm. She failed to hear any shots fired." (3-23-64 statement to the FBI, CD706, p. 29) "When President Kennedy's motorcade passed the Texas School Book Depository building, I was looking out the third floor window trying to get a view of the President's car. I am nearsighted and I am not sure if I saw the President's car. However, I did see a car turn down Elm Street from Houston Street that may have been the President's car. I was standing at the window with an elderly woman from the MacMillan Company office. I cannot recall her name. I did not hear any shots or any loud sounds that sounded like rifle fire...I learned that President Kennedy had been shot after I returned to my desk." **Analysis: too vague.**

Mrs. Edna Case (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5, p. 431) "At the time the President's motorcade passed, she advised she was on the third floor of the building at her desk. She stated that she was looking out the west side of the building and not the front. She said she had not heard the shots." (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, CD950, p.51) "The subject stated that on November 22, 1963 she was in the offices of the MacMillan Publishing Company on the third floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building at the time the Presidential motorcade was passing the building. She stated that she had only heard of the shooting after it had occurred. She stated that she did not know Lee Harvey Oswald and that, as far as he knew, she had never seen him around the building." (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, CD706, p.111) "On November 22, 1963, at the time the motorcade was passing the Texas School Book Depository Building and President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, I was at my desk on the third floor looking out the window located on the west side of the building. I did not hear any shots and the only person in the same area with me was Mrs. Sandra Elerson, who was a temporary employee with the Kelly Girls organization." **Analysis: nothing to go on. Too vague.**

Mary Ann Hollies was in the fourth floor offices of Scott Foresman Company, apparently looking out the seventh and eighth windows from the east with a woman named Alice Foster. (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, box 3, folder 19, file 11 of the Dallas JFK Archive) "At about 12:35 PM, Miss Hollies heard three shots, just as the President's car was headed down toward the triple underpass. She stated the shots sounded as if they were coming from inside the building." (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H652) "On November 22, 1963...I was standing at the window of the Scott-Foresman offices overlooking Elm Street...As the motorcade passed by I heard three shots and observed the President slump over in the automobile in which he was riding." **Analysis: she doesn't tell us anything about when this slump occurred in relation to the shots. Too vague.**

Betty Foster (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, CD706, p. 31) "When President John F. Kennedy was shot I was standing in the stockroom on the fourth floor watching the motorcade. I was with Mary Hollies...I heard something that sounded like fireworks after the President's car turned down Elm Street but I wasn't sure what it was. I did not know what had happened." **Analysis: too vague.**

Elsie Dorman (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p.34) "She stated that she had never seen Lee Harvey Oswald in the building and failed to recognize his photographs when shown on television. When the President's motorcade passed, Mrs. Dorman advised she was looking out the window on the fourth floor...It was at this time she heard sounds which sounded like shots. She felt that these shots were coming from the area of the Records Building." (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H644) "I was using my husband's camera and was not too familiar with its operation. As the motorcade turned onto Houston Street from Main Street, I started taking photographs...as the motorcade turned from Houston Street on to Elm Street I became excited and did not get any more photographs. I was at this window attempting to photograph the motorcade when I heard a noise like gunshots...I do not know Lee Harvey Oswald and have no recollection of having seen him." **Analysis: Dorman's film is one of the**

least understood or analyzed pieces of evidence surrounding the assassination. While there is a blur on the film a second or so after Rosemary Willis runs by the fountain, which could have come as a result of a shot at frame 160, Mrs. Dorman stopped filming at this time, raising the possibility the blur was caused by her stopping the film. Even so, as her film shows camera car #3 and H.B. McLain approaching Elm Street 10 seconds after we last see Miss Willis, Mrs. Dorman's film is invaluable in debunking the dictabelt evidence. **Too vague.**

Dorothy Ann Garner (3-20-64 statement to the FBI, 22H648) (I) "was watching the Presidential motorcade through a window...the fifth window from the east end of the (Texas School Book Depository) building. I recall that Mrs. Elsie Dorman was sitting next to me at that time looking out the sixth window and that Victoria Adams and Sandra Styles were both standing next to Mrs. Dorman... I recall that moments following the passing of the Presidential car I heard three loud reports which I first thought to be fireworks but only seconds later realized something had happened on the street below although at the time of the shots, the Presidential car was out of view behind a tree. I thought at the time the shots or reports came from a point to the west of the building...I do not recall ever having seen Lee Harvey Oswald at any time prior to the assassination." **Analysis:** yet another employee of the school book depository who had no recollection of Oswald whatsoever and who would therefore have had no idea what a stranger in the building would look like. **Too vague.**

Sandra K. Styles (3-19-64 statement to the FBI, 22H676) "On November 22, 1963, I was in my office at a window facing Elm Street watching the Presidential motorcade at the time President Kennedy was shot. Also present at this window with me were Dorothy Garner, Elsie Dorman, and Victoria Adams...I never knew Lee Harvey Oswald, not even by sight as an employee at the building...I heard shots but thought at the time that they were fireworks. I was unaware of the place the shots came from. I saw people running and others lie down on the ground and realized something was happening but did not know exactly what was happening. Victoria Adams and I left the office at this time, went down the back stairs, and left the building at the back door." **Analysis:** no recollection of Oswald. **Too vague.**

Victoria Adams (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p.39) "as the car...was passing, she heard three loud reports which she first thought to be fire crackers...and she believed the sound came from toward the right of the building...After the third shot she observed the car containing President Kennedy to speed up and rush away." (2-17-64 statement to the Dallas Police Department, box 3 folder 19 file 3 of the Dallas JFK Archive) "When the President got in front of us I heard someone call him and he turned. That is when I heard the first shot. I thought it was a firecracker. Then the second shot I saw the Secret Service man run to the back of the President's car. After the third shot I went out the back door." (3-23-64 statement to the FBI, 22H632) "I recall that at about 12:30 PM, just after the car carrying President Kennedy had passed on the street below, I heard three loud reports which I first thought were firecrackers...After the third shot I observed the car carrying President Kennedy speed away." (4-9-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H386-393) "I watched the motorcade... proceed around the corner on Elm, and apparently somebody in the crowd called to the late President, because he and his wife both turned abruptly and faced the building... from our vantage point we were able to see what the President's wife was wearing, the roses in the car...Then we heard—then we were obstructed from the view...A tree. And we heard a shot, and it was a pause, and then a second shot, and then a third shot. It sounded like a firecracker or a cannon at a football game, it seemed as if it came from the right below rather than from the left above." (2-2-02 interview with Barry Ernest recounted in *The Girl On The Stairs*, published 2011) "As they rounded the corner, they turned toward our building, waving and smiling. The car continued moving slowly and a tree obstructed my view. That is when I heard what I thought was a firecracker go off. As the car came back into view I saw that something was wrong and watched as Mrs. Kennedy appeared to be trying to climb out of the car." **Analysis:** Adams' testimony that she saw Kennedy suddenly turn to his right before the first shot confirms Mary Woodward's

account and that the first shot rung out around frame 190. Her mentioning a pause after the first shot, but not between the second and third suggests the last two were bunched together. **First shot 190. Last two shots bunched together.**

Ruth Smith Nelson (2-18-64 report of the Dallas Police Department, box folder 19 file 16 of the Dallas JFK Archive) "she went to the fourth window from the east side of the building facing Elm Street. She stood up and watched the motorcade. She heard the three loud reports and thought they were part of the celebration." **(3-23-64** statement to the FBI, 22H665) "at the time President John F. Kennedy was assassinated I was viewing the motorcade from the fourth window on the east side on the fourth floor along with Mrs. Yola Hopson...I did not see Lee Harvey Oswald at this time and have not to my knowledge ever seen Lee Harvey Oswald." **Analysis: too vague.**

Mrs. Yola Hopson (12-4-63 FBI report, 24H521) "she was looking out a window on the south side of the fourth floor of the TSBD Building when the motorcade of President John F. Kennedy passed in front of the building...Immediately after he passed, she heard two or more loud shots which she thought were firecrackers. She stated that she thought they had been set off on the street below...at the time she heard these shots she could not see the presidential car since there were some trees along the edge of the street which blocked her view...She stated that it did not sound to her like the shots were coming from her building...she does not know Lee Harvey Oswald and does not recall ever having seen him." **(3-19-64** statement to the FBI, 22H653) "I heard an unrecalled number of loud noises which I thought sounded like firecrackers. I could not view the position of President John F. Kennedy due to the trees in front of the building." **Analysis: too vague.**

Jack Dougherty (11-22-63 Affidavit to Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 24H206) "I had already gone back to work and I gone down on the fifth to get some stock when I heard a shot. It sounded like it was coming from inside the building but I couldn't tell from where. I went down on the first floor and asked a man named Eddie Piper if he had heard anything and he said yes, that he had heard three shots." **(11-23-63** statement to the FBI, 22H645) "I was working on the fifth floor of the building at 411 Elm Street...when I heard a loud explosion which sounded like a rifle shot coming from the next floor above me." **(12-19-63** FBI report, CD 206, p.11) "He stated that as soon as he arrived on the sixth floor, he went down to the fifth floor to get some stock...it was while he was on the fifth floor that he heard a loud noise. He said that it appeared to have come from within the building but could not tell where. He said that he went down to the first floor and saw a man, Eddie Piper, and asked if he had heard a loud noise." **(3-18-64** statement to the FBI, 22H645) "At the time President Kennedy was shot I was at a point about 10 feet from the elevator on the fifth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. I was alone at the time." **(4-8-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H373-382) "Well, when I got through getting stock off of the sixth floor, I came back down to the fifth floor...Well, then immediately I heard a loud noise---it sounded like a car backfiring, and I came back down to the first floor, and I asked Eddie Piper, I said, "Piper, what was that?" I says, "Has the President been shot?". He said, "Yes..."(When asked if he'd previously told the FBI the sound was of a rifle shot) "Well; I believe I told them it sounded like a car backfiring." (When asked if he'd said it was from the floor above him) "No." (When asked if it did sound like it came from the floor above him) "Well, at the time it did---yes." (When asked where he was when he heard this sound) "Well, I was about 10 feet from the west elevator---the west side of the elevator...I was getting some stock." **Analysis: why only one shot? Too vague.**

Since there has been virtually no support for the LPM scenario so far, one might assume that the closest witnesses, those in the windows just below the sniper's nest, would offer some support that the first shot missed, or that there was a five second gap between the second and third shots. Wrong.

James Jarman was the order checker who double-checked Oswald's orders for accuracy. Portions of his story beyond his account of the shots are presented so one can properly assess his credibility, along

with those of the two men beside him. (11-23-63 Affidavit to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, CD87 p274) "The first time I saw Lee Oswald on Friday, November 22, 1963 was about 8:15 a.m. He was filling orders on the first floor. A little after 9:00 a.m. Lee Oswald asked me what all the people were doing standing on the street. I told him that the President was supposed to come this way sometime this morning. He asked me, "Which way do you think he is coming?". I told him that the President would probably come down Main Street and turn on Houston and then go down Elm Street. He said, "Yes, I see". I only talked with him for about three or four minutes. The last time I saw Lee Oswald on Friday, November 22, 1963 was between 11:30 a.m. and 12:00 noon when he was taking the elevator upstairs to go get some boxes. At about 11:45 a.m. all of the employees who were working on the 6th floor came downstairs and we were all out on the street at about 12:00 o'clock noon. These employees were: Bill Shelley, Charles Givens, Billy Lovelady, Bonnie Ray (last name not known) and a Spanish boy (his name I cannot remember). To my knowledge Lee Oswald was not with us while we were watching the parade." (11-24-63 FBI report, CD5 p334-335) "Jarman stated that on November 22, 1963, he observed Oswald on the first floor of the TSBD Building, around 8:15 a.m. He stated Oswald had filled an order for books that was not correct and that he, himself, told Oswald to obtain the right book inasmuch as he, himself, is an order checker. He said he next saw Oswald about 9 a.m., or possibly a little later. Jarman said Oswald looked out the window and observed that people were gathering outside the building and asked him why they were there. Jarman told him the President of the United States was supposed to come by sometime that morning. He stated Oswald asked him which way the procession would be going and Jarman told him he thought probably it would be going down Main street, turning on Houston, and then on Elm street. He said he next saw Oswald between 11:30 a.m. and 12 noon, when Oswald was taking the elevator to an upper floor, at which time they had no conversation. Oswald had an order-filler pad. Jarman said that as the president passed by, he, himself, was watching the procession from a fifth floor window of the TSBD building...He said that he heard a shot and then saw President Kennedy move his right hand up to his head. After an elapse of three or four seconds, he heard a second shot and then the vehicle bearing President Kennedy speeded up and he was unable to observe any more about the presidential vehicle. He said a third shot was heard by him closely following the second shot possibly within a second or two afterwards. He said these shots sounded to him to be too loud to have been anywhere outside the TSBD building. Jarman said that he and Harold Norman and Bonnie Ray (LNU) went to the west side of the building on the fifth floor where they discussed the shots. He said they decided the shots had come from inside the building because they were too loud to have come from outside the building. He said that Harold Norman stated at that time that something had fallen from above him and that a piece of debris, in addition, had hit him in his face..." (12-7-63 Secret Service Report based on interviews conducted between 12-2 and 12-5, CD87 p785) "about 9:00 A.M., Oswald had asked Jarman why all the people were standing in front of the building. Jarman replied that the parade would probably come down Main street, turn on Houston, and then go down Elm street. Oswald's reply was 'yes, I see.' Jarman later saw Oswald taking an elevator and going up. This was after 11:30 A.M. Jarman and the other members of the floor-laying crew returned to the first floor by elevator shortly before noon for the lunch period...After eating lunch, Jarman went with Williams and Norman to the fifth floor...Jarman was standing near Williams in a front window overlooking Elm street when the parade went by and a moment later he heard three shots." (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H655) "At the time President Kennedy was shot I was at the third window from the east side on the fifth floor. I was with Harold Norman...and Bonnie Ray Williams." (3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H198-211) (On seeing Oswald earlier that day) "It was between 9:30 and 10 o'clock, I believe...In between two rows of bins...On the first floor...Well, he was standing up in the window and I went to the window also, and he asked me what were the people gathering around on the corner for, and I told him that the President was supposed to pass that morning, and he asked me did I know which way he was coming, and I told him, yes; he probably come down Main and turn on Houston and then back again on Elm. Then he said, "Oh, I see,"

and that was all." (On whether he saw Billy Lovelady out front shortly before the shooting) "Yes, sir...Standing on the stairway as you go out the front door." (On the shooting) "After the motorcade turned, going west on Elm, then there was a loud shot, or backfire, as I thought it was...A backfire or an officer giving a salute to the President. And then at that time I didn't, you know, think too much about it. And then the second shot was fired, and that is when people started falling on the ground and the motorcade car jumped forward, and then the third shot was fired right behind the second one...after the third shot was fired, I think I got up and I run over to Harold Norman and Bonnie Ray Williams, and told them, I said, I told them that it wasn't a backfire or anything, that somebody was shooting at the President...Hank said, Harold Norman, rather, said that he thought the shots had come from above us, and *I noticed that Bonnie Ray had a few debris in his head*. It was sort of white stuff, or something, and I told him not to brush it out, but he did anyway...He (Norman) said that he was sure that the shot came from inside the building because he had been used to guns and all that, and he said it didn't sound like it was too far off anyway. And so we ran down to the west side of the building...I couldn't say that I saw him actually hit, but after the second shot I presumed that he was...I saw him lean his head... (When asked from where he'd heard the shots) "I thought at first it had come from below...I am sure it came from the left. (When asked if he had any doubt that the sounds he heard were gunshots, given that he'd had 8 years in the military) "Not after the second shot." (When asked at what point he realized the shots came from above) "After we had ran down to this last window on the west side of the building, and we was discussing it. And then *after I got to thinking about all the debris on Bonnie Ray's head*, and I thought about that, also. And so I told Hank, I say, "That shot probably did come from upstairs, up over us," and Hank said, "I know it did, because I could hear the action of the bolt, and I could hear the cartridges drop on the floor." And I told him there we better get the hell from up here. (Interview with CBS, aired 6-25-67) (On seeing Oswald earlier in the day) "I was talking to him around ten o'clock. On the outside of the building, some people had gathered. And he asked me what was they gathering around out there for, and I told him that the President was supposed to come by there that morning. And he asked me what time, and I didn't know what time it would be but some of the people had started gathering around. And he asked me which way would the President be coming, and I told him. And so he said, "Oh, yeah?" And I said "Yeah." Then he turned and walked off." (9-25-77 HSCA interview) "when the motorcade arrived, and just as it was turned to go west under the triple under pass, that's when I heard what sounded like a backfire to me and, I counted the times that it backfired, and it was three times and then, after that, after I heard this second or third backfire, in which I thought it was--the president then, he reached up to his temple like, and I thought he was brushing his hair back, but then, I realized someone was shooting at him, then we ran to the west side of the building to see which way the motorcade was going to go then, and the limousine that he was in, it took off at a high rate of speed, so we ran back to the center of the building, and *I noticed that Harold Norman had a bunch of debris in his head, which I imagine was dust from above, upstairs there on the sixth floor, and told Bonnie Ray, I said 'Man, you see all that debris in Hank's hair,' he said 'yeah man' Hank said 'Man them shots came from upstairs, what we gone do?'*" (When asked from where he thought the shots were coming) "Well, I thought it was out on the street at first." (On Oswald's reaction earlier in the day after he'd been told why the crowd was gathering outside) "He just said, 'Oh, I see,' and went on and walked away." (When asked the number of mistakes Oswald had made that day) "I'd say about three or four." (When asked what floors Oswald worked on) "First, fifth, sixth, seventh." (When asked the time of Oswald's last mistake) "11:25, 11:30, then he went and got the book and brought it back and that was the last time I saw him inside the building." (When asked if a stranger could have walked into the depository building and made it to the sixth floor without being noticed) "Very easily." **Analysis:** as Jarman heard the last two shots close together and saw both Kennedy "lean his head" and people fall to the ground after the second shot, he is a strong witness that the last shot was fired after the head shot. Jarman's story is inconsistent on other points, however. Apparently, he couldn't remember upon whose head he saw the "debris" after the shots. He also told the HSCA that he saw Oswald on the first floor

after he'd taken the elevator upstairs around 11:30--something he'd previously never admitted, or remembered. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together (with the last shot after the head shot).**

Bonnie Ray Williams (11-22-63 affidavit to Dallas County, 24H229) "Just after we got on the fifth floor we saw the President coming around the corner on Houston from Main Street. I heard 2 shots it sounded like they come from just above us. We ran to the west side of the building." **(11-23-63** FBI report, CD5 p330-333) "Then he joined two other men known to him as Hank and Junior. They were looking out windows on the south side of the building approximately at the middle of the building and saw the car of President John Kennedy come north on Houston Street and then make a turn going west on Elm Street down into the triple underpass directly in front of the Texas School Book Depository. While they were watching this car pass, Williams heard two shots which sounded like they came from right over his head...He stated he and the other two men ran to the west end of the building where they looked out and they did not realize the President had been shot." **(12-7-63** Secret Service Report based on interviews conducted between 12-2 and 12-5, CD87 p784) "he can recall having heard only two shots. He felt that the shots came from the sixth floor but he did not hear the shells fall to the floor nor did he hear the bolt action of the rifle." **(3-19-64** statement to the FBI, 22H681) "As the presidential motorcade passed by the building on Elm Street below I heard three shots which sounded like they came from directly above me. At first I thought the noises I heard were firecrackers. *I looked up when little pieces of cement hit me on the head*, but saw no one. I did not know that President John F. Kennedy had been shot. When I saw all of the confusion on the street below I ran to the west end of the building to get a better view. Hank and Junior who were on the floor with me also ran to the west end of the building."

(3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H161-184) "After the President's car the last thing I remember seeing him do, you know—it seemed to me he had a habit of pushing his hair back. The last thing I saw him do was he pushed his hand up like this. I assumed he was brushing his hair back. And then the thing that happened then was a a loud shot—first I thought they were saluting the President, somebody even maybe a motorcycle backfire. The first shot—there was two shots rather close together. The second and the third shot was closer together than the first shot and the second shot, as I remember...the first shot—I really did not pay much attention to it, because I did not know what was happening. The second shot it sounded like it was right in the building, the second and third shot. And it sounded—it even shook the building...Harold was sitting next to me...He said it came directly over our heads...I can even hear the shell being ejected from the gun hitting the floor...I heard three shots, but at first I told the FBI I only heard two--they took me down--because I was excited, and I couldn't remember too well. But later on, as everything began to die down, I got my memory even a little better than on the 22nd. I remembered three shots, because there was a pause between the first two shots. There was two real quick. There was three shots." (Interview with CBS, broadcast **9-27-64**) "The last thing I saw the President do was push his hair back, and the only comments made about the President were that his tan was beautiful, and also that his health was looking good that day." (On what happened after people started falling on the ground) "So we said, "Well, somebody's shooting at the President." And then—at first we didn't believe it, because it just seemed so untrue, you know—and then the other fellow, Harold Norman, said, "Yes, I believe he's been shot at." (Interview with CBS broadcast on **6-25-67**, additional portions broadcast in 1992) "When the President came around, we remember seeing him standing up and waving. And then when he turned to go down Elm Street we heard a shot and we saw the President slump. And then after we saw him slump, we said--I think one guy, I don't remember which one it was-- said "I believe they're shooting at the President and I believe it came from right up over us."...Prior to that we'd decided they were firecrackers and everything, y'now." (When asked how many shots) "I heard three. The first and the second were further apart than the second and the third. In other words there was a bang and a bang-bang." **Analysis:** as Williams

initially mentioned but two shots, it seems obvious he only recalled hearing two clear shots. After being told by everyone there were three shots, and given time to analyze how the shots sounded, however, he switched to saying the last two shots were very close together (so close together that he referred to them as an "it" in his Warren Commission testimony). He said they were "bangbang". Whether he only heard two shots or whether the last shots were simply bunched together, however, doesn't matter, as far as our analysis of the LPM scenario goes, as both suggest there was more than one shooter in Dealey Plaza. Williams was only ten feet from the sniper's nest and yet he heard only two bursts of gunfire! His statement that the last thing he saw Kennedy do was push his hand up is probably a reference to Kennedy's wave circa Z-190. He would have to have seen Kennedy for several seconds past Z-140, when Kennedy last brushed back his hair. Williams' original affidavit is also intriguing, as it suggests he was trying to hide that he'd been on the sixth floor. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots bunched together.**

Harold Norman (11-26-63 FBI report, CD5 p26) (On seeing Oswald earlier in the day) "He further stated he cannot recall whether he saw Oswald at the Texas School Book Depository during Friday, November 22, 1963." (On the shooting) "He stated that about the time the car in which the president was riding turned on to Elm Street, he heard a shot. He said he thought the shot had been fired from the floor directly above him. *He further stated at that time he stuck his head from the window and looked upward toward the roof but could see nothing because small particles of dirt were falling from above him.* He stated two additional shots were fired after he had pulled his head back in from the window." (12-4-63 affidavit to the Secret Service, 17H208) (On seeing Oswald earlier that day) "On November 22, 1963, to the best of my memory, the last time I saw him was about 10:00AM when we were both working on the first floor of the building. I did not speak to him at that time." (On the shooting) "Just after the President passed by I heard a shot and several seconds later, I heard two more shots. I knew that the shots had come from directly above me, and I could hear the expended cartridges fall to the floor. I could also hear the bolt action of the rifle. I also saw some dust fall from the ceiling of the fifth floor and I felt sure that whoever fired the shots was directly above me. I saw all of the people down on the street run toward the west side of the building, so I went to that side with Williams and Jarman." (12-7-63 Secret Service Report based on interviews conducted between 12-2 and 12-5, CD87 p783) "Just after the President passed their position, Norman heard a shot fired and several seconds later, he heard two more shots spaced closely together. Norman claims that he knew immediately that the shots had come from directly above his position, since he heard the bolt action of the rifle and he also heard the expended shells fall to the floor. Norman also claims that some dust fell from the ceiling of the fifth floor which convinced him that there was some type of activity taking place directly above him." (3-18-64 statement to the FBI, 22H666) "I was with James Jarman and Bonnie Ray Williams watching the motorcade bearing President John F. Kennedy pass the Texas School Book Depository Building when I heard three shots fired from, I believe, the floor directly above me." (3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 3H186-198) (On seeing Oswald earlier that day) (I saw him) "around about 10 or 10:15, somewhere in the neighborhood of that...Over in the bins by the windows, I mean looking out, you know, at Elm Street, towards Elm Street...(On) The first (floor)...I was looking out the window. He happened to come by to fill orders." (When asked if he said anything to Oswald and if Oswald had said anything to him) "No, he didn't...No" (On who else was out front when he and Jarman went outside) "Well, I believe Billy Lovelady, I think. He was sitting on the steps there." (On the shooting) "About the time that he got past the window where I was, well, it seems as though he was, I mean you know, brushing his hair. Maybe he was looking at the public...I can't remember what the exact time was but I know I heard a shot, and then after I heard a shot, well, it seems as though the President, you know, slumped or something, and then another shot and I believe Jarman or someone told me, he said "I believe someone is shooting at the President," and I think I made a statement "it is someone shooting at the President, and I believe it came from up above us. Well, I couldn't see at all during the time but I

know I heard a third shot fired, and I could also hear something sounded like the shell hulls hitting the floor and the ejecting of the rifle." (When asked if he saw any dirt or dust falling) "*I didn't see any falling but I saw some in Bonnie Ray Williams hair...* I believe Jarman told him that it was in his hair first. Then I, you know, told him it was and I believe Jarman told him not to brush it out his hair but I think he did anyway." (When asked what happened after that) "Well, we ran to the farthest window facing the expressway."

(Interview with CBS aired **9-27-64**) "Then the motorcade got to Elm and it turned and it started towards the triple underpass. The President, he was waving at people as he went by and occasionally he would brush his hair back." (Later in the same broadcast) "When I heard the second shot that's when I saw the people start falling on the ground." (Later in the same broadcast) "But before the third shot was fired I told the guys that, you know, I believed the shot came from the building above us. And eventually, I guess, they agreed with me, because one of the guys said 'I believe you're right.' And I said 'I know I'm right' because I could hear something sound as though the shells were hitting the floor and I could hear the ejection of the rifle, clicks like that, you know." (Later in the same broadcast) "Well, I was looking out the window and the first shot was fired. Well, y'know, I didn't think much of it, because it, shook the building a little bit. Really, it was just that powerful. Then after the second shot was fired, well, I saw the people. They were all falling on the ground. And I told one of the fellows. I say, 'That shot came from this building.' And then by that time I heard the third shot. And one of the guys told me, he said, 'I believe you're right.' And I say 'I know it did.' And then I could, you know, also hear the hulls, empty hulls, the cartridges, hitting the floor, and I could hear the ejection of the rifle, whatever it was. And the first thing we thought is we better get down from here because I know I didn't want to be involved in anything like that because I didn't have anything like that on my mind..." (Late 1966 interview with Lawrence Schiller recounted in *The Scavengers and the Critics of the Warren Report*, published **1967**) "When the President came around, he was waving, seemed to be happy. About that time I heard a shot, and one of the guys said 'Somebody's shooting at the President.' And I said : 'Well, he sure is, because I know that's a shot.' And another shot was fired. Then another shot. I saw the President slump over and the Secret Service men and the policemen, they seemed to not recognize where the shots came from. There was a passenger train over by the railroad track and everybody was running that way. That's where they thought the shots came from at first. But I knew it was someone, the shots came from above us. I didn't know who it was or where but I know they were above us because I could even hear the cartridges hitting the floor and I knew the shots came from above...They were right over me. I was sitting almost directly under the window that the shots came from and I could hear them very plainly...*One of the guys, some of the debris had dropped one one of the fellows' head, in his hair, and he mentioned it to the other fellow and we looked and there it was, in his hair.*" (Interview with CBS broadcast **6-25-67**, additional portions broadcast in 1992) (On seeing Oswald earlier that day) "On that particular morning there were three or four of us standing by the window, and Oswald came over and said, 'what's everybody looking at, what's everybody excited about?' And so I - we told him we was waiting on the President. So he just snudged up and walked away." (On the shooting) "And then I think about that time, Jarman says 'Somebody's shooting at the President.' And I told Jarman, I said 'I know it is' because I could hear it being above me and I could hear the shots and everything. And I could even now hear the empty cartridge hit the floor I mean after the shots had been fired. And so, after the shots were fired, well all the officers and everyone else seemed to think it came from down the track down by the underpass cause that's where everyone ran over thatta way. But just like I've said, I've been hunting enough to know the sound of a rifle from a backfire or a firecracker, especially this close to me." (When asked how many shots he heard) "Three. I'd say just about like this BOOM...click click...BOOM...click clickBOOM. Something similar to that."

(**10-20-77** HSCA interview) (On seeing Oswald earlier in the day) "Well a few more friends of mine,

we were over by the window, main entrance coming into the building, and we were looking out and he came over and made the statement to us and asked what was everybody excited about because the president was coming to town." (On Oswald's behavior after making out that the president's visit was nothing to get excited about) "he left, and I never did pay him much, no attention." (When asked a bit later if he saw Oswald come in to work) "No...There's one thing I do recall now was when he ask us what was everybody so excited about the president coming to town. Then when he turn around to leave, you know how a kid would do when he's playing cowboys and Indians?...He did like this: 'pow.'" (When asked if he meant that Oswald behaved as if he were a "cowboy firing two guns") "Yes." (On the shooting) "just as the motorcade came around...3 shots was fired...Boom, clack-clack, boom, clack-clack, boom. One at a time. I see the President fall back and do high hand." (When asked if that was in response to the first shot) "No, I didn't think it was the first shot. I can't recall. (When asked if he saw the president react to the first shot) "No, I didn't because I really didn't know who was shooting--who somebody was shooting at. I mean, I heard the shots, but not thinking that, you know, that that was what was happening--that the president had been hit." (When asked from where he thought the shots were being fired) "From right up above me, up on the fifth floor. And I knew the shots had to be on the 6th floor, you know, on top of the roof." (When asked if heard any cartridges fall) "I heard three." (When asked if Jarman had pointed out any debris in his hair) "Yes...I didn't feel it. It was just something that must have been lightly--debris. It wasn't nothing, you know, that I really could feel...I feel like it was coming from either somebody moving around or something that had to cause the debris to fall down in my hair like that." (When asked again from where he thought the shots were being fired) "Well, I myself, I knew all the time that they came from above, why you could just hear it, I mean, you know, you know somebody's up there..." (On the comments of Jarman and Williams, after they ran to the west side) "Well, at one time somebody made a statement that someone was shooting at the president or they thought someone was shooting at the president. And I think I made the statement 'Yes, I know somebody is shooting at him.'" (When asked if he saw the president hit) "Well, I feel like that he had been hit. I mean I feel like this because I only--he went back in some type of way, he did his hand or something, I don't know if he was falling or reaching for it or what, but I felt like that he had been hit there." (11-09-83 AP article found in the Indiana Gazette) "I didn't see the gun barrel but I did see the debris that fell in one of my friend's hair. *I could hear a gun going off above us, and the debris fell each time there was a shot,*" said Norman. *The debris was dust and tiny pieces of concrete broken loose by the concussion of the rifle, he said.* "I sure do see that scene — sometimes pretty regularly. Sometimes I'll be driving down the street and thinking about it," he said. "I can close my eyes and see President Kennedy again. One minute he's smiling and waving and then he's slumped back and wounded." Norman said he never believed a conspiracy was involved in the assassination, but he also never fully believed his coworker —Oswald—was the trigger man. 'I won't say he did it,' Norman said. 'I just won't.'" (7-23-86 testimony in a televised mock trial, On Trial: Lee Harvey Oswald) "Well, I heard a shot when the motorcade came by. The first shot, it made the President slump. Then I heard two more shots." (When asked if he heard a total of three shots) "Yes, sir." (When asked how he could tell the shots came from above) "Yes, sir...Because I could hear the empty hulls--that's what I call them--hit the floor and I could hear the bolt action of the rifle being pushed back and forward." (When asked how many hulls he heard hit the floor) "Three." (When asked by the defense to describe the rhythm of the sounds) "As I recall, the rhythm of the sounds of the shots was Boom! Click, click. Boom! Click, click. Boom! Click, click." (When asked by the defense if he thought there was an armed man directly above him) "I can't say that I thought that." (When asked if he thought there was somebody up there) "I thought there was somebody up there, sir." (1-19-92 interview with Gerald Posner, reported in Case Closed, 1993) "When the first shot came, I heard boom, then click-click, boom, click-click, boom. I could hear the sound of the click. I could hear the sound of the shells hitting the floor. I could hear everything. Three shots. No doubt in my mind." (6-13-93 Interview with PBS Frontline) (On seeing Oswald earlier in the day) "We were looking out towards Elm Street, so he walked up and asked us,

said, "What is everybody looking for? What's everybody waiting on?" So we told him we was waiting on the President to come by. He put his hands in his pocket and laughed and walked away, so I don't know where he went, or if he went upstairs or downstairs or where." (On the sound of the shots) "We was sitting on the fifth floor, directly under the sixth floor windows. The shots came from above and there was a gun and the shots were sounding, "Boom! Click, click. Boom! Click, click. Boom! Click, click." So there was three shots fired right up over us when we were sitting on the fifth floor." (Intriguingly, the transcription of the first part of this Frontline interview, when published in Gus Russo's 1998 book *Live by the Sword*, had a few extra lines.) In Russo's transcription, between Norman's saying Oswald "laughed and walked away" and his saying "I don't know where he went" he says "I thought maybe he's just being happy that morning or something. He was glad the President was coming through. He acted as though he didn't know, but I kind of think he did know." (Russo's transcription of the second part of the interview, in which Norman describes the shots, was also considerably different than the interview shown on TV, and far more expansive.) "At the time of the shooting, James Jarman and myself were on the fifth floor. Somehow he (Bonnie Ray Williams) lost us. But he did come down to find us just before the motorcade came through. So he joined us and we pulled up some cartons, standing in the window waiting on the motorcade. And as the motorcade came by, we started looking and we had a good view. And all of a sudden, we hear something. 'Boom, ack, ack, boom, ack, ack, boom.' I told Jarman, 'I believe somebody's shooting at the President.' And he said, 'Yeah, that certainly sounds like it.' *And then by this time we looked over and there was some debris or dirt or something fell on top of Jarman's head.* And that was three of the shells I heard on the floor. And when the police officer asked about it, we told them about it and they went up there and that is what they found up there on the sixth floor. Three empty cartridge shells up there." (Article by Bill Hendricks in the San Antonio Express News, as found in the **11-20-93** Moscow-Pullman Daily News) "Norman was a 25-year old employee at the Texas School Book Depository when Kennedy was shot to death Nov 22 1963. One of his co-workers was Lee Harvey Oswald, whom police later arrested as a suspect in the killing. Now, 30 years later, Norman is unemployed, although he sells copies of JFK Today, a tabloid-sized newspaper for \$3 a copy to tourists at Dealey Plaza...'I knew him,' Norman said of Oswald--but not well. The two never talked, except to exchange a brief greeting. Norman recalled seeing Oswald shortly before the president's motorcade reached Dealey Plaza. That was on the fifth floor of the depository, Norman noted, adding that he and another worker, James Jarman, were leaning out of a window with a view of Dealey Plaza. 'He walked over to us and asked what we were doing,' Norman said of Oswald. 'We said we were waiting for the president's motorcade. He laughed and walked away.' A few minutes later, Norman said, he heard three shots fired from the sixth floor window directly above the one he was using to view the parade."

Analysis: as Norman's earliest statements indicate he heard three booms but only one or two shells ejected (Williams quoted him as saying "shell"), his words leave open the possibility that only two shots were fired from directly above him. As he testified to two shots—a first one that hit—and a second one that was apparently the last shot, and then back-tracked and said "I couldn't see at all at the time but I know I heard a third shot fired" it certainly seems his memory of this third shot is unclear. As Bonnie Ray Williams initially left out a shot altogether, there's reason to believe Norman barely remembered this same shot. As Norman's earliest statements mention "two additional shots" and "two more shots," without mention of a five second gap between them, and as the Secret Service noted that he'd said they were "spaced closely together", it certainly seems reasonable to assume he initially thought these last two shots were close together. There was so much talking going on amongst the three men on the fifth floor, however, that it's hard to say for sure. What one can say for sure, thanks to Norman's second CBS interview of 9-27-64, is that he agreed with Jarman that people hit the dirt after the second shot. As the Zapruder film and the statements of the eyewitnesses indicate that no one hit the dirt till after the head shot, this indicates he heard a shot after the head shot. Finally, while some use

Norman's latter day statements as proof that all three shots came from above, they fail to mention that Norman said he could only tell that the shots came from above by the sound of the hulls hitting the floor, and that he didn't quantify the number of clicks of the rifle or hulls falling to the floor as three until many years after the shooting. They also fail to reveal that Norman has repeatedly changed his story. Between March and September 1964 Norman changed his story about whether it was he or Jarman who first said the shots came from above. In 1967 he changed it back, only to change it back again in the Frontline interview cited by Russo. Far stranger, Norman testified to a discussion regarding debris on Bonnie Ray Williams' head; he then told the HSCA the debris discussed was on his own head, he then told Frontline it was on James Jarman's head. Far worse, on 11-26-63 Norman denied even seeing Oswald on the 22nd, only to change his story by March 64 and testify that he saw him around 10 O'clock but did not speak to him, only to modify his story yet again and tell CBS, the HSCA, and Frontline that he not only saw him but was with a group of people that spoke to him. Even worse, he told the HSCA that Oswald had simulated a gunfight as he walked off from this group. This is something one would be unlikely to forget. So then why did he tell Frontline that Oswald had put his hands in his pockets at this time? And why did he, in his 1993 interview with Hendricks, indicate he'd spoken to Oswald on the fifth floor shortly before the shots were fired? The constant changes in Norman's story, whether simple misunderstandings or deliberate deceptions, reveal Norman to be unreliable, and thus no witness upon which to build a case.

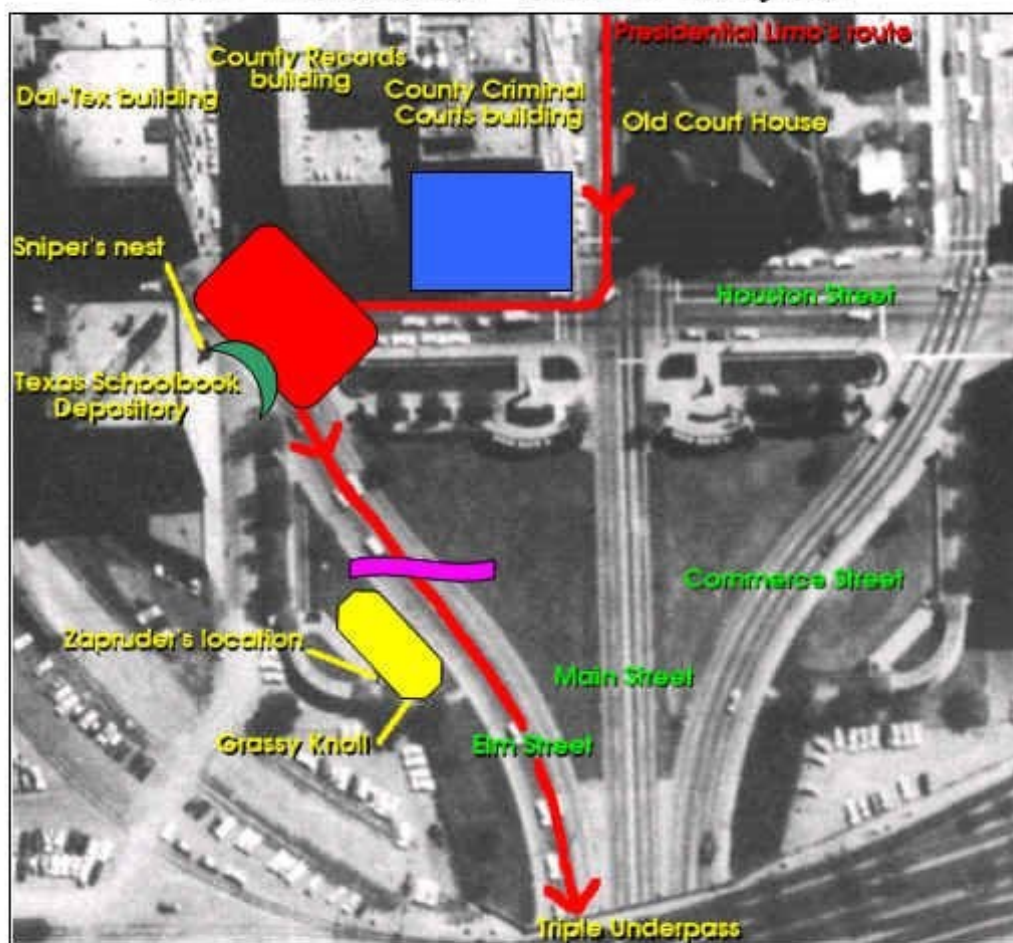
Which could explain Frontline's editing of his interview... Unless Russo made up the transcript in his book, Norman, with this interview, not only changed his story yet again as to who first said the shots had come from above, but on whose head debris had fallen. More significantly, he changed his description of the shots between takes from "boom ack ack boom ack ack boom" to "boom click click boom click click boom click click." Having the sound end with a "click click," of course, suggests that the sniper ejected a third bullet, and re-chambered a fourth, which fits the single-assassin scenario. (If only two click-clicks were heard, it would be hard to explain how three shots could have been fired, and three bullets found on the floor). One can only wonder, then, if someone "coached" Norman to add this extra click-click back into his story between takes.

Norman's statements to Frontline are intriguing for yet another reason. As there are no edits in between Norman's lines in the first part of the televised interview, and Russo's transcription of the first part of the interview has three sentences between "walked away" and "I don't know," we can assume that either 1) Russo, who'd worked on the program, had access to an alternate take of the interview (as suggested by his widely divergent transcription of the second part of the interview), or 2) Russo invented these lines to help sell his theory that Oswald was eagerly anticipating Kennedy's arrival, so he could kill him. As the second part of the interview as published by Russo is so damaging to Norman's credibility, I believe we should suspect the former. **First shot hit 190-224. Last two shots probably bunched together, with the last shot after the head shot.**

Chapter 9: Piecing It All Together

An analysis of the eyewitness statements, and reasons to suspect that others had reached a similar conclusion

The Witnesses: Final Analysis



Above: an overhead view of Dealey Plaza. The significance of the colored shapes is explained below.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

The Witnesses: Final Analysis

And now the moment we've been waiting for (at least the moment I've been waiting for)...the results of our eyewitness analysis. With 55 witnesses to the south of Elm Street, 69 witnesses in the motorcade, and 145 assorted witnesses on the railroad bridge, along Elm Street, or in the School Book Depository, we've looked at the words of 269 witnesses to see if they add up to something. Of this **269**, **72** failed to tell us much that would indicate how the shots were fired. Of the remaining 197, **99** made statements suggesting there were three shots fired, with the first shot being heard between Z-190 and Z-224 and the last 2 shots being heard in rapid succession after a short pause. Another **53** made statements suggesting that the first shot was heard between Z-190 and Z-224, but made no statements indicating the last two shots were bunched together. Another **13** heard the last two shots fired closely together, and yet **another** could only swear to hearing two shots, but thought there may have been a third, which was wholly consistent with the last two being fired closely together. This means that 166 of the 197 witnesses described the shots in a relatively consistent manner. Of the remaining 31, **18** heard four or more shots, and another **3** made statements indicating there was a shot after the head shot. This leaves just **10** witnesses whose statements can reasonably be seen as supporting the shooting scenario theorized by John Lattimer, Gerald Posner and Dale Myers. And **8** of these 10, once their

words are compared to the various photographs and films, can be used to argue for a different scenario. This leaves just 2 witnesses who can be used to support the LPM scenario over other scenarios—Mrs. Robert Reid and Geneva Hine—and Reid testified in a manner supporting that the first shot was fired after frame 160. This, then, leaves Hine as the sole unblemished supporter of the scenario, and she didn't even see the impact of the shots. She merely described the shooting in a manner more consistent with a first shot at frame 160 than at 190. That's it. The TV simulations depicting a first shot miss and a five second gap between the second and third shots are therefore incredibly at odds with the available evidence. No matter how many shooters fired on the motorcade, no matter who fired the fatal bullet, the statements of the eyewitnesses indicate THE SHOOTING DID NOT HAPPEN AS PURPORTED BY LATTIMER, POSNER, MYERS, AND NOW, BUGLIOSI.

In defense of the LPM theory, one might venture that those who believed they heard two shots almost on top of each other really heard echoes on the third shot, and simply missed the first shot altogether. But, if this were the case, they should have heard echoes on the second shot as well and concluded there were 4 shots. Moreover, that 24 of the 26 earwitnesses back at Houston and Main who told us anything of value heard the second two shots bunched together is indicative that this is how the shots actually were fired, as Houston and Main was nearly equidistant from the grassy knoll, the Dal-Tex, and the Texas School Book Depository, the possible sniper locations of most frequent speculation. Should one wish to believe that the excitement caused by the shots led these earwitnesses to perceive the shots as having been fired closer together than they really were, one should be reminded that this conclusion directly contradicts all that we know about the effect of stress on human memory. According to Dr. Elizabeth Loftus in her online paper Juror Understanding of Eyewitness Testimony, "People have a strong tendency to overestimate the duration of a stressful event." Attempts to measure this tendency show that people will often interpret the duration of a stressful event as being twice as long as its actual time. As most of the witnesses to Kennedy's assassination were initially unaware that the first loud noise was a shot, for them to say the last two shots were closer together than this first noise and the second shot, is therefore indicative that the last two shots were *extremely* close together. To clarify, as Dr. Loftus' research indicates that the time between these last two shots would most logically have been overestimated, the probability is that, as close together as many witnesses placed these shots, they were *even closer*. And yet this simple piece of information is little understood by the public at large. In a study by Yarmey and Jones quoted online by Dr. Loftus, it was found that 95% of the psychologists and legal experts surveyed understood that witnesses routinely overestimate the lengths of events, while less than 50% of the public shared this understanding.

So what actually did happen? Obviously that's a bit more difficult to demonstrate. In the initial phase of this research, in earlier versions of this presentation, I identified five areas of interest. We shall now examine these five areas in greater detail.

Areas 1 and 2. While roughly 90% of the witnesses heard three shots or less, and less than 10% heard four shots or more, 7 of the 17 motorcade observers nearest the corner of Houston and Elm (the **red** rectangle) said they initially thought they'd heard four shots. When one compares this to the statements of those on the northwest corner of Houston and Main, just a block away (the **blue** rectangle), where better than 25 witnesses said they heard three shots or less, and a big fat zero said four, this raises the possibility some sort of sound-suppressed weapon was fired near Houston and Elm. Since all but one of the 40 witnesses or so inside or directly in front of the Texas School Book Depository, on the west side of Houston, reported hearing three shots or less, the likelihood is that the source of this possible fourth shot was on the east side of Houston, either the Dal-Tex Building or the County Records Building. In accordance with this deduction is that the one witness in front of the Depository to hear more than three shots, James Worrell, was the one closest to the corner. That the Dal-Tex Building, where Jim Braden, a mystery man with a long criminal record and purported mob ties, was arrested after the assassination, is

a likely source for a fourth shot, is especially intriguing. Amazingly, not one witness inside the Dal-Tex Building, and only a handful outside, was interviewed by the FBI. As to why people on the corner of Houston and Elm could hear a silenced shot so much better than others, there could be two factors: one, they were the closest to the Dal-Tex,; and two, they were to the left of bullets fired from the sniper's nest. This meant they heard the muzzle blast as bullets were fired, but not the shock wave as they passed overhead. These two factors would minimumise the difference in volume between a shot fired from the book depository and a suppressed shot fired from the Dal-Tex Building to a greater degree than elsewhere.

Area 3. While many conspiracy theorists believe an extra shot came from the grassy knoll (the **yellow** hexagon), when one looks at the earwitness testimony, one finds that of the 11 witnesses nearest the stockade fence on the north side of Elm, 2 of the witnesses heard only three shots—*the other 9 heard only two!* That one of the three shots heard by others in the plaza was significantly softer than the other two, or that the sounds of the motorcade blocked out the sound of one of the shots is refuted by both the simulations conducted by the HSCA and the fact that those standing at Houston and Main, directly adjacent to the middle of the motorcade and a block away from the shots, almost unanimously heard three shots. To wit, the firing of a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle is reputed to be much louder than even a siren, as decibels are recorded on a similar scale as earthquakes, whereby a ten decibel increase represents a ten-fold increase in power, and a Mannlicher-Carcano was tested at 137 decibels, compared to a loud siren's 120. Adding to this mystery of the two-shot witnesses is that the only witnesses in the Elm Street section of the motorcade to say they heard two shots were in the vicinity of the grassy knoll when the fatal shot arrived. It seems, therefore, that it was the location of these witnesses that somehow prevented from hearing one of the shots.

After spending a day at the library reading books on hearing, I began to understand the scientific principles underlying the possibility of two shots closely spaced together in time but coming from different directions “blurring” into one shot in the minds of those in the middle. As it turns out, the human ear is a far from accurate recording device and has a tendency to “flinch” in self-defense when exposed to sudden loud noise. This “flinching” not only hides other lesser noises beneath the loud noise but it blocks out lesser sounds for up to a fifth of a second (3-4 frames of the Zapruder film) afterwards and can prevent sounds that preceded the loud noise by up to 20 ms (less than one frame) from even being processed by the brain. This phenomenon is written about extensively in books on hearing, and the specialized field of Psychoacoustics, and is known as masking, with simultaneous masking occurring when one sound buries another when the sounds overlap and temporal masking occurring when a louder sound blocks out a preceding or succeeding sound. Significantly, the length of the masking after the end of the noise is proportionate to the length of the original noise, and the degree to which the two sounds share tones. Consequently, a gunshot would be more likely to block out another gunshot than a woman's scream. Furthermore, when one considers that the human brain will automatically fill in short silent spaces between similar tones so that the tones sound like one long sound rather than two shorter bursts, then it becomes clear that those hearing two shots close together would most likely interpret them as one shot. (Indeed, this may explain why the shots “lingered” in the air for some back at Houston and Elm.)

I'm not the first to suspect that shots blurred together. Senator Ralph Yarborough lobbied the HSCA to study this very issue. In his 12-27-78 letter to Chairman Louis Stokes, he wrote: “I have been on hunting trips a number of times when two hunters, neither knowing that the other hunter was firing, fire simultaneously at game, each thinking that they had killed it, each hearing only one explosion. With those experiences in mind, what I recommended to someone of the Committee staff (whom I took from our phone conversation to know nothing about gunfire) was that firing from the Texas School Book Depository window and the grassy knoll be synchronized and be made simultaneously, with proper

listening devices at all proper points, in an effort to see if science, so applied, would throw any light on the doubts which increase with the years, as to the accuracy of the Warren Commission Report. My recommendation may never have gotten past the person on your staff to whom it was given, as that person seemed not to understand it.” While a small fortune was spent studying the acoustical characteristics of Dealey Plaza, the tests outlined by Yarborough were never conducted.

Areas 4 and 5. In my earlier research, I made marks on a copy of a surveyor’s plat of Dealey Plaza. I plotted the origin of the shots as determined by 120 witnesses: 33 witnesses seemed to indicate the TSBD; 21 witnesses seemed to indicate the TSBD, but could also have been referring to the other buildings at Houston and Elm; 44 seemed to indicate an area west of the TSBD, including the grassy knoll; 6 seemed to indicate an area west of the TSBD *or* the TSBD; 10 seemed to indicate shots came from both behind the limousine towards Houston and Elm and in front of the limousine towards the grassy knoll and the railroad bridge; and 6 seemed to indicate neither the area west of the TSBD nor the TSBD itself. I removed some from the list when they either changed their story or gave conflicting stories at the time. There were quite a few surprises. Perhaps the main surprise was that, while much has been made of the fact that so few heard shots from more than one location, there were three men in the Secret Service car behind the President (and virtually equidistant between the TSBD and the knoll area) who heard shots from both behind and in front. This is significant and seems to have been overlooked by most researchers. That there were two additional witnesses who heard shots from both the west and the east standing in the crowd nearby, and that these five witnesses are almost in a line with one another (the **pink** belt) only adds to their credibility (although the two additional witnesses’ credibility on their own is poor). It is especially remarkable since each of these witnesses, without variance, heard the first shot fired from behind the limousine, near the TSBD, and heard the last shot fired from somewhere to the west. Another surprise was that by a decisive score of 13 to 4 more witnesses standing in front of the TSBD (the **green** crescent) thought shots came from somewhere west of the TSBD than from the TSBD. This goes against the argument that those in Dealey Plaza who thought shots came from the knoll were simply confused by “echoes,” as echoes would have been heard with a slight delay and at a substantially lower volume than the shots directly overhead. That virtually every one of these witnesses heard three shots as opposed to four or six is an additional argument against their merely being confused by echoes

When one reads a rarely-cited HSCA analysis of the way gunshots are heard in Dealey Plaza, one can see for oneself that it is indeed fairly easy to distinguish shots from echoes in Dealey Plaza. The writer of this report, Harvard Psychophysics Professor David Green, makes a point of stating that although his hearing was impaired in his left ear, and he was unable to hear the echoes with the clarity of the trained observers, he was nonetheless able to localize the shots based on their initial blast with a similar degree of accuracy as the experts. In the report, the trained observers state that there is a strong echo from the Post Office Annex on the south side of the plaza that comes a second after a shot fired from the TSBD. They said it was readily distinguishable as an echo, but that someone on the knoll hearing this echo might misinterpret the original source of the sound as coming from an area directly behind himself. OK, so that could be an explanation as to why the witnesses on the knoll were incorrect, but what about those in front of the TSBD? Well, the report goes on to say that it would be difficult for someone standing in front of the TSBD to immediately localize a sound high overhead, and that some of the witnesses may have localized on a subsequent echo coming 8/10 of a second later from the area of the overpass “*especially if the rifle had been fired from well within the TSBD.*”

This disclaimer indicates that Dr. Green didn’t really believe his offered explanation, as he knew or should have known that the rifle in the TSBD was seen sticking out the window and that the window was not open sufficiently high enough for someone to fire from back inside the building. Similarly, since the theoretical ability of a lone sniper to shoot accurately from this window is based upon his use

of the boxes stacked in front of the window for support, this statement argues against a lone gunman's ability to shoot 3 accurate shots from the sniper's nest without his giving away his position to a far greater degree than actually occurred. This disclaimer, therefore, can be taken as yet another argument for shots or sounds coming from more than one location, as a lone sniper shooting from the sixth floor window should have been more readily identifiable. Indeed, in his 9-11-78 appearance before the committee, Green made this point abundantly clear.

Early in his testimony, he offered: *"when you are situated immediately under the Texas School Book Depository, which was our general location for the second sequence of shots, two things are rather confusing. First of all, the N wave comes right over your head so you tend to localize the source directly over your head or on occasion you directly localize the source in whatever direction you were facing. You could, for example, move your head into different directions. I once looked down Elm Street in this direction fairly well convinced that the sound came from this direction, and the other observers did likewise, pointed their heads in different directions and said that that influenced their judgments. Also when you are in this location the sound sweeps down the building and the apparent source of the sound is rather large, probably because it scattered off the regular surface of the building. That was caused by the blast wave."* He was then asked if this confusion caused his observers to incorrectly identify the source of any of the shots, and responded *"They certainly made some inaccurate responses. I would say in the order of 10 percent."*

Well, this suggests it really wasn't that confusing. And sure enough, Dr. Green summed up his tests as follows: *"there are certain locations that are best for observing certain shots and in the general region of the book depository, right on the street beneath it, in our opinion it was extremely easy to tell it came from the book. There was a massive sound to the right and rear that sort of crawled down the building, presumably due to scatter on the regular surface of the building and it was quite evident."*

Unstated but implied in Green's report is his knowledge that 11 of the 14 witnesses in this "general region" in front of the depository, including those on its front steps, nevertheless believed the shots came from somewhere else, with 9 pointing west, the direction of the railroad yards and the knoll. Green's attempts to account for this anomaly by suggesting that the rifle was fired from well within the building, as opposed to the more logical possibility that the bullets were undercharged in order to create less noise—which was believed to have been beyond the "lone nut" Oswald's capabilities-- or that the witnesses were simply responding to the last sound they heard, which came from the west, is nevertheless informative, as it indicates a second rifle firing from well within either the Dal-Tex or County Records buildings would not necessarily have been interpreted as coming from those locations, even if the weapon were not equipped with a silencer.

But that is not all the report has to offer. Although, strangely, no rapid fire sequences with shots alternating between the grassy knoll and the TSBD were attempted for the study, the witnesses were able to distinguish isolated shots between the locations with relative ease, with over 85% accuracy, including pistol shots from the knoll and rifle shots from well within the TSBD. When one looks only at the results of the rifle shots fired from the window and any shot fired from the knoll, one sees that the observers correctly identified the source 73 out of 80 times, no matter where they stood in Dealey Plaza. When one looks only at the results gleaned from the observers while they stood near the knoll, one sees they correctly identified the source of the shots 26 out of 26 times, claiming that the un-silenced shots fired were readily identifiable as coming from the stockade fence, which argues against a shot coming from that location, as most the witnesses nearby, including Abraham Zapruder, believed the shots came from somewhere further back. (Why they failed to perform tests using silenced weapons is never explained.) When one looks only at the results gleaned from the observers while they stood on the street in front of the Depository, in addition, it reveals they correctly identified the source 18 of 20 times.

These actual results reveal that the report's musings about people being confused by echoes on the knoll and shock waves in front of the TSBD was so much hooey, offered most likely so that the HSCA would have the option of defending the Warren Commission's conclusions. Instead, the results reveal it's fairly easy to identify the source of a shot fired in Dealey Plaza under normal circumstances. And yet the single-assassin theorists maintain that the 7 out of 9 witnesses between the knoll and the limousine who heard shots from behind them were *wrong*, in a location where the observers were right 26 out of 26 times, and also that the 5 out of 6 witnesses on the North side of Elm who said shots came from the west, were *wrong*, in a location where the observers were right 18 of 20 times. These results indicate that it is the single-assassin theorists who are wrong, yet again. That those convinced of a conspiracy have failed to embrace this report as the convincing argument for a conspiracy that it is can only be explained by their blind reluctance to embrace any evidence or testimony that calls into doubt that the head shot came from the stockade fence.

Extra-Shot Scenarios



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 699, a photograph of Dealey Plaza taken from above. The circled car marks the location of the limousine around Z-224. The colored circles are explained on the subsequent slides.

Extra-Shot Scenarios

Through studying the statements of those claiming to have heard four shots or more, and comparing them to the statements of those who heard three, we can evaluate if there was really a fourth shot fired, and when it was fired. As the bulk of the witnesses heard a first shot between Z-190 and Z-224, followed after a pause by two closely bunched together shots, and as the Zapruder film shows three apparent hits, one on Kennedy circa Z-190, one on Kennedy and Connally circa Z-224, and one on Kennedy at Z-313, we need to ascertain whether or not the fourth shot heard by the four-shot witnesses corresponds to a second shot between Z-190 and Z-224.. If so, then everything makes sense.

Only no such luck. The extra-shot witnesses are all over the map. Consequently, we need to re-evaluate them one by one and see if any sense can be made of them. From west to east across the

plaza...

S.M. Holland observed the motorcade from the railroad bridge. (11-22-63 statement to Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H480, 24H212) "the President's car was coming down Elm Street and when they got just about to the Arcade I heard what I thought for the moment was a fire cracker and he slumped over and I looked over toward the arcade and trees and saw a puff of smoke come over from the trees and I heard three more shots after the first one but that was the only puff of smoke I saw... After the first shot the President slumped over and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and tried to get over in the back seat to him and then the second shot rang out. After the first shot the secret service man raised up in the seat with a machine gun and then dropped back down in the seat. And they immediately sped off." (4-8-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H239-248) "the motorcade was coming down in this fashion, and the President was waving to the people on this side...And she (Jackie) was looking...in the southern direction...And about that time he went over like that(indicating) and put his hand up, and she was still looking off...(he) pulled forward and his hand just stood like that momentarily...His right hand; and that was the first report that I heard...it was a pretty loud report, and the car traveled a few yards, and Governor Connally turned in this fashion, like that (indicating) with his hand out, and another report...And another report rang out and he slumped down in his seat, and about that time Mrs. Kennedy was looking at these girls over here (indicating). The girls standing—now one of them was taking a picture...by the time she could get turned around, he was hit again along in—I'd say along in here (indicating)...It knocked him completely down on the floor. Over, just slumped completely over. I heard a third report and I counted four shots and about the same time all this was happening and in this group of trees...There was a shot, a report, I don't know whether it was a shot...And a puff of smoke came out about 6 or 8 feet above the ground right out from under those trees...you could see that puff of smoke, like someone had thrown a firecracker, or something out...It wasn't as loud as the previous reports or shots." **Analysis:** Holland's testimony conflicts with his initial statement on a number of points. The shot he initially described as the first shot was obviously the head shot. His mentioning of four shots could be an indication he heard two shots around the time of the head shot, and their immediate echoes. By the time of his testimony, he'd obviously been studying Life Magazine and other photographs, and "improving" his memory. **Red circle. Probably heard two shots and echoes.**

Royce Skelton was by Holland on the railroad bridge. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 16H496) "We saw the motorcade come around the corner and I heard something which I thought was fireworks. I saw something hit the pavement at the left rear of the car, then the car got in the right hand lane and I heard two more shots. I heard a woman say "Oh, no" or something and grab a man inside the car. I then heard another shot and saw the bullet hit the pavement. The concrete was knocked to the south away from the car. It hit the pavement in the left or middle lane." (12-18-63 FBI report, CD205 p. 26) "Mr. Skelton noticed that as an open top limousine turned on Elm Street, it had moved approximately one hundred feet at which time he noticed dust spray up from the street in front of the car on the driver's side. This dust spray came from the direction of the Texas School Book Depository building. A few seconds later, he heard what he believed to be three shots." (4-8-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H236-238) "Just about the same time the car straightened out—got around the corner—I heard two shots, but I didn't know at the time they were shots...It sounded like they were right there more or less like motorcycle backfire, but I thought they were these dumbballs that they throw at the cement because I could see the smoke coming up off the cement (when asked how many shots) "I thought I heard four—I mean—I couldn't be sure...after those two shots, and the car came on down closer to the triple underpass, well, there was another shot—two more shots I heard, but one of them—I saw a bullet, or I guess it was a bullet...hit in the left front of the President's car on the cement, and when it did, the smoke carried with it—away from the building." **Analysis:** as with Holland, the first shot or shots heard by Shelton was the head shot. He then thought

he'd heard two shots immediately thereafter, almost certainly echoes, and then a fourth shot after Jackie cried out. By the time he testified, he was no longer sure. **Red circle. Probably heard two shots and echoes.**

Thomas Murphy was a third railroad man claiming to have heard four shots or more. (3-20-64 FBI report, 22H835) "Murphy said they watched President Kennedy's limousine turn down Elm Street past the Texas School Book Depository and start towards them. He stated he then heard what sounded like two shots and he saw President Kennedy and Governor Connally slump in their seats. Murphy said in his opinion that these shots came from just west of the Texas School Book Depository." (5-6-66 interview with Stewart Galanor, transcription on history-matters.com) (When asked how many shots he heard) "More than three." (When asked where the shots came from) "they come from a tree to the left, of my left, which is to the immediate right of the site of the assassination...on the hill up there. There are two or three hackberry and elm trees. And I say it come from there." (When asked if he saw smoke) "Yeah, smoke...in that tree." **Analysis:** as he apparently failed to tell the FBI about hearing "more than three" shots in 1964, it seems Murphy concluded there were "more than three" shots afterwards, perhaps after extensive contact with Holland and Skelton. **Red circle. Probably heard two shots and echoes.**

Toni Foster is believed to be the woman in the Zapruder film running towards Kennedy as his head explodes. (2000 article in the Kennedy Assassination Chronicles) "I heard two firecracker-like sounds and I looked up because it sounded like it was coming from up in the air. At the time, I thought, "Those sound like firecrackers." To me it was click-click; they were just that fast. As I thought that and I looked towards the president I didn't know he was already shot. Because when I did look at him that's when the third shot hit and his head went down like that (puts her head to her chest). I looked at him, I noticed he took his hands and did like this (brings her hands up and crossed at her chest), his head came down. I thought, "I wonder what he's doing? Why did he do that?" As I'm thinking that—that fast—the 4th shot, the last shot, hit and his head exploded. So to me it was four shots. I do recall after that, the shell, I could hear that clink. And I remember everything stopped for me. I remember (his head) looked like confetti, it was just blown off. It hit him back here (puts her hand on the right rear of her head) and it was just like confetti. The spray went behind him. I do believe from what I heard and what I saw the shots came from the back. Now this whole thing was a shock but that's how I feel, what I heard and what I saw—they were coming from the back." **Analysis:** despite her only coming forward in recent years, Foster's account is fairly credible, but not indicative of four shots. While many described the first shot as sounding like a firecracker, Foster is one of the few to conclude it was two separate shots. Her claiming the neck shot was the third shot, when virtually no one else heard this shot, makes some sense when one considers that she was running right towards Kennedy and could see his and Connally's responses to this shot. Her statement that she was wondering what he was doing after this shot is consistent as well with her continuing to run towards Kennedy until the moment of the head shot. As she immediately turns and starts running away, moreover, it also makes sense that she might have missed the last shot heard by so many others. **Green circle. Earliest recorded statements came years after the shooting. Not entirely credible.**

Jean Hill is the woman in red in the Zapruder film. She stood right in the middle of the plaza with her friend, Mary Moorman. (11-22-63 WBAP interview, quoted in Pictures of the Pain) "the shots came directly across the street from us, and just as the President's car became directly even with us...he and Jackie were looking at a dog that was in the middle of the seat, and about that time two shots rang out just as he looked up—just as the President looked up and these three shots rang out and he grabbed his chest, looked like he was in pain, and fell over in his seat. And Jackie fell over him and said "My God, he's been shot!" After that more shots rang out and the car sped away." (11-22-63 WBAP interview, quoted in Pictures of the Pain) "Mary started to take the picture and the President came right even with

us, two shot, we looked at him and he was looking at a dog in the middle of the seat—two shots rang out...And there was an interval and then three or four more shots...” (11-22-63 KRLD interview, transcribed by David Lifton and posted online by Jack White, 2-16-07) “we were both looking at the President. We were looking at his face. As Mary took the picture, I was looking at him. And he grabbed his hands across his chest when two shots rang out. He grabbed his hands across his chest. I have never seen anyone killed, or in pain before like that but there was this odd look came across his face, and he pitched forward onto Jackie’s lap. And, uh, she immediately, we were close enough to even hear her, and everything, and she fell across him and says, “My God, he’s been shot”...The motorcade was stunned after the first two shots, and it came to a momentary halt, and about that time 4 more uh, 3 to 4 more shots again rang out, and I guess it just didn’t register with me. Mary was, huh, had gotten down on the ground and was pulling at my leg, saying “Get, get down, they’re shooting, get down, they’re shooting, and I didn’t even realize it. And I just kept sitting there looking...After they were momentarily stopped—after the first two shots—then they sped away real quickly.” (11-22-63 WFAA interview, quoted in Pictures of the Pain) “just as the car came right in line with us, the President looked up and just as he looked up two shots rang out and he grabbed his chest and this real odd look came over his face and he pitched forward onto her lap...the motorcade momentarily halted and three or four more shots rang out and they sped away real quickly.” (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff’s Department, 19H479, 24H212) “The President’s car came around the corner and it was over on our side of the street. Just as Mary Moorman started to take a picture we were looking at the President and Jackie in the back seat... looking at a little dog between them. Just as the President looked up toward us two shots rang out and I saw the President grab his chest and fall forward across Jackie’s lap and she fell across his back and said “My God, he has been shot”. There was an instant pause between the first two shots and the motorcade seemingly halted for a second and three or four more shots rang out and the motorcade sped away.” (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 2-18-64) “the consensus of opinion...down there at the quarters was that there had been only three shots...they kept sayin’, are you sure it wasn’t echoes?” (3-18-64 FBI report, 25H853) “She stated that President Kennedy was looking down when she shouted and when he turned to look at her a shot rang out and he slumped towards Mrs. Kennedy... Mrs Hill heard more shots ring out and saw the hair on the back of President Kennedy’s head fly up...she heard from four to six shots in all and believes they came from a spot just west of the Texas School Book Depository. She thought there was slight interval between the first three shots and the remaining shots.” (3-24-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H205-223) “We were standing on the curb and I jumped to the edge of the street and yelled “Hey, we want to take your picture” to him and he was looking down in the seat—he and Mrs. Kennedy and their heads were turned toward the middle of the car looking down at something in the seat, which later turned out to be roses...as I yelled “Hey” to him, he started to bring his head up to look at me and just as he did the shots rang out. Mary took the picture and fell on the ground and of course there were more shots... I have always said there were some four to six shots. There were three shots, one right after the other, and a distinct pause, or just a moment’s pause, and then I heard more.” **Analysis:** Hill failed to hear any shots before witnessing the head shot. She then heard the same last two shots bunched together heard by others, and then a series of echoes. There’s little reason to accept her contention there were two or three more shots fired after the head shot, when Hudson, Summers, and Brehm all heard but one. Unlike Hill, they’d at least heard the first shot. **Red circle. Probably heard two shots and echoes.**

Beverly Oliver claims to be the woman standing behind Charles Brehm and his son in the Zapruder film. People often refer to this woman as the Babushka Lady. (The Men Who Killed Kennedy, broadcast 1988) “When I first heard a noise I was not aware that that was a shot being fired. And maybe perhaps that’s why I continued to film because I thought it was a backfire or a firecracker. I mean I wasn’t used to being around guns. I did not realize that those were shots until I saw in the frame of my camera President Kennedy’s head come off, the back of his head. Then I realized that that

was a shot. I don't know how many I heard. I know where I thought the shots came from. It was the picket fence area, around that large tree, somewhere on the other side of those steps but in the picket fence area. There was a figure there and there was smoke there. I will always believe that the man who shot President Kennedy was standing somewhere in the picket fence area and no one will convince me any differently." (From her **1996** book *Nightmare in Dallas*) "Beverly heard a pop, pop sound coming from the direction she faced....How rude that some parents would let their kids throw sidewalk poppers near the President, she thought. Then she heard another pop. Hold steady. The car was moving about twelve miles an hour as it passed directly in front of her. It then seemed to come to a stop. She continued filming wishing President Kennedy would turn around, then a loud, boom-boom sounded, and the President's head was violently thrown backward as a spray of crimson blood spouted from the back of his head..." "Oh, my God...he's been shot." ...Beverly smelled something acid in the air. It didn't smell right. A cloud of smoke drifted up from behind the fence and dissipated as it blew across the lawn." **Green circle: earliest recorded statements came years after the shots. Not entirely credible."**

William Greer was the driver of the limousine. (**11-28-63** report, 18H 723) "The President's automobile was almost past this building and I was looking at the overpass that we were about to pass under in case someone was on top of it, when I heard what I thought was the backfire of a motorcycle behind the President's automobile. After the second shot, I glanced over my right shoulder and saw Governor Connally start to fall, I knew then that something was wrong and immediately pushed the accelerator to the floor and Mr. Kellerman said get out of here." (**12-10-63** FBI report, CD7 p.3-11) "He advised that the throngs of people were great and that he had just emerged from the congested area of people and was proceeding into an open area of the highway, which a short distance away passed beneath an overpass. Greer stated that he first heard what he thought was possibly a motorcycle backfire and glanced around and noticed that the President had evidently been hit. He thereafter got on the radio and communicated with the other vehicles." (**3-9-64** testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H112-132) (When asked how far they were from the overpass when the first shot rang out) "I wouldn't have a distance recollection at all on how far it was. It wasn't too far... Well, when we were going down Elm Street, I heard a noise that I thought was a backfire of one of the motorcycle policemen. And I didn't--it did not affect me like anything else. I just thought that it is what it was... And then I heard it again. And I glanced over my shoulder. And I saw Governor Connally like he was starting to fall. Then I realized there was something wrong. I tramped on the accelerator, and at the same time Mr. Kellerman said to me, "Get out of here fast." And I cannot remember even the other shots or noises that was. I cannot quite remember any more. I did not see anything happen behind me any more, because I was occupied with getting away." (When asked how many shots he heard) "I know there was three that I heard - three. But I cannot remember any more than probably three. I know there was three anyway that I heard... I knew that after I heard the second one, that is when I looked over my shoulder, and I was conscious that there was something wrong, because that is when I saw Governor Connally. And when I turned around again, to the best of my recollection there was another one, right immediately after." (When asked how much time elapsed between the first and second shots.) "It seems a matter of seconds, I really couldn't say. Three or four seconds." (When asked how much time elapsed between the second and third shots.) "The last two seemed to be just simultaneously, one behind the other, but I don't recollect just how much, how many seconds were between the two. I couldn't really say." **Analysis:** Greer would only say he heard 3 shots, but if he turned around after the second shot, and heard another after he turned back around, and heard the last two simultaneously, there's no escaping that he heard four shots. The only reasonable explanation is that he meant to say "successively" or some other term instead of "simultaneously." **Blue circle. Possibly heard 4 shots but would only admit to hearing 3 shots.**

A.J. Millican (**11-22-63**, 19H486) "I was standing on the North side of Elm Street, about half way

between Houston and the Underpass... Just after the President's car passed, I heard three shots come from up toward Houston and Elm right by the Book Depository Building, and then I immediately heard two more shots come from the Arcade between the Book Store and the Underpass, and then three more shots came from the same direction only sounded further back... Then everybody started running up the hill. A man standing on the South side of Elm Street was either hit in the foot or the ankle and fell down..." **Analysis:** Heard way more shots than any other human. **Purple circle. Obviously confused by echoes.**

J.C. Price watched the motorcade from the roof of the Terminal Annex Building. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department) "The cars had proceeded west on Elm and was just a short distance from the triple underpass, when I saw Gov. Connally slump over. I did not see the President as his car had gotten out of my view under the underpass. There was a volley of shots, I think five and then much later, maybe as much as five minutes later another one. I saw one man run towards the passenger cars on the railroad siding after the volley of shots.... He had something in his hand. I couldn't be sure but it may have been a head piece." (Interview in Rush to Judgment, filmed 3-27-66) (When asked where the shots came from) "From behind the overpass over there, triple overpass, that's where I thought the shots were coming from." (When asked where he saw the man run) "Over behind that wooden fence past the cars and over behind the Texas Depository Building." (When asked to mark a map showing where he thought the shots came from, and then asked if he has marked the map "just behind the wooden fence where it joins the overpass.") "That is correct." **Analysis:** Price's belief that there was a sixth shot fired so long after the others should cause one to doubt he heard the other five accurately. **Purple circle. Obviously confused by echoes.**

Rosemary Willis is the little girl seen running in the Zapruder film, as discussed on the Finding the Right Time slide. (11-13-78 HSCA staff interview, summarized in HSCA Report, vol. 12, p.7) "Ms. Willis said she was aware of three shots being fired. She gave no information on the direction or location of the shots, but stated that her father became upset when the policeman in the area appeared to run away from where he thought the shots came from; that is, they were running away from the grassy knoll." (6-5-79 UPI article) "I heard three shots and they all came from across the street from the direction of the book depository... The sounds I heard came from the book depository but they weren't necessarily the shots that killed him. Someone with a gun with a silencer could have been in the gutter where they later found shells or on the railroad trestle or behind the wall." (6-5-79 article in the L.A. Times, as cited in Pictures of the Pain, p. 171) (She had stopped running) "when I heard the first shot." (Interview with Texas Monthly, published November, 1998) "As they made the turn from Houston to Elm Street, they'd just gone a few feet when the first shot rang out, and upon hearing the sound, my normal body reaction was to look up and follow the sound that I heard... And the pigeons immediately ascended off that roof of the school book depository building and that's what caught my eye... Next thing I know, right after that, there's another shot. And after that, there's another shot and another shot... My ears heard four shots... I really think that there were six, but I heard four and I'll tell you why... the first shot rang out. It was to the front of me, and to the right of me, up high. The second shot that I heard came across my right shoulder. By that time, the limousine had already moved further down. And that shot came across my shoulder. And the next one, right after that, still came from the right but not from as far back, it was up some. Still behind me, but not as far back as the other one. And the next one that came was from the grassy knoll and I saw the smoke coming through the trees, into the air... Fragments of his head ascended into the air, and from my vision, focal point, the smoke and fragments, you know, everything met." **Analysis:** it's a shame Miss Willis was never interviewed when her memories were fresh. In 1979, she said she heard three shots from the right, and in 1998 she said she heard three shots from the right, and then one from in front of the limousine. As a result her credibility is questionable. **Yellow circle. Probably heard three shots and convinced herself she heard four. Not entirely credible.**

Amos Euins sat on the fountain wall by Houston and Elm. (11-22-63 statement to Dallas Sheriff's Department, 16H963, 19H474) "I saw the President turn the corner in front of me and I waived at him and he waived back. I watched the car on down the street and about the time the car got near the black and white sign I heard a shot. I started looking around and then I looked up in the red brick building. I saw a man in the window with a gun and I saw him shoot twice...I could tell the gun was a rifle and it sounded like an automatic rifle the way he was shooting. This was a white man, he did not have on a hat. I just saw this man for a few seconds." (12-23-63 FBI report, CD205 p.i) "Amos Lee Euins, age 14, states saw white man...in window...with rifle after first shot and observed this man fire second and third shots and what he believes may have been a fourth shot." (3-10-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H201-210) 'then when the first shot was fired, I started looking around, thinking it was backfire. Everybody else started looking round. Then I looked up at the window, and he shot again...I got behind this little fountain, and then he shot again. (when asked how many shots he heard) "I believe there was four to be exact...After he shot the first two times, I was just standing back here. And then after he shot again, he pulled the gun back in the window. And then all the police ran back over here in the track vicinity....The first shot I was standing here...And as I looked up there, you know, he fired another shot, you know, as I was looking. So I got behind this fountain thing right in there, at this point B...I got behind there. And then I watched, he did fire again. Then he started looking down towards my way, and then he fired again." **Analysis:** Euins is a credible witness. Although he initially said he only saw the sniper fire twice, his discussion of automatic weapons indicates that one of the times he saw the sniper fire, he heard two shots ring out. This most logically means that Euins heard two shots around the time of the head shot. Sure enough, his description of these last two shots indicates only a short interval between the shots. **Light blue circle. Credible witness.**

Ronald Fischer was on Houston along the same fountain wall as Euins. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department, 19H475, 19H650) "by that time the motorcade rounded the corner. And then I heard what I thought was three shots, and the motorcade was about where the Stemmons Freeway sign is there." (12-2-63 FBI report, CD205 p.19-20) "Shortly after the President's car had passed his position, he heard several shots, evenly spaced, with what he thought three or four seconds between each shot. He thought first shot was firecracker." (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H191-200) "Well the motorcade—the limousine made the wide turn and—they went out of our view just as they began to straighten up onto Elm Street...I started watching the other cars...as I looked around to watch these other cars, I heard a shot. At first I thought it was a firecracker. And—uh—everybody got quiet. There was no yelling or shouting or anything. Everything seemed to get real still. And—uh—the second shot rang out, and then everybody, from where I was standing, everybody started to scatter. And—uh—then the third shot. At first I thought there were four, but as I think about it more, there must have been just three...They appeared to be coming from just west of the School Book Depository. There were some railroad tracks and there were some railroad cars back in there." (7-9-98 video-taped interview posted on Youtube) "I originally said in my deposition in the Sheriff's office that there were four shots. And there were a number of people who had claimed that they heard four shots. However, I began to question that because I just simply could not remember exactly how many shots there were. It's like trying to remember if it was eight or nine--y'know it's a little easier with three or four--but becomes more difficult with eight or nine and still more difficult with nineteen or twenty. I don't know if there were three or four shots. I thought there was four and I had explained that to the investigator, Mr. Belin. I still think that there were probably four shots but I couldn't swear to it." **Analysis:** Fischer admittedly talked himself out of thinking there were four shots. He then talked himself back into thinking it again. That he even thought for a moment there were four shots says something, particularly as he was standing near Euins and Edwards. **White circle. Talked himself out of hearing four shots.**

Robert Edwards was with Fischer. (11-22-63 statement to the Dallas County Sheriff's Department,

19H 473, 19H647) "The motorcade rounded the corner at this time, and I thought I heard four shots, but it never occurred to us what it was. The shots seemed to come from that building there." (12-2-63 FBI report, CD205 p.21-22) "Shortly after President Kennedy's car passed his position, he heard shots, which he thought were three or four in very rapid sequence." (4-1-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 6H200-205) (When asked how many shots he heard) "I heard one more than was fired, I believe...I still right now don't know how many was fired. If I said four, then I thought I heard four. (When asked if he knew where the shots came from) "I have no idea" (When asked if he'd said the shots came from the building) "No, I didn't say that." **Analysis:** Edwards, to his credit, stuck to his impression that he'd heard four shots. Too bad he never told us how these shots sounded. **Light blue circle. Credible witness.**

James Worrell (11-23-63 affidavit to Dallas County) "I was standing on the sidewalk against a building on the corner of Elm and Houston Streets watching the motorcade of the President. I heard loud noise like a fire cracker or gun shots. I looked around to see where the noise came from. I looked up and saw the barrel of a rifle sticking out of a window...While I was looking at the gun it was fired again. I looked back at Mr. Kennedy and he was slumping over. I got scared and ran from that location. While I was running I heard the gun fire two more times. I ran from Elm Street to Pacific Street on Houston. When I was about 100 yards from the building I stopped to get my breath and looked back at the building. I saw a w/m, 5'8" to 5'10", dark hair, average weight for height, dark shirt or jacket open down front, no hat, didn't have anything in his hands, come out of the building and run in the opposite direction." (3-10-64 testimony before the Warren Commission, 2H190-201) "as they went by me, they got, oh at least another 50, 75 feet on past me, and then I heard the shots...I looked up and saw the rifle...I looked to see where he was aiming and after the second shot and I have seen the President slumping down in the seat...I looked up again and turned around and started running and saw it fire a third time...I did it all in one motion, I looked up, turned around, and ran, pivoted...everybody was screaming and saying "duck"...Just as I got to the corner I heard the fourth shot...they were right in succession...I turned the corner, went right down beside the building on the sidewalk and when I got to the corner...Of this building (The Texas School Book Depository) (I) "Cut directly across, kind of at an angle...I rested there...approximately three minutes before I saw this man come out the back door." (When asked to estimate the time span of the shots) "best estimate 5, 6 seconds" (When asked how he knew the rifle fired the second shot) "I saw what you might call a little flame and smoke." (When asked about the third shot) "Same thing, a little flash of fire, and then smoke."

Analysis: Worrell's recollection of seeing fire and smoke come from the barrel of the gun is unique and probably a by-product of an over-active imagination. If smoke were pouring from the gun, it should have been apparent to Harold Norman, who was only feet below this barrel. Beyond this, Worrell is credible. As Euins, he may have merely seen the rifle and assumed it fired the second shot. His description of the last two shots indicates they were close together. **Light blue circle. Credible witness.**

Mrs. Carolyn Walther (12-5-63 FBI report, 22H522) (She was standing) "on the east side of Houston Street, about fifty or sixty feet south of the south curb of Elm Street...As soon as the President's car passed where she was standing, she and Mrs. Springer turned away and started walking north toward Elm Street. At about the time they reached the curb at Elm Street, she heard a loud report and thought it was fireworks. There was a pause after this first report, then a second and third report almost at the same time, and then a pause followed by one and possibly more reports." (Late 1966 interview with Lawrence Schiller recounted in *The Scavengers and Critics of the Warren Report*, published 1967) "I heard one shot, and I thought at the time the first shot was a firecracker, and after the last car passed me I started walking back to work, and I had reached the curb, and two more shots, and then a second--two seconds later, one more. It wasn't as loud as the others. But the second and third shots were right together, and then I thought 'Oh, it's gunshots'.....I definitely feel that I heard four shots." (Interview

with CBS broadcast **6-25-67**) "The President passed us, and he was smiling, and everybody was waving. Then the last of the cars went by, and I heard the shot. I thought it was a firecracker. Then I started back to work, and it was along the curb, and then two shots right together, and then another one. I'm sure there were four shots." (2-14-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw) (When asked how many shots she heard "All together I heard four" (When asked what the first one sounded like) "It was a loud popping sound and I thought it was just a firecracker...the last car was passing in front of me when I heard the first shot...The second one I was just stepping off the curb. " (And the third?) "Almost to the center of the street." (And fourth?) "In the center of the street." (And how did they sound? The second?) "It sounded just like the first one." (The third?) "The same" (And fourth?) "A little lower...I stopped and said "That is gunshots." **Analysis:** Mrs. Walther's placement of the two bunched shots in the middle is problematic. Her companion, Mrs. Pearl Stringer, heard only 3 shots, and said that shots 2 and 3 rang out together; this would seem to indicate that the extra shot heard by Walther was an extra shot at the end. This would seem to be in opposition to the eyewitness evidence taken as a whole, which suggests two shots--one hitting Kennedy and one hitting Connally--were fired during a period the bulk of the witnesses heard but one shot fired. Nevertheless, Walther's statement that the last shot sounded different matches the statements of Rosemary Willis. **Light blue circle. Credible witness.**

Mrs. Ruby Henderson (12-6-63 FBI report, 24H524) "She was standing on the east side of Elm Street just north of Houston Street (they must mean the east side of Houston just north of Elm)...at the time the motorcade passed where she was standing, she heard what she initially thought was a firecracker, and saw what she thought was paper fly out of the Presidential car. She said she now realized it was a shot she heard and what she thought was paper was probably flesh. She said after the first shot, she believes she heard two more in rapid succession, and then a fourth shot." **Analysis:** it's strange that Mrs. Henderson described the shots in the same idiosyncratic manner as Mrs. Walther. Once again, the extra shot appears to have been an extra shot after the head shot. One possible explanation for this joint recollection of the shots is that, by the time, they talked with the FBI, the two women had talked to one another. Since they both worked in the Dal-Tex Building this appears possible. **Light blue circle. Credible witness.**

Mike Brownlow is a long-time assassination researcher and a regular presence in Dealey Plaza. He claims also to have been a witness. In **November 2004, and again in 2005**, I talked with him in Dealey Plaza and asked him where he was when the shots rang out. Both times he told me he was standing in front of the Dal-Tex Building on the northeast corner of Houston and Elm with his grandmother. Both times he said he heard four shots, but could not tell where they came from. (**12-6-11** article by Jay Gibbs on researcher Bruce Engelman, found on the Starlocalnews.com website) "Engelman, who has worked for several national news organizations, including ABC, has a national sports talk show that he records every Tuesday night. Last Tuesday, however, he had a special guest in his recording studio -- Mike Brownlow of Dallas. Brownlow was a 13-year-old kid who was near the Grassy Knoll in Dallas when JFK was shot. "I heard one shot and then, immediately after that, I heard a second shot," Brownlow said. "Then, after that, I heard several shots in succession -- POP! POP! POP! Then, in a matter of five or six seconds, it was all over. The shooting had stopped. And I definitely think that the last shot I heard came from the Grassy Knoll." **Analysis: Green circle. Earliest recorded statements came years after the shooting. Not entirely credible.**

John Hoefen, an NBC sound technician, sat in the middle of the front seat of the first of three Chevrolet convertibles approaching Houston and Elm at the time of the first shot. (**11-22-63** phoned-in report broadcast on NBC radio--WBAP in Dallas--at approximately 1:50) "We were just leaving the business district of Dallas when this shooting took place...We were making a sweeping curve here on a roadway approaching a freeway when the first shot rang out. Our first reaction was that some teenager had fired a cherry-bomb. When the second one rang out, we sort of felt that there was something wrong

up there. People started to drop down to the ground ahead of us, roughly 50 to 60 feet up near the President's car. Then there was a third and if I remember correctly a fourth shot. Immediately, after that last shot the President's car took off in a tremendous burst of speed followed by the Secret Service follow-up car..." (11-22-63 phoned-in report broadcast on NBC television, at approximately 2:00 PM) "We were approaching a drive which would put us on a freeway, where we would then drive to the Trade Mart...As we turned down this moderate curve here there was a loud shot. At first we thought it was a cherry bomb by some teenager. Then it was immediately followed by two or three more. Everybody said "duck" then there were people falling to the ground. We did not know who was shot. Ladies and men both were screaming..." **Analysis:** in his initial interview, Hoefen said there was "If I remember correctly a fourth shot." This suggests his initial impression was that there was indeed four shots, but that he'd started doubting his impression after coming in contact with others. One can only wonder, then, how many others thought they'd heard four shots but who stopped claiming as much as soon as the news media started trumpeting there were three. It should also be noted, however, that Hoefen thought people fell to the ground after the second shot--and that this would almost certainly have been the head shot. As very few heard more than one shot after the head shot, well, it seems possible Hoefen was yet another witness confused by the final echoes. **Light blue circle. Credible witness.**

Henry Burroughs was in the Chevy behind Hoefen. (Pictures of the Pain p.398, based on Trask interview 8-21-85) "Burroughs remembers hearing four shots..." "We came up to the scene of the shooting and people were running all over the place." (10-14-98 letter to Vince Palamara quoted in JFK: The Medical Evidence Reference) "After the President's limousine turned the corner at the book depository we could not see him, but we heard the shots, and the motorcade stopped." **Analysis:** it is interesting indeed that the one member of the motorcade besides Hoefen to say he heard four shots just so happened to be in the car right behind Hoefen and approaching Houston and Elm around Z-224. It's also interesting that one of the few to have claimed he heard two shots before Z-270 or so, Dave Wiegman, was in the car just in front of him, with Hoefen. **Green circle. Earliest recorded statements came years after the shooting. Not entirely credible.**

Robert West (2-13-69 testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw)(When asked if he'd heard anything unusual after the limousine turned down Elm Street) "Some time after it turned on Elm Street what sounded to me at that time as what I thought was backfiring, a motorcycle." (When asked how many backfires he heard) "Four". (When asked if these backfires sounded the same) "Yes". (When asked what the first "backfire" sounded like) "A motorcycle backfired." (When asked what the second and subsequent "backfire" sounded like) "A rifle fired...It appeared to me it was rifle fire after the second. The first and the second my response was it was motorcycle backfire." (When asked again to describe the third sound) "Rifle fire." (When asked if these were loud sounds) "Yes, sir." (When asked from where he thought this sounds were coming) "The sound came from the northwest quadrant of Dealey Plaza...This entire area north and west of Elm Street." **Analysis:** West was the Dallas County Surveyor. Since the Secret Service, FBI, and Warren Commission all used his services to make plats of Dealey Plaza, and since they all came to different conclusions, and kept changing the locations for the shots, it only makes sense that he would grow suspicious of the official story, and suspect there'd been more than 3 shots. **Green circle. Earliest recorded statements came years after the shooting. Not entirely credible.**

This review of the statements of the preceding witnesses demonstrates quite convincingly that the four sounds heard by these witnesses were not the same sounds. While there are a number of credible witnesses near Houston and Elm, the statements by Walther and Henderson are not only in conflict with our analysis of the Zapruder film, which indicates the fourth shot unheard by those hearing three shots was the shot impacting at Z-224, but also the statements of Willis, Euins, and Worrell. As the other

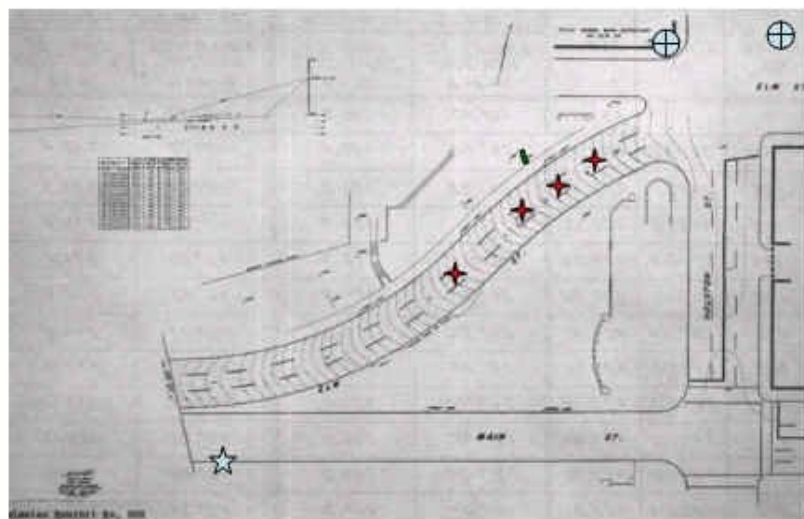
witnesses in the area—Fischer, Edwards, Burroughs, and Brownlow, told us very little beyond that they'd initially believed they'd heard four shots, we are prevented from using the statements of the Houston and Elm witnesses to come to a concrete conclusion. Still, the strange circumstance that so many witnesses heard an extra shot in one of the easiest locations to tell echoes from shots is noteworthy, and should not be overlooked. It should also be noted that the likely origin for the extra shot heard by the credible four shot witnesses just so happened to be the building with the best vantage point for a sniper, the Dal-Tex Building. One might reasonably suspect this was more than a coincidence.

Sniper's Nest Views

At right: Warren Commission Exhibit 724, the view from the sniper's nest. The added red stars at right and below signify the approximate positions of the President at Zapruder frames 160, 190, 224, and 313. The blue star marks the location of James Tague.



Below: a crop of Warren Commission Exhibit CE 879, the view from the top of the Dal-Tex Building on an FBI Model of Dealey Plaza. Note that the cars are moving directly away.



At left: Warren Commission Exhibit 882, a survey of Dealey Plaza, with stars added as on CE 724. Green mark represents Thornton Freeway sign. Targets represent sniper's nests in CE 724 and CE 879.

Sniper's Nest Views

When one looks at photographs taken from the sniper's nest and compares them with photographs taken from the Dal-Tex Building one can see the advantages of the Dal-Tex Building as a location for a shooter. While a sniper from the nest would have to pan as he shot at the motorcade, a sniper from the Dal-Tex would barely have to change his aim. According to snipers trained in the U.S. Special Forces, having the time to aim before firing and being to able to re-fire without re-aiming is more desirable than being right on top of a target. Sniper tactics first popularized by legendary WW I sniper Herbert McBride, moreover, dictate that shooting across an obstacle, such as a tree or a creek, or in this case an open window in the sixth floor of the school depository, will cause those in the target area to focus their attention on the obstacle closest to them. It follows then that the Dal-Tex Building was the ideal

location in Dealey Plaza for a shooting on Elm. Despite the current speculation that a shot came from the second floor, a more vertical location would have been preferable, because from such a perch one could zero in on Kennedy without having to shoot through the Secret Service Agents standing on the side of the follow-up car.

The FBI, apparently, reached this same conclusion. While testifying for Arlen Specter before the Warren Commission, FBI Exhibits Chief Leo Gauthier brought along some photos of a scale model he'd created of Dealey Plaza. He testified that exhibit 879 represented "a view of the scale model looking toward the southwest, in the direction of the triple underpass, *from a position on the sixth floor in the southeast corner window.*" While this implies the photo depicts the view from the sniper's nest, a quick look at the view reveals that it is in fact a view from the upper floors, or roof, of the Dal-Tex Building, across the street from the depository. Gauthier, a 29-year-veteran of the Bureau, who had created hundreds of crime-scene models as visual aids for trials, was almost certainly aware of the inaccuracy of his statement. Months before Gauthier's testimony, the FBI had supplied the Commission with a collection of visual aids created by Gauthier. The photo was misrepresented at that time as well.

When one looks at an actual view from the sniper's nest, exhibit 724, and compares it with the surveyor's plat of Dealey Plaza used by Gauthier (which strangely excludes the Dal-Tex Building), and marks the position of the limo at the various frames of the Zapruder film, one can find even more reason to mistrust the "official" story, and yet another reason to reject the LPM scenario.

To refresh, the LPM scenario--the shooting scenario pushed by Dr. John Lattimer, Gerald Posner, Dale Myers, and sometimes Vincent Bugliosi, and the shooting scenario the mainstream media pretends is the official government scenario--holds that the first shot rang out around frame 160 of the Zapruder film. As we've learned from reading the eyewitness statements, this is silly.

When one compares exhibit 724 with the plaza plat, however, one can see that it is more than silly; it is ludicrous.

First, one can see that the Thornton Freeway sign, where witness after witness placed the limo at the time of the first shot, was a good thirty feet past where the LPM scenario places the car when the first shot rang out. Second, when one notes the location of wounded bystander James Tague on the plat, and reflects that the LPM scenario holds that Tague was wounded when the lead core of the FIRST bullet fired hit a nearby curb after striking a twig, one can't help but scratch one's head. It simply makes no sense that a high-speed bullet fired from a position 60 feet up and 120 feet behind could hit a twig 30 feet off the ground, break up, and be deflected four hundred feet forward and to the right, particularly, when this same kind of bullet, with the very next shot, is purported to have slashed through a man's torso, hit another man in the armpit, smashed out inches of his ribcage, crashed through his wrist and lodged itself in his thigh, with little apparent damage to the bullet. It's doubtful a shot at frame 160 would even strike a twig.

Now, it's not as if I readily throw out EVERY idea presented by the single-assassin theorists. Ironically, I suspect two other prominent single-assassin theorists, Kenneth Rahn and Larry Sturdivan, have solved the mystery of Tague's wound. Since Rahn is so terribly Rahng in his defense of Dr. Vincent Guinn's Neutron Activation Analysis (see chapter 11), I wasn't prepared for it, but I now believe he's been successful in demonstrating that the fragment which kicked up the concrete near Tague, and cut up Tague's cheek, could have come from the bullet striking Kennedy on the top of his head. A quick look at the plat above shows how they are almost in line. When one projects this location back to the car at 313, moreover, one can see that the trajectory of the fragment passes only inches above and to the right of the trajectory of the nose of the bullet, which hit the windshield, and the trajectory of the tail of the bullet, which hit the window frame. While the Tague fragment also aligns with a missed shot from

the Dal-Tex, the FBI inspection of the scar on the curb near Tague revealed only lead, and no copper, which would indicate this mark was created by a fragment, without a copper jacket. When one recalls that the base of a bullet found in the limousine was completely empty of its lead and that almost half the bullet was never found, moreover, a conclusion that the lead came from this bullet seems perfectly reasonable. Since Sturdivan's calculations show that a fragment would have had enough energy to continue on and strike the curb near Tague, Rahn's conclusion seems more than reasonable; it seems probable.

But don't worry, this does little to convince me there was only one shooter, and that the shooter in the depository was Oswald.

Views on the Sniper

Beyond the reasons already discussed, there are purely technical reasons to doubt Oswald was one among any number of shooters. The sniper's nest shooter was in a very cramped space, rapid firing on a target moving left to right, and was purported to have taken these shots while sitting on a box, using a gun rest. There are reasons to believe a man with Oswald's limited training would not only not be able to pull this off, but would not even attempt to fire shots in this manner. Consider:

- Although Oswald's shooting scores while in the Marines were adequate at the beginning of his service, Allison Folsom, the Marine Corps officer contacted by the Warren Commission to discuss Oswald's training, said that Oswald's score on the last test he took in 1959 indicated he was a *"poor shot"*. Folsom actually went further than this, and volunteered that, due to inactivity, there was reason to believe Oswald's skills had depreciated even further since that time.
- Even worse, Oswald's Marine Corps scorebook, CE 239, reflects that he had only been trained to shoot on stationary targets, and never from elevation. It takes a bit of practice to learn how to lead a moving target, and a bit more practice to learn how firing from elevation has an effect on this lead. For one thing, there's less bullet drop. A military rifle fires slightly above its crosshairs, to account for the effects of gravity on the bullet. When firing downwards from elevation, however, the gravity effect is lessened, and an inexperienced sniper will probably aim high. The difficulty of shooting a moving target is confirmed by the 2007 book, *To Be a Military Sniper*, which notes *"engaging a moving target is a skill that can be developed and maintained only through constant practice."* Not only had Oswald never received training as a sniper, the Warren Commission found no evidence Oswald had EVER fired his rifle on a moving target.
- *Military Science and Tactics*, a WWII-era textbook written *"Conforming to the War Department Program"*, which would presumably be relevant to Oswald's training 14 years later, reflects that U.S. soldiers are trained to fire from the Prone, Sitting, Kneeling, and Standing positions. The drawing for the *"Sitting"* position is of a soldier sitting on the ground. This makes me suspect that Oswald had never practiced shooting while sitting on a box.
- This book also asserts, in a section entitled *"General Rules for Positions"* *"(1) To assume any position first face the target and then face half right. In any position the rifle makes an angle of about 45 degrees with the front of the body or the spine."* If Oswald was the shooter in the sniper's nest, then, his training would have dictated his facing the west side of the building, and turning his upper torso and rifle to fire out the window.
- This book also asserts, in a section entitled *"Marksmanship, Moving Targets"*, that *"There is no unit of measure for leads that the rifleman can quickly apply except the target itself. That is all he sees. So the unit of measure for leads is the actual target...When the trigger is correctly*

squeezed the rifleman does not know when the piece will go off. Accordingly, when he has obtained the correct lead, the rifle must continue to be swung smoothly and uniformly to maintain the lead while squeezing the trigger. The tendency to stop swinging the piece when the lead has been obtained, and fire instantly by jerking the trigger, must be avoided. This is of utmost importance. The rifleman begins to squeeze the trigger as soon as he has his lead, and maintains his lead by swinging the piece while pressing the trigger." Well, this is interesting. Oswald's facing west would have made his tracking a target from directly to his left to 45 degrees to his left a bit awkward, particularly if he was using a box as a rifle rest. In fact, this passage makes me suspect that a military-trained sniper would not even use a rifle rest for such a shot, as it would only prohibit the "smooth and uniform" movement of his rifle as he tracked his target.

- A 1970's era U.S. Marine Corps Scout/Sniper Data Book in my possession confirms this last point. Its section on *"Leads"* reads: *"Moving targets are the most difficult to hit. When engaging a target which is moving laterally across his line of sight, the sniper must concentrate on moving his weapon with the target while aiming at a point some distance ahead. Holding this 'lead', the sniper fires and follows through with the movement after the shot. Using this method, the sniper reduces the possibility of missing..."*
- Intriguingly, however, this Data Book then proceeds: *"Another method of leading a target, and one which is used extensively by snipers, is known as the 'point' lead. By 'point lead' we mean the sniper selects a point some distance in front of his target and holds the crosshairs on that point. As the target moves across the horizontal crosshair, it will eventually reach a point which is the proper lead distance from the center. At that instant the sniper must fire his shot. This is a very simple method of hitting a moving target, but a few basic marksmanship skills must not be forgotten: The sniper must not only estimate his target range, but also its speed and angle of travel relative to his line of sight in order to determine the correct lead. The sniper must continue to concentrate on his crosshairs and not on his target. The sniper must continue to squeeze the trigger and not jerk or flinch prior to the shot being fired."* To Be a Military Sniper confirms this point, noting that shooting in this manner is *"the preferred method of engaging moving targets."* Well, this raises a few questions: 1) when would Oswald have learned to fire in this manner?; and 2) if a shooter did use a cardboard box for a rifle rest, and fire after acquiring a "point lead" and MISS, as supposedly happened in Dallas, wouldn't this cut into the likelihood of his successfully firing two rapid-fire shots in the next 8 seconds? Let's see. He hasn't been actively tracking the target. He has already guessed wrong. Are we to believe he then re-acquired his target, tracked it successfully through a tree, and fired successfully, not once but twice, the first time in 3 seconds, and the second time in 5 seconds.
- An even greater reason to doubt Oswald established a *"point"* lead on Kennedy comes from looking at the sniper's nest view above. The President would have been coming into view not from the left of the scope, but from below--out from under the rifle barrel. This would have given Oswald (or the sniper presumed to have been Oswald) very little time to react, particularly if he was using the iron sights. It follows then that the sniper almost certainly tracked Kennedy along Elm Street, and did not use a cardboard box as a rifle rest.
- There are reasons to doubt Oswald did the tracking, however. On the next page of the data book, when discussing the lead times given walking soldiers, based upon the angle they are walking in relation to the sniper, another problem becomes clear: *"The leads previously mentioned hold true for a right-handed shooter firing on a target moving from his right to his left. If the target is moving from left to right, the lead must be doubled due to a natural hesitation to follow through when swinging against the shooting shoulder. This hesitation is extremely difficult to overcome even by the most experienced shooters."*

- This hesitation is confirmed, moreover, by *The Ultimate Guide to U.S. Special Forces Skills, Tactics and Techniques* (2011). When discussing shooting on moving targets, it notes *"Double leads are sometimes necessary for a sniper who uses the swing-through method on a target that is moving toward his firing side. The double lead is necessary because of the difficulty that a person has in swinging his weapon smoothly toward his firing side. Practice on a known-distance range and meticulous record-keeping are required to hone a sniper's moving target engagement skill."* Hmm... As proven on the slide above, the target car was moving upward from the sniper's nest shooter's left to his right. Oswald was a right-handed shooter. Now...are we to believe he both had the practice necessary to "hone a sniper's moving target engagement skill", and that he somehow knew how to compensate for his *"natural hesitation"*? Or was it just dumb luck he hit Kennedy twice in three tries?
- In 1993, noted gun expert Massad Ayoob wrote an article for *Handgunner Magazine* in which he discussed his own impression of the shots attributed to Oswald. He noted that the two fastest shooters in a 1992 re-enactment of Oswald's purported shooting feat were both left-handed shooters firing from their left shoulder, and operating the bolt with their right hand. (The specifics of this re-enactment are not described, so no judgment can be made on its accuracy.) Anyhow, Ayoob's observation on the lefties supports what was said in the data book about left-handed shooters having a noticeable advantage when shooting at targets moving from left to right. While concluding that Oswald could indeed have made the shots, Ayoob does so in part because of speculation Oswald was a left-eye dominant shooter. There is no indication of this anywhere outside Oswald's mother's recollection he was left-handed--a point rejected by both Oswald's wife and his brothers. (Apparently, his mother was confusing him with his brother Robert, who was left-handed.) In addition, the only known photo of Oswald firing a rifle shows him to be shooting right-handed with his right eye. (Information found online suggests both that the Marines keep an eye out for left-eye dominant shooters and that they train them to shoot left-handed when discovered.) As a result, Ayoob's speculation falls flat.
- Oswald's purported use of his scope only magnifies this problem. *Guns of the Elite*, a 1987 book on snipers and sniper weapons, notes *"optical sights suffer certain inherent problems. Not only are they complicated--and often too delicate to withstand the rigours of military service--but magnification of the target means that the firer's eyes see different images if both eyes remain open during the shooting. Thus, though the sights improve deliberate shooting, they can hinder target location and (particularly) engagement of moving targets."* This book then goes on to note that some armies have learned to account for this problem by using 1.5 power scopes on their sniper rifles, which permit *"a wider field of view"* than 4 power scopes. The scope on the assassination rifle was a 4 power scope. If Oswald was using this scope, with its limited field of view, it seems highly unlikely he could have accurately established a *"point lead"* on a target coming from below and to his left. If he missed this first shot, furthermore, it seems unlikely he could have adjusted rapidly enough to track the target through a tree and fire two accurate shots, the first one within a second of the target coming out from behind the tree, and the second less than 5 seconds later.
- This last point is supported by the Army's tests of Oswald's rifle in March, 1964. The three Master rifleman chosen to test the rifle, after being allowed as much time as needed for the first shot, missed the second shot 4 of 6 times, even though they were aiming at a stationary target, and their target was approximately 3 times larger than the approximately 7 inch circle within which Oswald had purportedly placed two shots. The sudden switch from waiting to turning and firing was apparently a difficult one, made even more difficult by the use of a scope.
- Intriguingly, the HSCA came to agree that Oswald's use of the scope was unlikely. Their Firearms Panel concluded *"that an individual could attain better accuracy using the iron sights*

than the scope under the circumstances involved in Dealey Plaza." In his testimony, the panel's spokesman, Monty Lutz, explained why. First he questioned the accuracy of the scope. He claimed *"The accuracy is fairly undependable, as far as once getting the rifle sighted in, and it is very cheaply made. The scope itself has a crosshair reticle that is subject to movement or being capable of being dislodged from dropping, from impact, or a very sharp recoil. So the accuracy would be somewhat questionable for this particular type of a scope."* Then he questioned if the scope would be of help even under optimal conditions. He explained: *"This scope, I will apply the principle to it. We are dealing with a four-power or a magnification of 4. The field of view is 18, meaning an 18-foot circle at 100 yards. So it is a 4 x 18 scope, a relatively small circle to locate your target in when you are firing and recovering from the recoil in successive shots. So to align your target to get a sighting position, by placing the stock into the shoulder, the head has to be adjusted or moved slightly to the left to align the way that the scope is mounted on the left-hand side and get into position to fire. The scope itself is also designed so that the crosshair, the reticles, do not remain in the exact center position. When you adjust windage or elevation those crosshairs move, so that you are not looking dead center in the object itself. A more natural and easier form or position to fire is to put the rifle against the shoulder, the cheek on the stock, and look right down the center, straight ahead from where you are now positioned, and align the iron sights, the fixed iron sights that are presently on the rifle."* He then testified that, for him, using the iron sights would be *"considerably easier"* than using the scope. None of his colleagues on the panel disagreed.

- While the panel's conclusion was no doubt influenced by the fact they'd found the rifle could also be fired faster when using the iron sights, and the HSCA was anxious to conclude the rifle had been fired faster than previously believed possible, there were presumably other factors influencing their conclusion. Perhaps one of these factors was that, as acknowledged in the 1969 testimony of the FBI's Robert Frazier--the first man to test the weapon--one had to lift one's eye away from the scope between shots in order *"To prevent the bolt of the rifle from striking (one) in the face as it came to the rear."* Perhaps another of these factors was that, when first tested by Frazier on 11-27-1963, the rifle, when fired using the scope, fired 4 inches high and one to the right at only 15 yards. Assuming this was the condition of the rifle as found in the depository, this meant that the sniper, in order to lead the President and hit him in the head while he was moving away and to the right, would have to have fired behind the President, and aimed for low on his back, or perhaps even at the trunk of his limousine. This would have been quite a trick. Perhaps the HSCA Firearms Panel, unlike the Warren Commission, which concluded that the use of the apparently misaligned scope had been a *"substantial aid"* in the shooting, saw the unlikelihood of Oswald pulling off such a trick. Unfortunately for them, however, the only man known to rapid fire the assassination rifle while using the iron sights, a Mr. Miller, the best shooter in the Army's 1964 tests, only attempted one run using these sights... On this run, Mr. Miller not only missed the head and neck silhouette of his third and final target, he missed the target completely.
- A not so quick aside...While some assume the rifle and scope were in alignment on 11-22-63, only to get misaligned in the aftermath of the shooting, there is little real support for this assumption. While Sebastian Latona, the FBI's fingerprint expert, testified before the Warren Commission that the rifle had been dismantled by the FBI's ballistics examiners and inspected for prints prior to the FBI's initial test of the rifle's accuracy, he did not mention the removal of the scope. When the FBI's chief ballistics examiner Robert Frazier testified just a few days prior to Latona, moreover, he indicated he'd been present when the rifle arrived at the laboratory, and also failed to mention the scope had been removed. He did make the nebulous statement that *"apparently the scope had even been taken off of the rifle, in searching for fingerprints on the rifle. So that actually the way it was sighted-in when we got it does not necessarily mean it was*

sighted-in that way when it was abandoned." This indicates that he thought it possible the scope had been removed in the search for fingerprints *in Dallas*, something which was denied by the Dallas crime scene investigator, J.C. Day. Frazier then let on that he had reason to suspect it had not been removed in Dallas; he testified that, upon further examination of the rifle in March 1964, he found that the scope took 5 or 6 shots to stabilize after each adjustment, and that *"When we fired on November 27th, the shots were landing high and slightly to the right. However, the scope was apparently fairly well stabilized at that time, because three shots would land in an area the size of a dime under rapid-fire conditions, which would not have occurred if the interior mechanism of the scope was shifting."* If the scope was stabilized on 11-27, as claimed, and neither the Dallas Police nor FBI had before that time adjusted the scope and fired the rifle 5 or 6 times to stabilize the scope, as Frazier found was necessary, it follows then that the scope had not recently been removed, replaced, and re-adjusted before 11-27, and that the inaccuracies of the rifle on 11-27 were the inaccuracies on 11-22. (Frazier would later confirm this by telling writer David Fisher not that the Dallas Police had adjusted or bumped the scope to knock it out of alignment, but that they'd lost a wooden shim that had been placed beneath the scope to bring it into alignment. He, of course, offered no evidence that this shim had ever existed, let alone that the DPD had lost it after removing the scope.)

- Even if the scope had been removed and haphazardly screwed back on, however, as some presume, it does nothing to suggest the rifle had been accurate on 11-22. All indications are, in fact, that it was not. In March 1964, when Frazier discovered the problem with the stability of the scope, the FBI tried to sight-in the rifle and make it as accurate as possible. They found this was impossible, and that it still fired an average of over 4 inches high and 2 1/2 inches to the right at 100 yards when using the scope even after it was stabilized. While some, apparently including the FBI and Warren Commission, have chosen to assume this misalignment was the misalignment of the rifle on 11-22, and would have worked to Oswald's advantage, they miss entirely that having the rifle fire high and to the right at a distant target moving up and to the right in the scope would only have been an advantage if Oswald knew exactly how misaligned his scope was--and that he only could have known this had he had extensive practice with his rifle...extensive practice for which the FBI and Warren Commission found no evidence...
- In any event, when, subsequent to the FBI, the Army tested the rifle, they found it necessary to add wooden shims beneath the scope mount to bring it into alignment. This was acknowledged in the 3-31-64 testimony of Ronald Simmons, Chief of the Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the Ballistics Research Laboratory of the Department of the Army. The gunsmith who'd worked on the rifle made an interesting observation, moreover, which he passed on to Warren Commission counsel Melvin Eisenberg on April 6, 1964. Eisenberg's Memo for the Record on this conversation was published in the commission's volumes as CE 2560. It reads *"There were three pieces in the scope examined by the BRL gunsmith. Two pieces were .015 inches thick, so placed as to elevate the scope with respect to the gun. One piece was .020 inches thick so placed as to point the scope leftward with respect to the gun. The gunsmith observed that the scope as we received it was installed as if for a left-handed man."* Well, this is fairly confusing, as it suggests the shims were already on the rifle when received by the BRL, when Simmons testified to the opposite. We can only assume, then, that Eisenberg's words are misleading, and that he should have written *"three pieces in the scope **added in** by the BRL gunsmith,"* and not *"**examined** by the gunsmith."* In any event, the gunsmith's observation that *"the scope as we received it was installed as if for a left-handed man"* feeds back into the sniper data book's observation that right-eye dominant shooters have trouble with targets moving left to right, and Ayooob's observation that the best shooters during the re-enactment he'd witnessed had both been left-handed, and presumably left-eye dominant. Was the sniper in the sniper's nest a left-eye dominant shooter firing right-handed to simulate Oswald? Hmmm...

- In 1969, Dr. John Lattimer gave a presentation to the New York Academy of Medicine on his own attempts to replicate Oswald's supposed feat. While claiming his tests showed that Oswald could have performed the shooting, he made some interesting observations which did not remotely support this conclusion. After discussing his acquisition of four rifles like Oswald's, fitting them with scopes like the one found on Oswald's rifle, and picking out the rifle which most closely resembled its overall condition, he admitted: *"To align the sight perfectly, it was necessary to place thin metal wafers (shims) under the front ring of the mount of the telescope, just as had been found necessary with Oswald's rifle, in order to correct the faulty alignment of the telescope."* Well, the shims added to Oswald's rifle were added after it was found in the depository, not before; this suggests that Oswald's rifle was inaccurate, at least when using the scope, and that this was an inherent defect of that rifle and scope combination, not a problem created afterward as presumed by so many single-assassin theorists.
- Lattimer continued: *"It was found that with the sling binding the rifle tightly to the experimenter's arm, and by resting both forearms flat against the legs, above the knees (as was possible from Oswald's high perch), three cartridges could be worked through the action in six or seven seconds, still allowing a short period for aiming, before each simulated shot. If the interval between each shot was increased to five seconds (10 seconds total) aiming became quite easy."* Lattimer failed to explain that he was firing at stationary targets, and that tracking or leading a moving target would be more difficult, and take more time. But I digress...
- Lattimer then said something quite interesting. He noted: *"It was found necessary not only to push the bolt vigorously forward but to pull it vigorously back, each time, with more force than is usually required with bolt-action rifles. Facility with these motions was acquired with many, many workings of the action over a period of two weeks of both simulated and actual firing. It became obvious to us that the ability to fire this rapidly and dexterously required a prolonged period of practice."* Lattimer then proceeded to speculate that Oswald's failed attempt on General Walker "might have persuaded him to sharpen his skill at rapid fire (as he did all too well) by further practice, before November 22..." Well, I'll be. Lattimer's belief Oswald fired the shots is related to his belief Oswald had extensive practice with his rifle...something both the FBI and Warren Commission specifically ruled out!
- Lattimer then drove this point home: *"The prolonged period of practice and familiarization was found to be essential for the achievement of any kind of accuracy during rapid firing of this rifle. In general, we were surprised and interested to observe how effectively proficiency with this rifle could be acquired, if plenty of time was allowed."* Well this suggests as well that a prolonged period of defamiliarization with this rifle would lead to a degeneration of one's skills, does it not? The Warren Commission found no evidence that Oswald had even touched, let alone fired, his rifle for at least six weeks prior to the shooting. They found no evidence he'd ever used it to fire on a moving target. They found no cleaning equipment or spare ammunition among his possessions. This should make us suspect that, if one man fired all the shots on Kennedy, he was either a much better shot than Oswald was presumed to have been in 1963, or had been practicing with Oswald's rifle for some time prior to 11-22.
- This suspicion has received support from surprising sources. On August 27, 1972, Governor John Connally, at that time a former Secretary of the Navy and a soon-to-be Secretary of the Treasury, was asked about the possibility of two assassins on the ABC news program Issues and Answers. He replied: *"if one man did it--and I really think one man did it from all that I know about it--he was an expert at handling that rifle, no question about it, because he got off three shots in a remarkably short period of time."*
- Curiously, Massad Ayoob touched on this same point in his 1993 article when he wrote *"There is reason to believe that Oswald in 1963 had become a far better shot than he was when he only*

made sharpshooter in the Marines." Apparently, Ayoob's "reason" (or lack thereof) was that he believes Oswald fired the shots, so he must have been able to fire the shots, which means he must have been a better shot than he was when he qualified as a sharpshooter, because a mere sharpshooter would not have been accomplished enough to have fired these shots... This totally neglects that Oswald, when last tested by the Marines in 1959, had suffered a noticeable decline in his skills and had barely qualified as a marksman, far below the level of sharpshooter he'd reached in 1956. This neglects as well that in the intervening years, 1959-1963, Oswald had scarcely fired any weapon, let alone the assassination weapon, a bolt-action rifle far more difficult to operate than the semi-automatic rifle he'd fired while in the Marines.

- In 1994, former sniper Craig Roberts released his book *Kill Zone: A Sniper Looks At Dealey Plaza*. In the book, he not only expressed doubt that a right handed shooter could fire effectively from the crowded corner window of the depository, and hit a target just as it emerged from behind a tree, he recounted a discussion he had with legendary Marine Corps sniper Carlos Hathcock. Hathcock reportedly told him *"Let me tell you what we did at Quantico. We reconstructed the whole thing: the angle, the range, the moving target, the time limit, the obstacles, everything. I don't know how many times we tried it, but we couldn't duplicate what the Warren Commission said Oswald did."* This should make us suspect that the super shooter necessitated by Lattimer's observations quite possibly did not exist, and that more than one shooter fired the shots on the motorcade.

So...single-assassin theorists supporting the LPM scenario have a choice. First, to be true to Lattimer, they must agree that the Warren Commission was wrong and hold that Oswald had somehow acquired extensive practice with his rifle. Second, to be true to the accumulated literature on sniping they should either 1) assert Oswald used a gun rest and a scope, and missed anyhow, and then propose he successfully fired the next two shots while using the iron sights, or 2) take a cue from the HSCA and admit the use of a scope would only complicate his shots, and assert that he tracked the limo using the iron sights for all three shots. In any alternative, they should admit that the photos of Kennedy's stand-in taken through a 4 power scope from the sniper's nest at the moment of the head shot are deceptive, and most probably not representative of what was actually seen by the sniper.

That they continue to use this photo to push that the shots were easy and that Oswald used a scope indicates that they either have far greater faith in Oswald's ability and/or luck than warranted or far less respect for the truth than desired.

Chapter 9b: Reclaiming History from Reclaiming History

A thorough examination of a selective use of evidence

Vincent Bugliosi is the Real Oliver Stone

by Patrick Speer

Part 1: A Book for the Ages

In May 2007, a mammoth book was released defending the Warren Commission's conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, killed President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963. This book was entitled *Reclaiming History* and it was written by Vincent Bugliosi.

On the website of his publisher, W. W. Norton, the following description of Bugliosi's epic was posted:

- The book that lays all questions to rest.
- Polls reveal that over 75 percent of Americans believe there was a conspiracy behind Lee Harvey Oswald; some even believe Oswald was entirely innocent. In this absorbing and historic book—the first ever to cover the entire case—Vincent Bugliosi shows how we have come to believe such lies about an event that changed the course of history.
- The brilliant prosecutor of Charles Manson and the man who forged an iron-clad case of circumstantial guilt around O. J. Simpson in his best-selling *Outrage*, Bugliosi is perhaps the only man in America capable of "prosecuting" Oswald for the murder of President Kennedy. His book is a narrative compendium of fact, forensic evidence, reexamination of key witnesses, and common sense. Every detail and nuance is accounted for; every conspiracy theory revealed as a fraud upon the American public. Bugliosi's irresistible logic, command of the evidence, and ability to draw startling inferences shed fresh light on this American nightmare. At last we know what really happened. At last it all makes sense. 32 pages of illustrations.

To promote the book, Bugliosi and his publisher embarked on a weeks-long media blitz.

On May 10, 2007, a review of the book was published in the L.A. Times. The writer of this review, Jim Newton, was not exactly a disinterested party, as, only months before, he had released a book with the shared goal of resurrecting the reputation of Chief Justice Earl Warren. A sample of this review:

- Bugliosi worked for 20 years on this book, bringing his legal skills to bear. Weighing in at more than 1,600 pages, it offers a minutely detailed recreation of Kennedy's assassination and features the legendary prosecutor's enthusiastic (often gleeful) debunking of various conspiracy theories, concluding that Lee Harvey Oswald did indeed act alone.
- After reading what may be Bugliosi's crowning work (more than 1,600 pages, not to mention an additional 1,100 pages of notes on an accompanying CD), one thinks: At last, someone has done it, put all the pieces together. "Reclaiming History: The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy" is important not just because it's correct, though it is. It's significant not just because it is comprehensive -- surely, no one will deny that. It is essential, first and foremost, because it is conclusive. From this point forward, no reasonable person can argue that Lee Harvey Oswald was innocent; no sane person can take seriously assertions that Kennedy was killed by the CIA, Fidel Castro, the Mob, the Soviets, the Vietnamese, Texas oilmen or his vice president, Lyndon B. Johnson -- all of whom exist as suspects in the vacuous world of conspiracy theorists. Each may be guilty of crimes, but none had anything to do with Kennedy's assassination. "Reclaiming History" may finally move those accusations beyond civilized debate.
- Bugliosi...begins by re-creating the events of the assassination, describing the investigations into that terrible day and examining the evidence collected by the various police agencies, the FBI, the commission led by Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren and others. Bugliosi is a keen analyst of that material; his dissection of the medical evidence is particularly telling. He establishes that Oswald fired three shots from the window of the Texas School Book Depository. One missed; one hit Kennedy in the upper back, then passed through his body and pierced then-Texas Gov. John B. Connally; the third struck Kennedy in the back of the head, killing him.
- Those who come to Bugliosi's book with sympathy for conspiracy theories may wince at the punishment he inflicts across so many pages. He suffers no fools, and Kennedy's assassination has produced more than its share of foolish speculators; he will make some enemies with this work. It seems fair to say that he's unlikely to care.
- Bugliosi's book isn't for everyone. It is, by his admission, one of "abnormal length." Its organization -- a scintillating, minute-by-minute account of the events surrounding the assassination that segues into long chapters examining aspects of the case in fine detail -- results

in a certain amount of repetition.

- But no serious scholar of the president's assassination will ever write again on the subject without citing Bugliosi. And there are more works to come -- most promising, a long-awaited look at the Warren Commission from author Max Holland ("The Kennedy Assassination Tapes").
- No doubt there also will be more works of confusion and idiocy. Happily, however, from this point forward, all contributors to the field must build on "Reclaiming History."
- With this work, Bugliosi has definitively explained the murder that recalibrated modern America. **It is a book for the ages.**

On May 12, 2007, links to a video-taped interview of Bugliosi were posted on assassination-related newsgroups. In this video, Bugliosi explained his decision to devote so much time to his book. The words he used seemed oddly familiar. He said: *"I think the assassination is a significantly important event, sufficiently important to warrant that there be **a book for the ages** about it. And Reclaiming History is that book. When I started writing the book it was to write **a book for the ages** about the Kennedy assassination, and that's precisely what it is...It's **a book for the ages**."* Strangely prescient, this interview was supposedly filmed on 4-30-07, ten days before the publication of Newton's review calling Reclaiming History "a book for the ages."

On May 14, 2007, a review written by Bryan Burrough, a special correspondent at Vanity Fair, was published in the New York Times. A sample of this review:

- Putting aside its ridiculous length, I have to say "Reclaiming History" is in spots a delight to read. Bugliosi is refreshing because he doesn't just pick apart the conspiracy theorists. He ridicules them, and by name, writing that "most of them are as kooky as a \$3 bill." Bugliosi calls the dean of conspiracy buffs, Mark Lane, "unprincipled" and "a fraud." He quotes Harold Weisberg, the author of eight conspiracy-themed books, admitting that after 35 years of research, "much as it looks like Oswald was some kind of agent for somebody, I have not found a shred of evidence to support it."
- What Bugliosi has done is a public service; these people should be ridiculed, even shunned. It's time we marginalized Kennedy conspiracy theorists the way we've marginalized smokers; next time one of your co-workers starts in about Oswald and the C.I.A., make him stand in the rain with the other outcasts. "Reclaiming History," though, is more than a critical analysis. Bugliosi knows how to construct a narrative, and his 316-page retelling of those "four days in November," a book in itself, is as good a second-by-second reconstruction of the assassination and its aftermath as I've read.
- It's in the arguing that Bugliosi, as a former prosecutor, truly shines. When he gets down to the sweaty business of wrestling the conspiracy buffs, he charges into the ring as a righteous avenger, body-slamming everyone from Lane to *Oliver Stone*; he even throws a headlock on poor Gerald Posner, who actually agrees with him.
- This book should be applauded; I'm not sure, however, that it should be read. At this length, "Reclaiming History" is the literary equivalent of World War I, a kind of trench warfare for the mind. Is anyone really expected to read the whole thing?...Other than masochistic conspiracy buffs, I cannot imagine a soul who will.
- Bugliosi senses this. "Many other readers," he writes, "will say to themselves, 'Why does he keep piling one argument upon another to prove his point? He's already made it 12 ways from Sunday, so why go on?'" To those readers I say that the Warren Commission also made its point, and well, over 40 years ago, yet today the overwhelming majority of Americans do not accept its conclusion. ... Hence, the overkill in this book is historically necessary."
- He's probably right, which is a shame. In an age when people under 30 seem to get their news

from Jon Stewart or some guy who still lives in his mother's basement, most Americans probably do believe that there was a conspiracy, and that it involved our own government. In other words, *Oliver Stone* — for crying out loud, *Oliver Stone* — is more believable than Earl Warren, the F.B.I. or any of the august Americans who vetted the Warren Commission report. Well, after Watergate, Cambodia, Iran-contra, Monica's stained dress and weapons of mass destruction, I guess that's understandable. Go ahead and buy this book if you feel the need to poke the conspiracy-mongers in the eye, or if you've got a month or four to kill. Just be careful about the coffee table. It might break.

In the days and weeks that followed, equally positive reviews were published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The New York Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The St. Louis Press-Dispatch*, *The Washington Times*, and *The International Criminal Justice Review* (to name but a few). During these weeks Bugliosi criss-crossed the country on a promotional tour, making short appearances on TV and radio, and delivering a semi-scripted speech before large groups. At the outset of this speech, not surprisingly, he regularly quoted the L.A. Times in describing his book as "**a book for the ages**".

On May 27, 2007, Alan Wolfe, director of the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at Boston College, reviewed the book for the *Washington Post*. Here is a sample of his review:

- To say that Bugliosi wants to strike a nail in the coffin of Kennedy assassination conspiracy theorists is putting it mildly; he wants to drive a tractor trailer through their ranks and scatter everyone in sight. Is such an effort really necessary? I am afraid it is, which is another way of saying that we ought to be grateful for Bugliosi's obsession.
- Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, killed John F. Kennedy. Absent a trial proving his guilt, Bugliosi, author of *Helter Skelter*, has offered the next best thing: a prosecutor's air-tight brief that leaves no reasonable doubt. A short review cannot possibly do justice to the case he assembles, so let me just offer a taste of Bugliosi's methods. The first thing he does is to describe, in exhaustive detail, everything that happened on the day Kennedy was shot. Then, in the second half of the book, Bugliosi takes each of the leading conspiracy theories -- that there was a second Oswald, that the mob plotted the assassination, that the CIA did it and so on -- and demolishes their claims.
- If you read, or even read around in this book and still come to the conclusion that Oswald was part of a conspiracy to kill Kennedy, you are likely to believe that black helicopters have been sent by the feds to enforce the Endangered Species Act.
- Bugliosi is right that this case is, and ought to be, closed. And I share his distaste for the wild finger-pointing and often paranoid reasoning of the Warren Report's critics, from the overweening New York State Assemblyman Mark Lane in the 1960s to the *irresponsible filmmaker* *Oliver Stone* in the 1990s. Still, maybe there should be a place kept for the conspiracy theory buffs. After all, they care passionately about one of the most important political events in our history. In an age of indifference, their attention to public life, however corrosive, can be more valuable than apathy and indifference.

On September 18, 2007, the work of Bugliosi and his publicists, both paid and unpaid, paid off. TimeWarner, the parent company of HBO revealed:

- HBO Films and Playtone have acquired Vincent Bugliosi's recent epic book *Reclaiming History: The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*, which debunks conspiracy theories to establish that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone when he shot the President on Nov. 22, 1963, it was announced today by Colin Callender, president, HBO Films. Playtone's Tom Hanks and Gary Goetzman will executive produce the ten-part miniseries with Bill Paxton, the star of the

HBO series *Big Love*, which Playtone produces in association with HBO...

- The project found its way to Playtone and HBO through the efforts of actor Bill Paxton, a native Texan who brought the recently published book to Hanks and Goetzman, his producers on HBO's *Big Love*. A native Texan, Paxton was a child when he accompanied his 11-year-old brother and father to an appearance that President Kennedy made in Paxton's hometown of Fort Worth on Nov. 22, 1963 before moving on to visit Dallas.

Bill Paxton had believed the hype.

And who could blame him?

Here was his chance to get involved in an important project, one reportedly "for the ages." Here was a golden opportunity to help Vincent Bugliosi in his quest to reclaim history from the distortions of conspiracy theorists, including but not limited to the much-vilified Oliver Stone.

But what Bill Paxton didn't realize is that Vincent Bugliosi is the real Oliver Stone.

Part 2: Throwing Stones

From the publicity campaign of Vincent Bugliosi's publisher, and the media praise for his book, someone not fully immersed in the historical facts of the assassination, such as Bill Paxton, would almost certainly have come to believe that Vincent Bugliosi is a meticulous researcher, with an unparalleled understanding of the case. He would also no doubt have come to believe that Bugliosi is nothing like Oliver Stone, a film maker who, in 1991, dared to make a film depicting what he described as a counter-myth to the officially-sanctioned myth that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in killing President Kennedy, and someone whose name is now bandied-about by conservatives the way Senator Joe McCarthy's name was once bandied about by liberals.

In interviews promoting his book, Bugliosi fed this impression. He repeated with regularity that "Oliver Stone's movie, JFK, is one continuous lie." In several of the interviews he went further and claimed that, with his film, Stone had committed "cinematic murder." Bugliosi's disdain for Stone was nothing new. Way back in 1992, shortly after the release of Stone's film, Bugliosi had complained that Stone "deliberately twisted and warped the record."

At that point in time Bugliosi's comments received scant attention, as he was simply piling on. Before Stone's film had even been completed, on May 14, 1991, Jon Margolis of the Dallas Morning News declared: *"There is a point at which intellectual myopia becomes morally repugnant. Stone's new movie proves that he has passed that point."* On December 15, 1991, in the New York Times, Tom Wicker complained that Stone *"implies that anyone who doesn't share his one true faith is either an active part of a coverup or passively acquiescent of it...he uses the powerful instrument of a motion picture, and relies on stars of the entertainment world to propagate the one true faith."* On December 17, in the Washington Post, Gerald Ford and David Belin asserted that charges in Stone's film *"are a desecration to the memory of President Kennedy, a desecration to the memory of Earl Warren and a fraudulent misrepresentation of the truth to the American public."* On December 23 an article in Newsweek pointedly called Stone's film *"a work of propaganda."* On December 25 Brent Staples of the New York Times complained that the film *"contains one factual misstatement after another."* On December 29 an editorial in the Chicago Sun-Times boldly asserted that it was an *"inaccurate and distorted motion picture"*. A December 30 article in the Los Angeles Times written by Richard Mosk, moreover, called Stone's film a *"false history"* and complained that *"for motion picture moguls after a fast buck to portray fiction as fact and to assassinate the characters of the living as well as the dead is irresponsible and inexcusable."* On January 28, 1992, in the Wall Street Journal, Joseph Califano, a former adviser to Kennedy's successor, Lyndon Johnson, denounced Stone's film as *"a disgraceful concoction of lies and distortions"*. And finally, on April 2, 1992, the man in the middle, former

Johnson assistant Jack Valenti, who, ironically enough, was then sitting at the helm of the Motion Picture Academy of America, shared his thoughts with the New York Times. Valenti called Stone's film a "hoax." He asserted that *"In scene after scene Mr. Stone plasters together the half true and the totally false and from that he manufactures the plausible...In much the same way, young German boys and girls in 1941 were mesmerized by Leni Riefenstahl's Triumph of the Will in which Adolf Hitler was depicted as a newborn God."*

And so Oliver Stone, a film maker who presented an admitted work of fiction, but one which felt more true to many than the official story told by the Warren Commission, was denounced as some sort of Nazi-styled propagandist, and by the head of the Motion Picture Academy of America no less.

With Reclaiming History, Bugliosi revived this line of attack:

- On page 1357 Bugliosi writes *"When Stone was met with an unexpected avalanche of media criticism for the distortions and inventions in his movie around the time of release, some of which he was forced to acknowledge, he retreated by saying that the Warren Commission was a myth and JFK was a 'counter-myth' but, obviously, he said this just to get him past the moment...You can't tell one major lie about the assassination after another for three consecutive hours, and with full knowledge that, as Vincent Canby says, 'anything shown in a movie tends to be taken as a truth,' and escape responsibility for your monstrous hoax by suggesting you are only presenting an alternative view for the audience's consideration."*
- On page 1431, he continues to rail against Stone and his film: *"the movie is virtually one continuous lie in which Stone couldn't find any level of deception and invention beyond which he was unwilling to go. And yet the whole thrust of the movie is that what was being depicted on the screen was the truth, and everyone else was lying...But Oliver, how can the truth be known when you did everything within your power to make sure that your audience never knew what the evidence showed the truth to be?"*
- Shortly thereafter, Bugliosi engages in some amateur psychiatry, with Stone as his patient: *"In achieving what he perceives to be a 'higher truth' in the Kennedy assassination, he was willing to take enormous liberties with the truth, making him a classic example of one who believes that the end justifies the means."*
- On page 1435, Bugliosi explains to his readers why he is different than Stone: *"I believe that history is sacred and should not knowingly be tampered with. In imposing a narrative on a historical event, obviously a certain amount of dramatic license and embellishment is unavoidable, but even this device should be used with great caution and economy. Outright fabrications of important matters that necessarily cause viewers or readers to reach a different conclusion is a cultural crime. We can only ensure the past's future if we respect its truths."*
- On page 1436, he concludes his assessment of Stone: *"the history of the assassination has not been forgotten by Oliver Stone. Except for those instances where ignorance is his only defense, it's been deliberately invented or ignored. That's fine. But he had a moral, if not a legal obligation, to tell his audience what he was up to...in his introduction to his friend Fletcher Prouty's book, Stone, alluding to the fact that the victor writes the history of an event, asks, 'Who owns reality? Who owns our history? He who makes it up so that most everyone believes it. That person wins.' For once, I agree with Oliver Stone. That is, unless the fabricator is exposed, as I trust I have done in this book."*

From these statements, it is clear that Bugliosi considers Stone's methods reprehensible, and considers himself a more moral and trustworthy man than Stone. But is this true?

In the Introduction to Reclaiming History, on page xxxix:, Bugliosi writes: *"when anyone purporting to write the history of the event fabricates, distorts, or misleads about the facts of the case, it is not only*

advisable but incumbent upon those who subsequently write about the event to point out these lies and distortions. If they do not the lies themselves will harden in the future into "facts" and millions will be misled. This is precisely what has already happened in this case. After all, if future writers don't correct the errors and distortions of their predecessors, then who will? If they don't have the responsibility to do this, who does? Therefore, if those who follow me find that in writing this book I myself have taken liberties with the truth, I would expect them to bring this to the attention of their readers."

This brings us to the heart of our discussion.

Part 3: The Case Against Vincent Bugliosi

Explicit in Bugliosi's criticism of Stone and his film is that Stone, as a creator of narrative and of film, was under a special obligation to present the facts as accurately as possible. Implicit in this argument is that Bugliosi himself has presented his facts as accurately as possible in his book, and has not been deliberately deceptive. This, I believe is untrue.

In earlier discussions of Bugliosi's book, available online, I have pointed out some glaring inconsistencies. On pages 421-423 of *Reclaiming History* Bugliosi asserts that the entrance wound on Kennedy's back was below the exit wound on his throat, but, as Kennedy was leaning forward when hit, this still reflected a shot shot from above and behind. He cites the expert opinions of the HSCA's medical panel in support of this argument, and includes three illustrations to demonstrate how this could be true. But then, on page 424, he declares that he personally compared two autopsy photos, and that they prove the back wound was actually above the throat wound. He never explains why his inexpert analysis of these photos should be trusted over the analysis of the "experts" he has just cited. On page 41 he writes that the second shot was fired 4.9 seconds before the fatal head shot, which correlates to a shot impacting around frame 224 of the Zapruder film. And yet, in the second photo section, he proposes that the shot occurred within a split second of frame 210 of the Zapruder film. On page 458, he incorrectly argues that Governor Connally's seat in the limousine was 6 inches inboard of its right door, and that Governor Connally's right armpit was therefore in perfect alignment to receive a bullet exiting President Kennedy's throat. And yet, in the second photo section, he presents a computer-generated image of the limousine based on a schematic of the limousine, which reveals the seat to have been only 2.5 inches inboard of the door. These are, most likely, honest and understandable mistakes, revealing only that Bugliosi was human and unable to master the complex questions surrounding the medical evidence, the Zapruder film, and the precise locations of Kennedy and Connally within the limousine.

But there is an aspect to the case which requires no special knowledge, an aspect to the case that anyone with the ability to read can readily comprehend. This aspect, moreover, is the central pillar around which a seasoned prosecutor like Bugliosi would normally build his case. His source notes, in fact, display a clear familiarity with this aspect of the case.

This aspect is none other than the sworn statements and testimony of the eyewitnesses to the shooting.

One would think that someone with Bugliosi's reputation and reverence for history would treat the statements of these witnesses with respect.

But while reading *Reclaiming History* I found this was far from the case. As Valenti once said of Stone, Bugliosi "plasters together the half true and the totally false and from that he manufactures the plausible."

So let's take a close look at how Mr. "narrative should be used with great caution and economy" performs, when describing the central event of his "book for the ages." Let's see if what Bugliosi has described as possibly the most-sourced book in non-fiction history is an accurate reflection of its sources, or just an accurate reflection of Bugliosi's desire to reclaim history for himself.

Before we can begin, however, we need to understand that among the questions about the case Bugliosi purports to answer is the timing of the shots that killed the President. On page 39, Bugliosi writes "First shot---:00.0 seconds BANG!," and describes reactions to this shot. On page 40, he writes "Second shot--:03.5 seconds BANG!" and describes reactions to this shot. And then on page 41, he writes "Third shot--:08.4 seconds BANG!" and describes reactions to this shot, which he asserts strikes Kennedy in the head. As these descriptions are in Book One of Reclaiming History, which Bugliosi modestly entitles "Matters of Fact--What Happened," and as he dedicates his book to the "historical record" which he holds to be "sacred," it is more than clear that Bugliosi is asserting that the timing of these shots, and the testimony he uses to describe these shots, is in keeping with the historical record, and is not just his gut feeling about what might have happened.

We can put this to the test. As the final shot presented by Bugliosi impacts on Kennedy's cranium at frame 313 of Abraham Zapruder's film of the shooting, and as Zapruder's camera is believed to have been filming roughly 18.3 frames per second, it becomes apparent that Bugliosi is claiming the second shot impacted circa frame 224 of the film, and the first shot circa frame 160. This scenario, currently the rage among Bugliosi's fellow single-assassin theorists, is considerably longer than the scenario initially suggested by the FBI and Secret Service in 1964, and, not surprisingly, gives the shooter firing Oswald's bolt-action rifle much more time to fire his shots.

There's a huge problem with this scenario, however. Just after frame 160 of the Zapruder film, Kennedy smiles to the crowd, and waves to a group of cheering women at his right.

So let's see if Bugliosi's narrative for this first shot, beginning on page 39, describes this event and presents any witnesses to assert that Kennedy ignored the first shot and resumed waving to the crowd.

Sorry, no need to waste your time. There are no such witnesses.

So then let's see if the statements and testimony of the witnesses he does offer actually support his scenario, once one studies their entire statements and testimony. When their statements support his scenario, or can reasonably be interpreted as supporting his scenario, we'll call it a **FAIR** use of evidence. When their statements fail to suggest his scenario, and suggest another scenario entirely, and this information is concealed from the reader, we'll call it an **UNFAIR** use of evidence. And when he uses statements and testimony in his book, in a way that appears to deliberately mislead the reader, we'll call it a **SUSPICIOUS** use of evidence. When we've already written Bugliosi's use of a witness off as unfair or suspicious, however, and he accurately presents this witness a second or third time to describe an unrelated response to the shots, we'll call it a fair use of evidence. Those pressed for time may wish to simply look for the word **SUSPICIOUS**, then backtrack to the name of the preceding witness, and read my discussion of why Bugliosi's treatment of this witness is indeed suspicious.

(The letters and numbers in parentheses in the following discussion refer to the locations of source documents in the Warren Commission documents available at Maryferrell.org. A number at the beginning refers to the Warren Commission appendix number, the number following the H refers to the page. A CD at the beginning means the document was not released in one of the Warren Commission's 26 volumes, and can only be found online in the Warren Commission documents section of the website. The number after the CD refers to the document, the numbers after the "p" refers to the page.)

Bugliosi's First Strike

- Bugliosi's narrative starts out awkwardly. He writes of this first shot: "*The three stock boys in the Depository think it's a firearm salute for the President*". Well, call me Mr. PC if you like, but I suspect an order checker like James Jarman would not appreciate being called a "stock boy"--seeing as he was 34 years old and had served 8 years in the U.S. Army and all. As one of the other "stock boys", Harold Norman, was 26, in fact, we should suspect that the "boy" status of

these men has little to do with their age. (If you guessed that all three men were black, you win a cookie.)

- Bugliosi then specifies the thoughts of the third "stock boy". He writes: "*maybe, **Bonnie Ray Williams** thinks, it's a firecracker.*" For Bugliosi, Williams' impressions are of paramount importance. Later, on page 469, he uses Williams' assumption that Kennedy was brushing back his hair just before the first shot as evidence the shot rang out around frame 160 of the Zapruder film. What Bugliosi conceals from his readers, however, is that an affidavit signed by Williams on the day of the shooting reveals that he heard but two shots (24H229) and that he subsequently confirmed this appraisal in statements to the FBI (CD5 p330-333) and Secret Service (CD87 p784). If Williams heard but two shots, the first of which was a missed shot as early as frame 160, as Bugliosi purports, this means he somehow missed hearing one of the two shots to impact on Kennedy, even though the shooter firing these shots was, according to Bugliosi, in the sixth floor sniper's nest of the school book depository, just a few yards above the open fifth floor window occupied by Williams.
- Apparently, this point was not lost on Bugliosi, as he bypasses these early statements and cites Williams' Warren Commission testimony as his source for Williams' thoughts about the firecracker. Here, after months of hearing that Oswald had fired three shots, Williams finally relented and said he heard three shots. But there's a huge problem with this. Williams didn't just testify to hearing three shots, he testified as to how he heard them. Williams stated: "*there was two shots rather close together. The second and the third shot was closer together than the first shot and the second shot, as I remember...the first shot—I really did not pay much attention to it, because I did not know what was happening. The second shot it sounded like it was right in the building, the second and third shot. And it sounded—it even shook the building...I heard three shots, but at first I told the FBI I only heard two--they took me down--because I was excited, and I couldn't remember too well. But later on, as everything began to die down, I got my memory even a little better than on the 22nd. I remembered three shots, because there was a pause between the first two shots. There was two real quick. There was three shots.*" (3H 161-184)
- In Bugliosi's scenario, of course, the first and second shots are much closer together than the second and third. As the Zapruder film demonstrates that Kennedy is hit somewhere between frames 190 and 224, and then again at 313, any statement claiming the last two shots were closer together implies either that the first shot came way before frame 160, even before Zapruder began filming the motorcade on Elm--which Bugliosi would reject--or that the first shot did not miss. Williams' testimony that the last two shots were closer together, particularly when viewed through the prism that, as reported by Psychologist Elizabeth Loftus among others, time normally slows down for eyewitnesses as traumatic events unfold, is therefore a clear suggestion that the first shot did not miss. (The mutual exclusivity of the first shot's having missed and the last two shots being closer together than shots one and two is depicted in Appendix One.) As Bugliosi proposes there were three shots, and that the last two were almost five seconds apart, he could have argued that the first shot heard by Williams was the second shot proposed by himself, and that Williams later re-interpreted the third shot as two shots. But Bugliosi never discusses this possibility. He needs Williams, crouched just yards from Oswald, to have heard the three shots he's proposing. And so he uses the movement of Kennedy's hand to brush back his hair, seen at frame 133 of the Zapruder film, and described by Williams and his co-workers on the fifth floor as the last movement they saw Kennedy make before the first shot, to suggest the shot rang out as early as frame 160. This conveniently overlooks that Williams and his co-workers were watching the motorcade from just below the sniper's nest, and that an oak tree would have blocked their view of Kennedy from frames 170 to 210 of the Zapruder

film (Testimony of Lyndal Shaneyfelt, 5H138-165), and that they therefore couldn't have seen Kennedy wave to the crowd at his right, starting around frame 175, cited by those closer to Kennedy as his last movement before the first shot (Testimony of Kenneth O'Donnell, 7H440-457, Testimony of Abraham Zapruder, 7H569-576 among others). Bugliosi's use of Williams to describe a shot he probably did not hear is **UNFAIR**.

- Bugliosi then presents **Virgie Rackley** as a witness to the first shot's impact. He uses her Warren Commission testimony (where she testified under her newly acquired name of Mrs. Donald Baker) to assert that a bullet missed Kennedy and hit the pavement of Elm Street behind the limousine. But here, once again, Bugliosi's treatment of his witness is...amiss. Bugliosi conceals from his readers that there is reason to doubt Rackley saw the bullet hit behind the limousine, as the earliest FBI report on Rackley, based on an interview conducted on the Sunday after the shooting, reflects *"after the first shot she saw something bounce from the roadway in front of the Presidential automobile and now presumes it was a bullet bouncing off the pavement."* (CD5, p66-67) Yes, the FBI claimed she originally said the bullet bounced in front of the limousine, and not behind.
- This is an important difference. While Bugliosi concedes that Baker thought the first sound she heard was *"a firecracker thrown by some boys who are fixing to get in a lot of trouble"* he fails to tell his readers that Baker's imaginary boys were standing *"close to the underpass"* or *"near the signs"*, and that this signifies that the firecracker or "sparks" she saw on the street were not indicative of a missed shot fired from behind, but from in front. He also conceals that Mrs. Baker was standing in front of the sniper's nest in the school book depository at the time of the shots and that she nevertheless testified that the explosion she heard *"sounded like it was coming from—there was a railroad track...so I guess it would be by the underpass."* (7H507-515) The underpass, was of course, in front of the limousine at the time of the shooting, and in the same direction from Baker as the "grassy knoll" believed by many to be the source of at least one of the shots.
- Even if one should grant that the FBI report was incorrect about the future Mrs. Baker's early impression of the presumed bullet impact, and even if one should grant that she was confused by echoes and had thereby misidentified the source of all the shots, there remains a significant problem with Bugliosi's use of her testimony to sell that the first shot missed circa frame 160 of the Zapruder film. He seems to be aware of this problem. On page 471, while discussing the first shot, Bugliosi asserts that Rackley told the FBI the first shot rang out *"immediately"* after the car drove past her location in front of the school book depository. But a close look at the FBI report cited by Bugliosi (CD5 p.66-67) shows it actually reads *"almost immediately."* Even worse, in Bugliosi's source notes for his narrative of the shots, Bugliosi cites Warren Commission Exhibit CE 354 as support for his use of Rackley. CE 354 is a photograph of Dealey Plaza, the site of the shooting, with notations by various witnesses, including Miss Rackley/ Mrs. Baker. Baker's circled numeral 2, recording her testimony as to the location of the firecracker or "sparks" she saw hit the street, is, clearly, 70 feet or more further down the street than Kennedy at the time of Bugliosi's proposed first shot. It is, in fact, almost exactly at the location of Kennedy at the time of Bugliosi's proposed second shot. While one might muse that Rackley/Baker was simply mistaken about this location, a close look at CE 354 shows that her mark of a circled numeral 1, where she was standing during the shots, is three times as far from her circled numeral 2, signifying the location of the firecracker or sparks, than from the location of the limousine at Bugliosi's proposed first shot. It seems hard to believe Mrs. Baker would testify that these sparks were over 100 feet away from her, if in fact they were no further than 35. (CE 354 can be viewed in Appendix Two of this essay). Bugliosi's use of Baker to describe a missed shot around frame 160, without telling his readers she thought the shot was

fired from in front of the limousine, and at a much later time, is undoubtedly **SUSPICIOUS**.

Should the reader think my dissecting the statements and testimony of these witnesses, and revealing that Bugliosi has concealed evidence that tends to contradict his version of events, is itself unfair, or simply "nit-picking," the reader should consider that Bugliosi himself asserts that a non-fiction writer has a responsibility to alert his readers to evidence that runs counter to his narrative. In the Introduction to *Reclaiming History*, while explaining why he believes his massive book was necessary, Bugliosi attacks previous Warren Commission defenders Jim Moore and Gerald Posner for leaving important information out of their arguments. He rightly argues that Posner, whose book, *Case Closed*, has quite a following among Bugliosi's readers, cherry-picked the testimony of certain witnesses, and that this resulted in a "*distortion and misrepresentation*" of the evidence. He asserts then that if only Posner "*had more credibility, the enormous conspiracy community would not have had the ammunition that they have used against him.*"

This leads Bugliosi to draw a line in the sand: "*I can assure conspiracy theorists who have very effectively savaged Posner in their books that they're going to have a much, much more difficult time with me. As a trial lawyer in front of a jury and an author of true-crime books, credibility has always meant everything to me. My only master and my only mistress are the facts and objectivity. I have no others...I will not knowingly omit or distort anything. However, with literally millions of pages of documents on this case, there are undoubtedly references in some of them that conspiracy theorists feel are supportive of a particular point of theirs, but that I simply never came across.*" In the 4-30-07 interview promoting his book, and in the speeches online from his publicity tour, Bugliosi expands upon this theme. He says that no one is "*gonna be able to say 'Oh, he included this paragraph from this letter but he conveniently neglected to put in the second paragraph which completely changes the meaning of the first paragraph.'* They're not gonna be able to do that because I don't do that. That's not my style...*If there's any weakness in a position that I've taken, if there's any argument, I state it, and then I knock it down. But I don't ignore it, and I don't distort it.*" Sounds reasonable to me.

- Next up for Bugliosi is Secret Service agent **Paul Landis**. He uses Landis' statements to suggest the first shot came from behind the limousine. Later, on page 468, he uses Landis' statements to suggest this shot rang out when the motorcade had just turned onto Elm, and that this first shot missed. To this end Bugliosi quotes Landis as follows: "*the President's car and the Follow-up car had just completed their turns and both were straightening out. At this moment I heard what sounded like the report of a high-powered rifle from behind me, over my right shoulder.*" But let's read the next lines of Landis' statement to see what else he has to say: "*When I heard the sound there was no question in my mind what it was. My first glance was at the President, as I was practically looking in his direction anyway. I saw him moving in a manner which I thought was to look in the direction of the sound. I did not realize that President Kennedy had been shot at this point.*" (18H751-757) Landis could recall but two shots, the first one just described that made the President move and that he later concluded hit the President. This is not the first shot described by Bugliosi, after which Kennedy waved happily to the crowd at his right. The second shot heard by Landis exploded the President's skull. Bugliosi fails to explain how Landis, once alerted to an assassination attempt by what Bugliosi proposes was an early missed shot, could have failed to notice that Kennedy continued waving after this shot, and could have failed to notice one of the two subsequent shots to strike his President. His using Landis to suggest the first shot missed is therefore misleading and **UNFAIR**.
- Bugliosi then describes the actions of Secret Service Agent **Rufus Youngblood**, Vice-President Johnson's bodyguard. He has Youngblood hear the first shot, notice "*unnatural movements*" in the President's follow-up car, and then move to protect Vice-President Johnson. There are real problems with Bugliosi's using Youngblood's testimony to describe a shot as early as frame 160,

however. One problem with this is that the Vice-President's car was just turning onto Elm at the moment of Bugliosi's first shot, and that Youngblood, in the Warren Commission testimony cited by Bugliosi, described the moment of the first shot as follows: *"Well, the crowd had begun to diminish; looking ahead and to the right the crowd became spotty. I mean it wasn't continuous at all like it had been. As we were beginning to go down this incline, all of a sudden there was an explosive noise."* This undoubtedly suggests the shot came after they'd completed their turn and were heading down Elm. (The location of Johnson's Lincoln at frame 160 can be observed in Appendix Three of this essay). Even more telling, during Youngblood's testimony, counsel Arlen Specter asked him to draw an "A" on Exhibit 354 to mark the location of the Vice-Presidential car at the moment of the first shot. (2H144-155) This is the same exhibit cited by Bugliosi in his discussion of Rackley. Not surprisingly, Youngblood's mark is well down Elm street, possibly even further than the vice-president's car at the time of Bugliosi's second shot. (CE 354 can be viewed in Appendix Two of this essay).

- Youngblood's description of the first shot's aftermath is also a problem for Bugliosi: *"I quickly observed unnatural movement of crowds, like ducking or scattering, and quick movements in the Presidential follow-up car."* The Zapruder film shows no "unnatural movements" in the President's follow-up car for several seconds after Bugliosi's proposed first shot. It is also problematic that the men making these "unnatural movements" would almost universally conclude that the first shot that got their attention had in fact struck the President. Youngblood's testimony, therefore, is not only a clear indication the first shot was fired after Bugliosi's proposed time for this shot, but that the first shot struck Kennedy. Bugliosi's use of Youngblood to describe a first shot miss at frame 160 of the Zapruder film is therefore **SUSPICIOUS**.
- Bugliosi then describes the actions of **Governor Connally**, who has come to be something of a star witness for the first shot miss with Bugliosi's supporters, even though he never once proposed such a thing. Bugliosi has Governor Connally hear the first shot and turn to his right, realize what is happening, and blurt out *"Oh, no, no, no!"* Now, this is just strange. Connally testified that he yelled out after he was shot, and not before. On his endnotes Bugliosi acknowledges his disregard for Connally's testimony and makes the argument that the testimony of Mrs. Connally, who thought her husband yelled out before he was shot, and Mrs. Kennedy, who said she turned to look at Connally when she heard him yell out, and even the Zapruder film, which shows Mrs. Kennedy turn to her right before Connally appears to have been hit, confirm that Connally yelled out before he was shot, and not after.
- Bugliosi disregards common sense in the process. A close look at the Zapruder film, which Bugliosi uses to defend this strange conclusion, will convince most anyone with a notion of how humans appear when talking that Connally yells *"Oh, no, no, no!"* around frame Z-240, after Bugliosi's proposed second shot. While this is readily apparent, in 1987 researcher Martin Shackelford contacted a deaf couple to watch the film, and see what they could see. They reported that Connally yells out *"No, no, no, no!"* between frames 242 and 250, and that he immediately follows this with *"My God, they're going to kill us all!"* As Shackelford's article on the deaf couple's translation is featured on the website of Marquette University professor John McAdams, Google's top-ranked assassination-related website, and as this website is pretty much required reading for single-assassin theorists, a la Bugliosi, it is hard to believe that Bugliosi would be unaware of the deaf couple's comments.
- But this is not the only manner in which Bugliosi distorts Connally's testimony. When describing Connally's first thoughts after hearing this first shot, he writes: *"Connally knows it isn't a firecracker or a blowout or anything else. It's a rifle shot."* The source notes for this passage reflect that this assertion can be found in Connally's testimony either before the Warren Commission, or in his subsequent testimony before the House Select Committee on

Assassinations (the HSCA). Well, this is pretty slippery. Connally's discussion of a rifle shot comes from his HSCA testimony. His original testimony to the Warren Commission, which Bugliosi chose not to reveal, however, was more specific. He testified: *"the thought immediately passed through my mind that there were either two or three people involved or more in this or someone was shooting with an automatic rifle."* Bugliosi, apparently, has no interest in telling his readers that Connally, a former Secretary of the Navy, thought the first shot sounded like a burst of bullets from an automatic weapon. While one can see how someone like Oliver Stone--a dramatist--would cherry-pick parts from the various statements and testimony of a witness to help him present his narrative, Bugliosi, through his publicity blitz and writings, has promised us something far more respectful of the historical record. And has failed to deliver.

- It is just not reasonable to argue that Connally's testimony supports the first shot miss proposed by Bugliosi. On page 468 of *Reclaiming History*, Bugliosi argues that Connally's testifying to have heard a shot when the limo had *"just made the turn"* indicates the shot was fired before frame 166 of the Zapruder film. This is unbelievably deceptive. Here's what Connally actually said: *"We had--we had gone, I guess, 150 feet, maybe 200 feet, I don't recall how far it was, heading down to get on the freeway, the Stemmons Freeway, to go out to the hall where we were going to have lunch and, as I say, the crowds had begun to thin, and we could--I was anticipating that we were going to be at the hall in approximately 5 minutes from the time we turned on Elm Street. We had just made the turn, well, when I heard what I thought was a shot."* 150-200 feet down Elm is 35-85 feet further down the street than the limousine was at frame 160 of the Zapruder film, and is, in fact, more in line with the limo's location at frame 224, the time of Bugliosi's second shot.
- Should Bugliosi have ignored this testimony because he believed Connally was simply bad at judging distances, he should have looked for other evidence provided by the Commission, which confirmed or conflicted with Connally's appraisal of this distance. He wouldn't have had to look far. On page 133 of Connally's Warren Commission testimony counsel Arlen Specter hands the Governor an overhead photograph of Dealey Plaza and asks him to mark where he was *"at the time the shooting first started."* The Governor states *"I would say it would be about where this truck is here. It looks like a truck. I would say about in that neighborhood."* He then marks the photo. This marked photo was placed into evidence as Commission Exhibit 699. (4H129-146)) When one compares this photo to the surveyor's plat of Dealey Plaza, moreover, one can see that the area marked by Connally is nowhere near where Bugliosi holds Connally was riding when he heard the first shot, and that it is, in fact, almost exactly where Connally was at the moment of Bugliosi's second shot. Bugliosi, who, we should repeat, sub-titles the section of his book containing the re-enactment and discussion of the shots *"Matters of Fact--What Happened"* fails to tell his readers here that Connally not only believed the first shot did not miss, but that it rang out seconds after the moment Bugliosi claims it missed. (CE 699 can be seen in Appendix Four of this essay.) Bugliosi's use of Connally's statements and testimony is therefore **SUSPICIOUS**.
- It also quite revealing about his method of operation, and his apparent disregard for consistency. For while Bugliosi uses Connally's testimony at this point of his book to sell that there was a first shot around frame 160, and that it missed, he later dismisses the relevance of Connally's testimony altogether. On page 480, to counter Connally's claim that he and Kennedy were not hit by the same bullet, he writes that Connally would be *"perhaps one of the least likely persons in the world who would know things such as this,"* as he was shot himself, and in a state of shock. This is to ignore that Connally's impression they were hit by separate bullets came not from his recollection of the shot which hit him, but from his immediate impression that the first shot--which Bugliosi holds was fired 3.5 seconds earlier--struck Kennedy, coupled

with his wife's recollection of seeing Kennedy react to the first shot, coupled with his doctor's impression that the shot striking him had not struck Kennedy. Bugliosi then goes on to explain why Connally's statements on the shooting should not be seriously considered. On page 481, Bugliosi concludes: *"The only thing that rings true to me about the governor's reflections on what was happening around the time he was hit is not when he tries to be precise, but when he said things like this in his 1978 testimony before the HSCA: 'When I was hit, or shortly before I was hit--no, I guess it was after I was hit...' All of his hesitation and confusion is more in keeping with what I would expect from a witness who had sustained the kind of injuries Connally did."* Seeing as Connally's testimony that he turned to the right as a response to the first shot is the cornerstone upon which Bugliosi's case for a first shot miss has been built, his subsequent attack on Connally's credibility, to counter Connally's fervent belief that the first shot hit Kennedy, is a bit bizarre. While Bugliosi might try to lawyer his way out of this by claiming that Connally's confusion "around the time he was hit" began just after the first shot miss, this seems rather arbitrary, and avoids the uncomfortable fact that Connally, when asked to mark his impression of the limo's location at the time of the first shot--an impression created before he'd been hit--marked CE 699 at a point much further down the road than the limo's location at the moment of Bugliosi's missed shot.

- Bugliosi then moves on to the women of the limousine. He has First Lady **Jacqueline Kennedy** turn to her right when she hears the Governor yell "Oh, no, no, no!". As her testimony saying as much was cited by Bugliosi as a reason to disregard Connally's testimony, her presence here is no surprise. But one wonders why he has given her clearly confused testimony so much weight, at the expense of the far-more consistent Connally. Perhaps he realized that by having Mrs. Kennedy turn to the Governor before he's shot, he could explain her behavior in the Zapruder film, where she looks to her right, at both the Governor and at the President, nearly two seconds before Bugliosi proposes they were shot. The problem is that Mrs. Kennedy's testimony, as disjointed as it is, is fairly clear on one point: Governor Connally was already hit when she looked at him. She testified: *"the one that made me turn around was Governor Connally yelling...Governor Connally screamed like a stuck pig...I heard Governor Connally yelling and that made me turn around."* (5H178-181, while the "stuck pig" reference was removed from the transcript published by the Warren Commission, it was found in the original transcript by researcher Harold Weisberg, and is discussed in books purportedly read by Bugliosi). Since Mrs. Kennedy recalled but two shots, one causing Governor Connally to scream, and the fatal blow to her husband, Bugliosi's using her to prop up a first shot miss long before Governor Connally screamed is once again bizarre, and suggests he thinks she somehow blocked a second shot--which he proposes struck both Kennedy and Connally--completely out of her mind. This is an **UNFAIR** use of her testimony.
- Bugliosi then has **Nellie Connally**, *"startled by the loud frightening noise that emanates from somewhere to her right,"* turn to look in this direction. He stops it right there, and in the process, leaves something out. A big something. Her Warren Commission testimony, which Bugliosi cites, reads: *"I heard a noise...I turned over my right shoulder and looked back, and saw the President as he had both hands at his neck"* (4H146-149). In subsequent interviews, Mrs. Connally would repeatedly assert that Kennedy was hit by this first shot. Why, if Bugliosi trusts her testimony that her husband yelled out "Oh, no, no, no!" just before he was shot--when she wasn't even focusing on her husband at the time--does he refuse to believe she saw Kennedy reacting to a shot when she claimed to be looking right at him?
- On page 481, Bugliosi finally gets around to offering his reasons for rejecting Nellie Connally's consistent claim that she saw Kennedy, sitting but 3 feet away from her, react to the first shot. In one of the most bizarre and deceptive arguments in a book filled with bizarre and deceptive

arguments, he asserts that we know Nellie Connally was confused because *"In her Warren Commission testimony, she testified that immediately after hearing the first shot, she 'looked back and saw the president as he had both hands at his neck.' We know from the Zapruder film, of course, that Kennedy showed no visible reaction to the first shot around Z160, so we know Mrs. Connally was wrong."* Well, I'll be. Talk of your circular reasoning. Bugliosi claims we know a shot was fired at frame 160 of the Zapruder film, in large part because Governor Connally testified to turning to his right just after the first shot. As President Kennedy was clearly not hit at this time, however, Bugliosi proposes that this first shot must have missed. This makes Governor Connally and his fervent belief that the first shot hit Kennedy an obstacle. No problem, says Bugliosi, Governor Connally was a gunshot wound victim, and his recollections of the moments just before and after he was shot are an understandable blur. Never mind that this undercuts the value of Connally's testimony, the very testimony upon which Bugliosi's first shot miss theory has been built. Besides, says Bugliosi, *"Governor Connally's conclusion that the president was hit by the first shot is based solely, it seems, on the recollection of his wife, Nellie."* And why can't we trust Nellie's recollection? Because her recollection conflicts with the first shot's being fired at frame 160, a precise time divined by Bugliosi from her "confused" husband's testimony! Apparently, we are to disregard the statements and testimony of any witness whose statements and testimony conflict with Bugliosi's proposed first shot miss, an event so far unsupported by the full statements and testimony of every witness he's provided.

- But if that wasn't bad enough, on page 481 Bugliosi offers us a second reason to distrust Nellie Connally's assertion that the first shot struck the President. His second reason is that *"She also said that after the first shot, she recalls her husband exclaiming, 'Oh, no, no, no.' But he testified, 'When I was hit' (which he said was by the second shot) is when 'I said 'Oh, no, no, no.'"* Umm, wow. Did Bugliosi really forget that he'd previously argued that she was right when she said her husband yelled out "Oh, no, no, no!" after the first shot, and that he'd used her statement, at that time, to discredit her husband? He can't have it both ways. He can't say her husband is wrong because she disagrees with him and then turn around and say we can't trust her because he disagrees with her. Bugliosi ends his attack on Mrs. Connally's credibility with a bit of unintentional irony: *"All of this is perfectly understandable confusion."* Yes, I'm afraid it is. Let's recall here the words of Bryan Burrough in the New York Times: *"It's in the arguing that Bugliosi, as a former prosecutor, truly shines."* Bugliosi's treatment of Nellie Connally's testimony is clearly **SUSPICIOUS**.

So now we've looked at the statements and testimony of seven witnesses offered us by Bugliosi. These witnesses are purportedly describing a missed shot fired around frame 160 of the Zapruder film. As three of these witnesses could recall but two bursts of gunfire, using their description of the first shot they heard to describe the first of three well-spaced shots is misleading and unfair. Bugliosi's treatment of the other four witnesses is suspicious. The statements and testimony of all four indicate the first shot was fired at a point later than the first shot proposed by Bugliosi, or that the first shot struck Kennedy, or both. While Bugliosi eventually discusses the Connallys' belief that the first shot struck Kennedy, he never discusses Exhibits 354 and 699, which demonstrate that Virgie Baker, Rufus Youngblood and Governor Connally all felt the first shot was fired after the first shot proposed by Bugliosi. I believe it's fair from this to conclude that Bugliosi's narrative of the shots, and subsequent discussion of the shots, is unreliable, and revealing of his bias. As this is the central event of his massive book, I believe it is also fair to conclude from this that Bugliosi just can not be trusted to tell his readers the information they need to know to make informed decisions about the evidence presented. One already convinced of this, and pressed for time, may wish to proceed to Part 4 of this essay.

Should one remain skeptical on this point, however, one should feel free to continue. But I warn you,

Bugliosi's use of the witnesses doesn't get much better.

- The rest of Bugliosi's first shot witnesses are all used to demonstrate that the shots were fired from the sixth floor sniper's nest of the Book Depository, Oswald's place of employment. First, Bugliosi describes motorcycle officer **Marrion Baker's** response to this shot, of his seeing pigeons fly through the air from the roof of the depository, and of his racing up Houston Street to see what's going on. He fails to mention that Baker was asked by Warren Commission counsel David Belin to return to the scene, to figure out exactly where he was on Houston Street when he heard the first shot, and that the two men then measured the distance of this location from the nearest street. Baker later testified "*we approximated it was 60 to 80 feet there, north of the north curbline of Main and Houston*" (3H242-270). As you by now probably have guessed, a look at films of the motorcade--in this case the film of Robert Hughes-- demonstrates that Baker did not reach this location until a few seconds after Bugliosi's proposed first shot.
- While it's not clear that Bugliosi knows this, it's fairly clear he should. In the Acknowledgements section of his book, Bugliosi claims "no one helped me as much as Dale Myers, the Emmy Award-winning computer animation specialist." He then admits "Dale helped me in the writing of several sections of Book One." The narrative we're discussing is, of course, the central event in Book One. Concurrent with his work with Bugliosi, Myers conducted a detailed study of the assassination films, which he modestly entitled "Epipolar Geometric Analysis of Amateur Films Related to Acoustics Evidence in the John F. Kennedy Assassination." This study was released within days of Bugliosi's book. In this study, Myers includes an illustration of Baker's position at frame 150 of the Zapruder film. In this illustration, he places Baker approximately 36 feet north of the Main Street curbline. As Myers also asserted that Baker had traveled 19.5 feet over the previous 35 frames of the Hughes film, which was filmed at the same speed as the Zapruder film, it follows that, even in Myers' opinion, Baker was approximately 42 feet north of Main Street at Z-160, and would not have reached 60 feet north of Main Street until approximately frame 192 of the Zapruder film (assuming, of course, that Baker maintained his speed). If Bugliosi read Baker's testimony and failed to ask Myers at what point Baker reached 60 feet north of the curbline, his use of Baker to suggest there was a shot as early as frame 160 is indicative of nothing more than apathetic research. If, however, he asked Myers about this and was told that Baker didn't reach 60 feet north of the curbline until well after frame 160, then he is guilty of keeping important information from his readers. We'll split the difference and call it an **UNFAIR** use of Baker's testimony.
- Bugliosi then calls on **James Worrell**, standing in front of the book depository. He writes that when Worrell "*hears the first shot, Worrell throws his head back, looks straight up and sees six inches of gun barrel*" (2H190-201). Bugliosi, not surprisingly, fails to mention that Worrell testified to hearing four shots, at least one of which could not have been fired from the sniper's nest. I haven't found a single mention of Worrell's hearing four shots anywhere in Bugliosi's massive book. Using a man who heard four shots to describe one of three shots, without any assurance this was the same shot, is **UNFAIR**.
- He then presents young **Amos Euins**, standing by the fountain across the street from the depository, to confirm Worrell's sighting of a gun in the window. Here, too, he misleads. Euins, as Worrell, testified to hearing four shots (2H201-210). While some say Euins' testimony is untrustworthy, as he only described three shots in his earliest statement, they miss that he, as Connally, said that the gun "*sounded like an automatic rifle the way he was shooting*" (16H963), and that he told the FBI within a few weeks of the shooting that he observed the sniper fire "*what he believes to have been a fourth shot*" (CD205, p. i). Once again, I've searched through Reclaiming History and haven't found a single mention of Euins' hearing four shots. Using Euins testimony to imply three well-spaced shots were fired is **UNFAIR**.

- This leads us to the Warren Commission's star witness, the only man to claim he saw Oswald fire a shot at the President, **Howard Brennan**. Bugliosi's narrative has Brennan, sitting on a wall near Euins, hear the first shot and look up to the sniper's nest, where he sees a young man he'd seen moments before, only now armed with a rifle. With this, Bugliosi misleads once again. You see, Brennan, much as Mrs. Kennedy, could only testify to hearing two shots, one that got his attention, and then a final shot. He could not swear to hearing a shot between these shots. Brennan testified: *"I don't know what made me think that there was firecrackers throwed out of the book store unless I did hear the second shot, because I positively thought the first shot was a backfire, and subconsciously I must have heard a second shot but I do not recall it. I could not swear to it."* (3H140-161). This confession was consistent with a much earlier description of the shots given by Brennan to the FBI, which reads: *"He said he does not distinctly remember a second shot but he remembers "more than one noise" as if someone was shooting fire crackers, and consequently he believes there must have been a second shot before he looked in the direction of the Texas School Book Depository Building."* (CD5 p12-14) Thus, Brennan felt he'd heard two shots before looking up to the sniper's nest, and Bugliosi's having him look up after the first is improper.
- It's also quite illogical. If Bugliosi had endeavored to stay consistent with Brennan's testimony, he'd have written that Brennan looked up after the second shot. If he'd argued from common sense, and had reasoned that someone alerted to a loud noise would be likely to recall a similar noise moments later, he would also have portrayed him looking up after the second shot. Bugliosi is pushing there were three relatively even-spaced shots. He cannot actually be proposing that Brennan's "more than one noise" sounding like "someone was shooting fire crackers" was the first shot, and then have Brennan, a key witness, and a man supposedly blessed with superior observation skills, just completely fail to notice a second shot.
- Or maybe he can. It seems not even Brennan can avoid Bugliosi's abuse. Bugliosi concludes his narrative of the first shot by having Brennan look up and see a sniper in the window. Bugliosi exhales: *"Brennan sees him from the waist up with awful clarity, the rifle braced against his right shoulder as he leans against the left window jamb. The gunman's motions are deliberate and without panic. After a few seconds, he fires again."* The shot described by Bugliosi is the shot Brennan believed to be the third shot, not the second shot, and was, according to Brennan, most certainly the last shot fired from the sniper's nest. So why does Bugliosi present this as the second shot in his narrative? Is he trying to shore up the illusion that Brennan heard the first of a series of three well-spaced shots? Bugliosi's having Brennan look to the sniper's nest after the first shot is undoubtedly **SUSPICIOUS**.

Let's recap: Bugliosi has so far presented 11 witnesses to describe the first of three shots, a shot that he asserts as fact was fired circa frame 160 of the Zapruder film, and did not hit President Kennedy. Of these 11 witnesses, 4 could only swear to knowledge of two bursts of gunfire, suggesting the first shot they heard was not this shot, but Bugliosi's proposed second shot. Of the remaining 7, another 2 said they heard 4 shots, suggesting the possibility this was the second shot they'd heard. Of the remaining 5, 4 of them, in the Warren Commission testimony Bugliosi uses as his primary source, described either the location of the limousine at the moment of the first shot, or their own location in the motorcade at the time of the first shot--and in all 4 cases their testimony suggests the first shot rang out several seconds after Bugliosi's proposed first shot. This leaves but 1 witness whose testimony may support Bugliosi's assertion that the first shot rang out circa frame 160 of the Zapruder film and missed, and she, Nellie Connally, sitting but a few feet away from the President in the limousine, felt absolutely certain Kennedy was hit by the first shot.

So why, if the first shot miss proposed by Bugliosi is a "fact," is he having such trouble finding anyone to support his claim? On page 468, he lists a number of witnesses for this shot. Beyond the witnesses

already discussed, he adds Lady Bird Johnson, Barbara Rowland, Kenneth O'Donnell, and Geneva Hine.

- As support that the first shot was fired as early as frame 160 of the Zapruder film, when the presidential limousine has just completed its turn onto Elm Street, Bugliosi quotes **Lady Bird Johnson**, who was riding in the motorcade two cars behind Kennedy, as follows: "*We were rounding a curve...and suddenly there was a shot.*" This is, I believe, a deliberate distortion of the evidence. The full sentence which he cannibalizes is actually "*Then almost at the edge of town, on our way to the Trade Mart where we were going to have the luncheon, we were rounding a curve, going down a hill, and suddenly there was a sharp loud report--a shot.*" She then continued: "*It seemed to me to come from the right, above my shoulder, from a building. Then a moment and then two more shots in rapid succession.*" (5H564-567) The words he replaced with his "..." were "*going down a hill.*" "*Going down a hill,*" not surprisingly, implies the car had completed its turn, and was significantly past its location at frame 160 of the Zapruder film. It is generally accepted that when someone omits (or adds) a word or words to a quote that changes its meaning, they can be accused of willful deception. Bugliosi himself has argued as much. I believe this is such an example.
- Also telling is that Mrs. Johnson said the shot came from the right, above her shoulder. If the shot rang out at frame 160, when the Vice-Presidential car was just turning onto Elm, as Bugliosi asserts, this would suggest the shot came from one of the buildings on the east side of Houston, the County Records Building or the Dal-Tex Building. (The limousine's location at frame 160 can be viewed in Appendix Three of this essay). Since Bugliosi assumes this shot came from the sniper's nest in the school book depository, directly in front of the car as it made its turn, it follows then that this shot must have been fired sometime after frame 160. Mrs. Johnson's recollection that the last two shots came in "rapid succession" is also telling. As discussed earlier, and as demonstrated in Appendix One, any indication that the last two shots were closer together than the first two is an indication that the first shot did not miss. Bugliosi's sculpting of Mrs. Johnson's words is undoubtedly **SUSPICIOUS**.
- Bugliosi also cites **Barbara Rowland's** vague testimony that "*as they turned the corner we heard a shot*" as support the shot rang out as early as he claims. He neglects to reveal that Mrs. Rowland had signed a statement on the day of the shooting that was more specific, and claimed that the limousine had "*turned left onto Elm Street and started down towards the underpass*" when the first shot rang out. (24H224) He fails to reveal as well that, when asked about the three shots, Mrs. Rowland testified "*the second and third were closer than the first and second.*" (6H177-191). This, of course, is in keeping with the testimony of Bonnie Ray Williams and the statement of Mrs. Johnson, and suggests the first shot did not miss. It seems more than a coincidence then that even a cursory study of the Zapruder film and the eyewitness testimony reveals that having the last two shots closer together than the first two is inconsistent with the first shot's having missed, and that Bugliosi never discusses this with his readers. **UNFAIR**.
- Bugliosi's use of **Kenneth O'Donnell** to suggest the first shot was fired as early as frame 160 is even more askew. According to Bugliosi, O'Donnell, a Kennedy aide who'd been riding in the car just behind the President, "*testified that the president's car was 'just about (through) turning (and had started) to step up a little bit' when the first shot rang out.*" The words in parentheses are supplied by Bugliosi, and grossly distort O'Donnell's meaning. The actual transcript reads: "*I would presume they were just about turning to step up the speed a little bit, because there would be no crowds from there.*" O'Donnell had garbled his sentence, and had used the word "turning" instead of "beginning." Far from implying that the shot rang out as the car turned onto Elm, moreover, as suggested by Bugliosi's "translation," O'Donnell's words, when read in context, suggest the first shot was fired as the limousine left the crowds behind. In support of

this interpretation, it should be noted that O'Donnell further testified that just before the first shot rang out, Kennedy *"was waving. We had just left the mass of crowds. But as we turned on the grass plot, there were four or five people there, and I believe he waved to them."* This confirms that O'Donnell felt the first shot was fired after Kennedy waved to the crowd, and as the limousine drew parallel to the grassy knoll. This is long after frame 160, and is far more in sync with the time of Bugliosi's second shot. While someone might counter that O'Donnell testified that the first shot missed and that it therefore must have been fired around frame 160, well before the moment Kennedy was hit, this is, in fact, the exact opposite of how O'Donnell testified. Instead, he said, that the first two shots came *"almost simultaneously."* When asked which of these two hit Kennedy, furthermore, he said: *"It was not the third shot. Whether it was the first or second, I would not know"* and continued *"If I had to pick one of the two, I think it might have been the second shot."* (7H440-457) This confirms that the first shot heard by others, which many thought to be a firecracker, was interpreted by O'Donnell to be two separate nearly simultaneous shots, one of which hit Kennedy while he was waving. This is clear to anyone reading his testimony. And yet Bugliosi twists O'Donnell's words to support that a first shot was fired a second or two before Kennedy waved to the crowd, and missed, and that a second shot hit Kennedy 3 1/2 seconds later. This is, you guessed it, **SUSPICIOUS**.

- Bugliosi's next and final witness for his proposed first shot miss, is **Geneva Hine**, a secretary working in the school book depository, who watched the motorcade from a second floor window. Bugliosi reports that she *"testified the presidential limousine had just 'turned the corner' when she heard the shot."* She, in fact, testified: *"I saw him turn the corner and after he turned the corner I looked and I saw the next car coming. Just at the instant I saw the next car coming up was when I heard the shots."* (6H393-397) She said "shots", as in more than one. This suggests that she, as O'Donnell, interpreted the first "firecracker" as more than one shot. While Bugliosi, as others before him, use Hine's testimony to suggest a first shot missed as early as frame 160 of the Zapruder film, he misses that, should the first shot have really rang out as the "next car"--the Secret Service back-up car--was "coming up" to the turn, as she appears to have testified, the first shot would have to have been fired seconds before frame 133 of the Zapruder film, when the limousine and back-up car are both on Elm. He also misses that the turn onto Elm was so long and winding that there is no way that Kennedy's limo could have completed its turn onto Elm before the "next car"--the Secret Service back-up car--could have entered the turn. From this it seems likely that the "next car" in her testimony is some anonymous car back in the pack, and is in fact the "next car" that she looked at and not the "next car" behind the limousine. Although Ms. Hine was interviewed by the FBI on 11-23-63, and then again on 3-18-64, the first time she mentioned looking out the window and seeing the motorcade was when she testified on 4-7-64, four and a half months after the shooting. That her quite possibly confused and/or misinterpreted recollection of the limousine's location at the time of the first shot is nevertheless the best evidence yet offered by Bugliosi for his proposed first shot miss is indeed shocking. While her exact words indicate she heard two or more shots at this time, and Bugliosi crops it to one "shot", he may have innocently assumed that when she said *"when I heard the shots"* she meant *"when I heard the shots (commence)."* We'll give him the benefit of the doubt on this one, then, and say his use of her testimony, while probably incorrect, is nevertheless **FAIR**.
- Bugliosi concludes this section with the ironic statement *"Many other witnesses gave essentially the same testimony."* Yes, they did--but only when one considers that the witnesses already cited by Bugliosi didn't testify to what he claims they testified. While there were indeed a few other witnesses who said they believed the first shot missed--Mary Woodward, James Chaney, and Glen Bennett come to mind--they were not called to testify before the Warren Commission, and the statements of all three of these examples crumble when one compares

their statements to the photographic record. As a result, the historical record reputed to be so "sacred" to Bugliosi--the sworn statements and testimony of witnesses before the Dallas Police, the FBI, and the Warren Commission--is almost unanimous in its suggestion that the first shot struck President Kennedy.

The first shot proposed by Bugliosi is a myth, as out of sync with the historical record as most anything dreamed up by conspiracy theorists.

This becomes even more clear when we look at Bugliosi's narrative for a second shot.

Bugliosi's Second Strike

- Bugliosi begins his narrative for the second shot with another "Bang"....and another minor misrepresentation of the evidence. He writes that *"The report is so loud inside the fifth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building that the windows rattle, and loose plaster and dirt fall from the ceiling onto **Bonnie Ray Williams'** hair."* He cites as his source for this assertion Williams' Warren Commission testimony. But Williams, who originally said there was two shots, but then testified to hearing three, with the last two "real quick", does not specify which of these last two shots caused dirt to fall in his hair (3H161-184). Although an FBI report from 11-26-63 (CD5 p63) has Harold Norman stating that *"he stuck his head from the window and looked upward toward the roof but could see nothing because small particles of dirt were falling from above him"* neither Norman nor James Jarman, who were both crouched near Williams on the floor below the sniper's nest, testified to noticing the dirt until after the final shot. (3H186-198) (3H198-211).
- While this misrepresentation is admittedly a minor one, it nevertheless helps Bugliosi create the illusion that Williams was aware of a second shot, 3.5 seconds after what Bugliosi purported was the first shot. Williams, as we've seen, heard but two bursts of gunfire, one that got his attention--which Bugliosi has already asserted was the first shot--and a final burst of one or two shots (depending on whether one believes his early statements or his testimony) that Bugliosi presumes was the head shot. Williams' testimony is extremely problematic for Bugliosi and his assertion as fact that Oswald fired three well-spaced shots just over Williams' head. Bugliosi's treatment of Williams is therefore **SUSPICIOUS**.
- Bugliosi's first witness for the impact of this shot is **Charles Brehm**. He writes *"the car is very close to Charles Brehm and his son, maybe 20 feet away, so they can see the president's face very well when the shot rings out. The president stiffens perceptibly and his hands swoop toward his throat."* Bugliosi cites as his source for this passage an FBI report on Brehm a few days after the shooting. In this report, Brehm's recollections are described as follows: *"When the President's automobile was very close to him and he could see the President's face very well, the President was seated, but was leaning forward when he stiffened perceptibly, at the same instant what appeared to be a rifle shot sounded. According to Brehm, the President seemed to stiffen and come to a pause..."* (22H837-838) Bugliosi hides from his readers that this was Brehm's description of the first of three shots, not the second, and that Brehm had been interviewed a number of times on the day of the shooting, and had consistently reported that Kennedy was hit by the first shot. **SUSPICIOUS**.
- Bugliosi's second witness for the second shot's impact is Secret Service agent **Glen Bennett**, riding in the back seat of the President's back up car. Bennett, he writes *"is looking right at the president when the second shot hits him, he estimates 'about 4 inches down from the right shoulder.'" While Bennett did indeed report that the second shot struck Kennedy in the back, Bugliosi's use of Bennett is not without its problems. For one, Bennett places the wound "4 inches down from the right shoulder," which is inconsistent with Bugliosi's subsequent conclusion that the back wound was above the exit on Kennedy's throat. For two, in Bennett's*

original notes, published by the Warren Commission (24H541-542), he says that, upon looking at the President after the first shot, he saw "a shot that hit the boss" and that a "second shoot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the boss's head". In his notes, he doesn't say he heard another "fire-cracker noise" when he saw the "shot that hit the boss". Bennett's awkward grammar then suggests the possibility he meant to say that, upon looking at the President after the first shot, he saw "that a shot had hit the President," and that a second shot hit Kennedy in the head. We just don't know. Even so, Bugliosi's use of Bennett's statement to support that the second shot hit Kennedy is not improper or deceiving.

- Should one think we found a witness to the shot's impact whose words were not improperly interpreted or presented by Bugliosi, however, one would be wrong. Bugliosi isn't through with Bennett: *"He's hit!" Bennett shouts, and reaches for the Colt AR-15 assault rifle on the seat, but agent George Hickey has already got it.*" This conceals that Bennett claimed to have yelled out *"He's hit"* after the third shot, which Bennett, much as Bonnie Ray Williams and Mrs. Johnson, claimed *"immediately"* followed the second shot. In the report by Bennett cited by Bugliosi, Bennett follows his description of the second shot as follows: *"A second shot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the President's head. I immediately hollered 'he's hit' and reached for the AR-15 located on the floor of the rear seat"* (18H760). **SUSPICIOUS.**
- Bugliosi then describes the actions of agent **George Hickey**, sitting next to Bennett. He has Hickey beat Bennett to the rifle and spin *"toward the right rear, from where the shots appear to have come."* This is an amazing distortion of Hickey's statement, the bulk of which follows: *"Just prior to the shooting the Presidential car turned left at the intersection and started down an incline toward an underpass followed by 679x. After a very short distance I heard a loud report which sounded like a firecracker...I stood up and looked to my right and rear in an attempt to identify it. Nothing caught my attention except people shouting and cheering. A disturbance in 679X caused me to look forward to the President's car. Perhaps 2 or 3 seconds elapsed from the time I looked to the rear and then looked at the President. He was slumped forward and to his left, and was straightening up to an almost erect sitting position as I turned and looked. At the moment he was almost sitting erect I heard two reports which I thought were shots and that appeared to me completely different in sound from the first report and were in such rapid succession that there seemed to be practically no time element between them."* From this it's clear that Bugliosi has Hickey turning to his right after "shots" when he in fact said it was after the first shot. This disguises that Hickey did not hear a second shot until the time of the head shot, when he heard two shots grouped together. This in turn disguises that Hickey's accounting of the three shots leaves no room for Bugliosi's proposed first shot miss.
- Bugliosi also disguises, whether on accident or on purpose, that Hickey, as Bennett, felt quite sure he didn't reach for the AR-15 until after the last shot. His report asserts: *"At the end of the last report I reached to the bottom of the car and picked up the AR 15 rifle, cocked and loaded it, and turned to the rear. At this point the cars were passing under the over-pass and as a result we had left the scene of the shooting."* (18H761-764). While one might make the argument that Bugliosi was confused by Hickey's two separate turns to the rear and that he placed Hickey's turn to the rear with the rifle after the second shot by accident, this seems unlikely. On page 927 of *Reclaiming History*, to counter Howard Donahue's theory that Hickey accidentally shot Kennedy with the AR-15, Bugliosi quotes Hickey's report and argues that Hickey didn't even reach for the rifle until after all the shots had been fired. Once again, he can't have it both ways. **SUSPICIOUS.**

Bugliosi's decision to ignore the bulk of Hickey's report, which implies that Kennedy was hit by the first shot, and that, after a pause, two shots followed in "rapid succession," would seem to be more than a coincidence. The fact that that both Bennett and Hickey felt the last two shots were close together,

and that both men agreed that Hickey picked up the AR-15 after the third shot, is damaging to Bugliosi's argument that there was a first shot miss, followed 3.5 seconds later by a bullet striking both Kennedy and Connally, followed 4.9 seconds later by a final and fatal shot to Kennedy's cranium. If Bugliosi is correct, it makes little sense that the Secret Service would not know by the second shot what was going on. Is it a coincidence then that Bugliosi presents actions they insisted came after the third shot as a response to the second shot? If Bugliosi is correct, it also would seem strange that agents only yards from Kennedy would believe the last two shots came in "*rapid succession*." Is it a coincidence then that any and all references by Secret Service agents to the third shot's "immediately" following the second appear to have been filtered from Bugliosi's narrative, via his selective use of testimony?

- Bugliosi's motorcade of deception continues: "*Special Agent **Clint Hill** leaps off the running board of the follow-up car and dashes towards the president's limousine.*" He excludes, not surprisingly, that Hill testified to running for Kennedy after the first of the two shots he heard, a shot he believed struck the President. He also excludes that the second shot described by Hill was the shot striking Kennedy's skull and that it "*seemed to have some type of an echo.*" (2H132-144) This echo, of course, is consistent with Bennett's description of two shots "*immediately*" following another, and Hickey's two shots in "*rapid succession*." As a result, there's reason to believe that all three of these bodyguards heard a first shot that struck Kennedy, and then two more in rapid succession at the time of the head shot. If so, then, of course, none of them heard the missed first shot Bugliosi presents as a "fact". **UNFAIR.**
- Bugliosi then introduces into his mix n match version of history **Roy Kellerman**, the Secret Service agent riding in the front seat of the limousine. Kellerman, he asserts, "*believes he hears the president say 'My God, I am hit.'*" While Bugliosi is correct that Kellerman testified to this, and is correct for arguing in his endnotes that Kellerman was almost certainly mistaken, his use of Kellerman's incorrect recollection to describe a second shot without acknowledging that Kellerman testified that he heard these words after the first shot, is more than mistaken; it's deceptive. (2H61-112).
- Bugliosi then describes Kellerman's turning to his left and looking at Governor Connally. His source notes indicate that Kellerman turns between frames 268-270. But this event, seconds after what Bugliosi proposes was the second shot, was still seconds before the second shot described by Kellerman. In keeping with the statements of Bennett and Hickey, and consistent with the testimony of Hill, Kellerman described the last two shots as a "*flurry of shots*". This means that two (or more) shots impacted around Z-313, the moment of the head shot. Should one think Kellerman's words are too vague to come to this conclusion, Kellerman clarified his impression of the shots by marking the location of the limousine at the time of the shots on a photo, Commission Exhibit CE 347, in his testimony. (See Appendix Two). First, Kellerman marked his impression of the limousine's location at the time of the first shot with an "X." His "X", as one might suspect, is a good 30 feet further down the street from the limo's location at Bugliosi's first shot. While his "Y", marking the location of the limousine at the second shot, is difficult to distinguish on the Commission's exhibit, Kellerman's testimony about the location of the third shot is more than clear. After marking his "Y", Counsel Arlen Specter asked of Kellerman: "*Now, with respect to the time of the third shot, would your marking be any different from the 'Y' position?*" Kellerman answered: "*No. It would not.*" (2H61-112). **SUSPICIOUS.**
- Bugliosi now revisits **Governor Connally**. He has Connally yell out "*My God! They're going to kill us all!*" as a response to this shot. As discussed earlier, Connally testified to yelling this out just after he yelled out "*Oh, no, no, no!*" without a shot in-between. This is supported by the Zapruder film. Even so, Bugliosi is correct that Connally claimed to have yelled out "My God" after the second shot. Chalk one up. Sorta. (4H129-146) **FAIR.**
- Next up is **Nellie Connally**. Bugliosi has her pull her husband down in the seat after the second

shot. This assertion is in keeping with her testimony. Two in a row. (4H146-149) **FAIR**.

- But two in a row is as good as it gets. On page 41 in Bugliosi's narrative **Jackie Kennedy** turns to her husband, *"who has a strange quizzical look on his face."* This is deceptive. Bugliosi has already had Mrs. Kennedy turn to look towards Connally after the first shot. By listing Mrs. Kennedy's turning to her husband in a list of responses to the second shot, Bugliosi not only implies she heard a shot after the first shot miss he claims she heard, but that she recalled responding to one. She did not. She could recall but one shot after Governor Connally screamed, the fatal head shot. She testified *"suddenly Governor Connally was yelling, 'Oh, no, no, no' ...I was looking this way, to the left, and I heard these terrible noises. You know. And my husband never made any sound. My husband never made any sound. So I turned to the right. And all I remember is seeing my husband, he had this sort of quizzical look on his face, and his hand was up, it must have been his left hand. And just as I turned to look at him, I could see a piece of his skull and I remembered that it was flesh colored."* (5H178-181) Amazingly, Bugliosi has had Mrs. Kennedy hear a first shot miss even though having her hear this miss means she failed to hear or even notice the second shot he proposes struck both her husband and the Governor. **SUSPICIOUS**.
- The next witness offered up is **William Greer**, the driver of the limousine. Bugliosi's having Greer turn back to look at Kennedy after a second shot is consistent with his testimony. Bugliosi doesn't mention however, that Greer, as Kellerman, was asked to mark CE 347 to show the limo's location during the shots. Greer's "A", indicating the limo's location at the time of the first shot, is about 50 feet further down the road than the limo's location at Bugliosi's proposed first shot. (See Appendix Two). While Greer's "B" and "C" are hard to discern on CE 347, Greer did confuse everyone by testifying that *"The last two seemed to be just simultaneously, one behind the other, but I don't recollect just how much, how many seconds were between the two. I couldn't really say."* (2H112-132) If he'd heard two shots before he turned back to look at Kennedy—which he can be seen doing around frame 280 of the Zapruder film--and he heard the last two shots, including the head shot two seconds later, *"simultaneously,"* instead of the 4.9 seconds apart proposed by Bugliosi, shouldn't he have testified to hearing four shots, and not the three he said he'd heard? Greer's confusing statement that the last two shots rang out *"simultaneously,"* is, nevertheless, consistent with the statements of Bennett, Hickey, Hill, and Kellerman, and suggests that, yes indeed, the last two shots followed right after each other. **UNFAIR**.
- Bugliosi then returns to **Roy Kellerman**, and has Kellerman yell *"Let's get out of here. We're hit!"* as Greer turns back around to face forward. This is a fair use of his testimony, but is not counted as such because it is really a continuation of Kellerman's earlier description of the shot.
- Bugliosi's narrative then shifts back to **Rufus Youngblood**, the Secret Service agent riding in the front seat of the Vice-President's car. Bugliosi has Youngblood vault over the seat and sit on top of Vice-President Johnson as a response to this shot. He writes *"there is no doubt in Youngblood's mind what the sound is now--gunshots!"* He cites Youngblood's testimony and Johnson's statement to support his assertion that Youngblood vaulted onto Johnson at this time. Youngblood, however, testified that shortly after hearing the first shot, *"I turned around and hit the Vice President on the shoulder and hollered, get down, and then looked around again and saw more of this movement, and so I proceeded to go to the back seat and get on top of him. I then heard two more shots. But I would like to say this. I would not be positive that I was back on that back seat before the second shot. But the Vice President himself said I was."* (2H144-155). Youngblood was therefore unsure of when he jumped over the seat.
- This brings us to then Vice-President **Lyndon Johnson's** statement: *"The motorcade proceeded down Main Street and then turned right on Houston. It then turned into Elm, which is a block, I*

believe, beyond the intersection of Main and Houston. The crowd on Elm Street was smaller...After we had proceeded a short way down Elm Street, I heard a sharp report. The crowd at this point had become somewhat spotty. The Vice-Presidential car was then about three car lengths behind President Kennedy's car, with the Presidential followup car intervening. I was startled by the sharp report or explosion. but I had no time to speculate as to its origin because Agent Youngblood turned in a flash, immediately after the first explosion, hitting me on the shoulder, and shouted to all of us in the back seat to get down. I was pushed down by Agent Youngblood. Almost in the same moment in which he hit or pushed me, he vaulted over the back seat and sat on me. I was bent over under the weight of Agent Youngblood's body, toward Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough. I remember attempting to turn my head to make sure that Mrs. Johnson had bent down. Both she and Senator Yarborough had crouched down at Agent Youngblood's command. At some time in this sequence of events. I heard other explosions.” (5H561-564).

- While Johnson's statement, written many months after the assassination, is vague about the exact timing of Youngblood's leap, an 11-23-63 letter written by Johnson to Secret Service Chief James Rowley, and subsequently published in newspapers, was more conclusive: "*Upon hearing the first shot, Mr. Youngblood instantly vaulted across the front seat of my car, pushed me to the floor and shielded my body with his own.*" Bugliosi is therefore wrong to cite Youngblood's testimony and Johnson's statement as support for his contention that Youngblood leaped into the back seat after the second shot. As a photo taken by James Altgens at Zapruder frame 255 shows Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough still sitting up in the back seat of Johnson's limo, moreover (see Appendix Three) it seems likely that, in accordance with Altgens' testimony, only one shot had rang out by this time, and not the two proposed by Bugliosi. Adding strength to this assessment is that Johnson stated the limousine had proceeded "a short way" down Elm before the first shot rang out, when, at the time of Bugliosi's first shot, the Lincoln in which he was riding was just turning onto Elm. (See Appendix Three). Bugliosi's assertion that Youngblood covered Johnson after the second shot, but before the third shot, and that this time period covers frames 224 and 313 of the Zapruder film, is therefore without foundation. **UNFAIR.**
- At this point in his narrative, Bugliosi slips into the mind of **Abraham Zapruder**, watching the shooting through the viewfinder of his famous camera. Bugliosi writes "*The thought flashes in his mind, as he sees the President jerk and slump to his left against Jackie, that it's a joke.*" Bugliosi hides from his readers that, as with most of his other witnesses for his second shot, Zapruder felt this was the first shot. Although Zapruder, who could swear to hearing but two shots, may have simply missed hearing Bugliosi's first shot, his testimony suggests he felt he missed hearing a third shot, just after the head shot. When asked how many shots he heard, he testified: "*I thought I heard two, it could be three, because to my estimation I thought he was hit on the second—I really don't know...I heard the second—after the first shot—I saw him leaning over and after the second shot—it's possible after what I saw, you know, then I started yelling, 'They killed him, they killed him.'*" (7H569-576) It seems more than a coincidence that the statements and testimony of so many others align with Zapruder's suggestion that the last shot followed the head shot. **UNFAIR.**
- Bugliosi now introduces two woman bystanders into the mix of witnesses: **Mary Moorman** and **Jean Hill**. Bugliosi accurately notes that as they are preparing to take Kennedy's picture they are "*curiously unaware that shots have already been fired.*" As the first shot heard by them struck Kennedy in the head, and this shot rang out seconds after it was apparent to everyone else that Kennedy had been hit, this is a fair representation of their statements and testimony. (6H205-223). **FAIR. (X2)**

- He then returns to one of his first shot witnesses, **James Worrell**, still standing on the street beneath the sniper's nest. Worrell, he claims *"hasn't taken his eyes off the barrel of the rifle sticking out the window, and when he sees it fire again, he sees a little flame and smoke coming out of the barrel. There is a lot of commotion, people screaming and saying 'Duck'. Frightened, he turns and starts to run towards Houston, just feet away, intending to run to the back of the building."* Worrell, we should recall, testified to hearing four shots. This is the second time Bugliosi has called on him, and he still has not told his readers this fact. Even worse, this time he has directly misrepresented Worrell's testimony. After describing the third of the four shots he claimed to have heard, Worrell was asked by Arlen Specter *"What did you hear, if anything, after that?"*; Worrell replied *"Just a lot of commotion, everybody was screaming and saying 'duck.'"* (2H190-201) It is Worrell's testimony, therefore, that people yelled "duck" after the third shot fired. And yet Bugliosi has them yelling "duck" after the second shot fired. He's made one of the shots heard by Worrell simply disappear. Without discussion. Without explaining why. He even cites Worrell's testimony in support of this "improvement" on the historical record. **SUSPICIOUS.**
- The final witness offered to support Bugliosi's second shot is **Amos Euins**. Bugliosi has Euins scramble for safety after this shot, and hide behind a fountain. While this is consistent with Euins' testimony, Euins testified to hearing four shots. (2H201-210). As a result we can't be sure if Euins' scramble came after this shot, or the previous shot. **UNFAIR.**

While Bugliosi's presentation of this second shot is better than his presentation of the first shot, it is still incredibly misleading. While his first shot witnesses were presented in a manner that created an illusion that the first shot missed, his second shot witnesses were presented in a manner that additionally concealed that many of his witnesses felt the last two shots were almost simultaneous, an impossibility should Oswald have been the sole assassin.

Essentially, he presents 17 witnesses for his second shot. Williams, Hickey, and Kellerman stated that the last two shots were close together, with Hickey and Kellerman also believing that the first shot struck Kennedy. Glen Bennett and William Greer made confusing statements that can be taken either way, in support that a first shot missed, or support that the first shot hit, but were consistent with the others in that they claimed the last two shots were close together. Charles Brehm and Rufus Youngblood made statements indicating that they heard three shots, and the first one hit. President Johnson made a vague statement indicating that the first shot was fired after Bugliosi's first shot, and that "explosions" followed. Although they could only swear to hearing two shots, Clint Hill, Jackie Kennedy, and Abraham Zapruder all felt Kennedy was hit by the first shot, and hit in the head with the second. One could argue, then, that, should one accept that these last three witnesses failed to hear one of the rapid fire shots at the end of the shooting sequence, when they heard but one "explosion," these 11 witnesses heard the shots in a consistent manner, with a first shot hit just before or at the time of Bugliosi's second shot, and two rapid fire shots around the time of the head shot.

This leaves but six witnesses whose words might reasonably be interpreted as supporting Bugliosi's scenario, which, we should recall, he cites as a "fact". Two of these, Mary Moorman and Jean Hill, have not yet heard a shot. Two others, James Worrell and Amos Euins testified to hearing four shots, so they're not exactly supportive. Governor Connally was aware of three shots, with Bugliosi's second shot being the second, but testified that the first shot was fired considerably after Bugliosi's first shot. This leaves us Nellie Connally. She also felt Bugliosi's second shot was the second shot. But Nellie, sitting just a few feet away from Kennedy and Connally, felt certain Kennedy was hit by the first shot and Connally was not. It follows then that, once one reads the entire statements and testimony of the witnesses Bugliosi has presented, not one of them supports his version of history.

Bugliosi's Third Strike

- Bugliosi's account of the third shot, naturally, begins with a "BANG!" His first witness for this shot is **Howard Brennan**, whom Bugliosi has look to the sniper's nest and see the sniper pull the trigger. As Brennan heard but two shots, and as Bugliosi had Brennan look to the sniper's nest just after the first shot, and see the sniper fire again, Bugliosi is using Brennan's description of the one shot he saw fired...twice...to describe both the second and third shots. This is incredibly misleading. Making matters worse is that, on his endnotes, which are presented on a companion DVD with his book, Bugliosi discusses problems with Brennan's subsequent statements that he saw both the second and third shots fired and their impacts upon the limousine. Bugliosi notes that, from Brennan's position, he could not have seen the limousine at the time of these shots. So why, if Bugliosi knows Brennan only heard two shots, and knows he later acted as if he'd heard three, does Bugliosi use Brennan's testimony to describe a response to a shot and then the firing of two more shots? Sheer sloppiness? Or was he trying to disguise that Brennan, one of his star witnesses, failed to hear one of the shots he was presenting as a "fact"? **SUSPICIOUS.**
- On page 42 Bugliosi continues his narrative and uses **Abraham Zapruder** to describe the impact of this shot on Kennedy's skull. While this is a fair presentation of Zapruder's testimony, Bugliosi is not engaging in full disclosure. Not only does Bugliosi fail to mention the previously discussed suggestion in Zapruder's testimony that a third shot followed the head shot, he fails to relate that, as reported in a book repeatedly cited by Bugliosi, Richard Trask's *Pictures of the Pain*, the 11-22-63 notes of a Dallas Times Herald reporter captured Zapruder's immediate response to the shots, and revealed that Zapruder originally said that Kennedy "slumped over" after the first shot, and that two shots followed. (*Pictures of the Pain*, Trask, p.149) Bugliosi also leaves out that Zapruder was interviewed on WFAA television within two hours of the shots, and at that time he reported "*I heard a shot, and he slumped to the side, like this. Then I heard another shot or two, I couldn't say it was one or two, and I saw his head practically open up, all blood and everything, and I kept on shooting.*" (*Pictures of the Pain*, p.77). It seems more than coincidence that Bugliosi's avoidance of Zapruder's statements helps prop up his personal interpretation of the shots. Still, a final shot headshot is consistent with Zapruder's testimony. **FAIR.**
- Bugliosi uses his next witness, **Marilyn Sitzman**, Abraham Zapruder's secretary, to add to his description of Kennedy's head wound. Not surprisingly, Bugliosi fails to mention that, according to the interview Bugliosi cites as his source on Sitzman, she saw Kennedy react to the first shot, and saw his skull open up with a second shot, and did not hear his mythical first shot miss. (11-29-66 Sitzman interview with Josiah Thompson). Still, a final shot headshot is consistent with her statements. **FAIR.**
- At this point in Bugliosi's narrative, things really heat up. Mrs. Kennedy cries out after her husband is shot. This is a **FAIR** use of her testimony.
- Bugliosi then writes "*Just as Agent Clint Hill's hand reaches for the handhold on the trunk of the limousine he hears the sound of a fired bullet smacking into a hard object.*" He cites Hill's testimony as support for this statement. This is not accurate. When Hill, who ran from the back-up car to dive onto the back of the limo, testified "*Just about as I reached it, there was another sound, which was different than the first sound. I think I described it in my statement as though someone was shooting a revolver into a hard object--it seemed to have some type of an echo*" he was describing his race for the limo, not his reaching for the handhold, which happened a second or more later. This is admittedly nit-picking. More telling of Bugliosi's methods is his excision of Hill's comment about an echo, which could suggest the sounds of more than one shot at this time, from his narrative. **SUSPICIOUS.**
- He then has **Roy Kellerman**, sitting in the front seat of the limo, feel brain matter splatter in the

car, and hear Mrs. Kennedy yell out. This is **FAIR**.

- He now has **Paul Landis**, riding on the outside of the Secret Service back-up car, describe the impact of the bullet on Kennedy's skull. Here, in a rare moment of equanimity, Bugliosi admits that Landis, who felt the first shot came from behind, felt the fatal shot came from in front of the limousine. This is surprisingly **FAIR**.
- He then has **Governor Connally** and his wife hear Jackie Kennedy cry out about having her husband's brains in her hand. While this probably happened further down the road, it undoubtedly happened after the third shot, and is a **FAIR** use of their testimony.
- But with his next witness Bugliosi slips back into his old habits. Here, he describes **Roy Kellerman's** getting on the phone to call ahead to agent Lawson and report that Kennedy's been hit. He writes: *"But as he's starting to talk to Lawson and before Greer accelerates a third shot rings out."* Bugliosi's citation for this paragraph is Kellerman's testimony. But Kellerman's testimony is at odds with his account. Bugliosi has as good as made up words to stick in Kellerman's mouth. As we've discussed, Kellerman actually testified: *"I grabbed the speaker and said to the driver, 'Let's get out of here, we are hit!,' and grabbed the mike and I said, 'Lawson, this is Kellerman... We are hit; get us to the hospital immediately.' Now, in the seconds that I talked just now, a flurry of shells come into the car."* Not a third shot, as presented by Bugliosi...a *flurry* of shots. **SUSPICIOUS**.

When one considers Bugliosi's misrepresentation of Kellerman's words, and then recalls his avoidance of the statements of everyone who suggests there were two or more closely grouped shots around the time of the head shot, it should once again be more than clear that he is deliberately avoiding a discussion of what the eyewitnesses actually said, and is, instead, pushing his own theory of what happened. He is, in effect, knowingly cutting and pasting their words together to create an inaccurate picture of their testimony. The man who dedicated his book to the "sacred" historical record, is, disturbingly, engaging in a deliberate deception.

- Bugliosi then proceeds to tell the story of **John Ready**, a Secret Service agent on the outside of the car behind Kennedy, who, for one brief moment, considered running for the limousine during the shots. He states that *"Ready, who had jumped off the running board of the Secret Service follow-up car when the limousine had slowed and had started to run across the asphalt for the President's car, doesn't make it in time as the limousine speeds up, and Special Agent Emory Roberts orders Agent Ready back to the follow-up car."* Bugliosi cites Secret Service reports by Ready and Roberts as support for this story. Ready writes *"I left the follow-up car in the direction of the President's car but was re-called."* (18H749). Roberts, on the other hand, writes *"I told him not to jump as we had picked up speed and I was afraid he could not make it."* (18H731-738). Apparently Bugliosi knows which one we should believe. Ready's statement, by the way, offers very little insight as to how the shots were fired. **FAIR**.
- Bugliosi's use of **Emory Roberts**, the agent sitting in the right front seat of the car directly behind Kennedy, and thus the man with the best view in the world to report the sequence of the shots, to describe Ready's (probably non-existent) run, when he hasn't used Roberts previously to describe any of Kennedy's actions, however, is undoubtedly curious. Why hasn't he told us what Roberts saw? Well one look at Roberts' report from 11-29-63, the same report Bugliosi cites for Ready's run, suggests a reason why. Roberts relates: *"12:30 PM: First of three shots fired, at which time I saw the President lean toward Mrs. Kennedy. I do not know if it was the next shot or third shot that hit the President in the head, but I saw what appeared to be a small explosion on the right side of the President's head, saw blood, at which time the President fell further to his left..."* (18H733-738). Yep. Roberts, just yards behind Kennedy, not only believed that Kennedy was hit by the first of three shots, but implied that the last two shots came in so

fast he couldn't tell which one hit Kennedy in the head. If this doesn't make you wonder about Bugliosi's scenario, I don't know what will. **UNFAIR.**

- Bugliosi's next witness is **Sam Kinney**, the driver of the follow-up car. Bugliosi uses Kinney to describe his hitting the accelerator, but fails to tell his readers that Kinney, as Roberts sitting next to him, and so many others, thought the last two shots were so close together that it was difficult to say which one hit the President. On the night of the shooting, Kinney reported: *"The first shot was fired as we were going into an underpass...it appeared that he (the President) had been shot because he slumped to the left. Immediately, he sat up again. At this time, the second shot was fired and I observed hair flying from the right side of his head...I did hear three shots but do not recall which shots were those that hit the President."* (18H732) On 11-30-63, he filed a second report: *"As we completed the left turn and on a short distance, there was a shot...I saw the President lean toward the left and appeared to have grabbed his chest with his right hand. There was a second of pause and then two more shots were heard. Agent Clint Hill jumped from the follow-up car and dashed to the aid of the President and first Lady in the President's car. I saw one shot strike the President in the right side of the head."* (18H730-731). **UNFAIR.**

To refresh, just briefly, Bugliosi has now presented the statements of Secret Service agents Paul Landis, Glen Bennett, George Hickey, Clint Hill, Roy Kellerman, William Greer, John Ready, Emory Roberts, and Sam Kinney. He clearly believes they are credible. And yet, although Bennett, Hickey, Kellerman, Greer, Roberts, and Kinney all made statements indicating the last two shots were extremely close together, and Clint Hill said the last shot had a strange echo, suggesting it may in fact have been two shots extremely close together, and Paul Landis only heard one shot at the end, suggesting he may have interpreted the last shots as one shot, Bugliosi has failed to admit this to his readers. Instead, he is pretending their testimony is consistent with his belief that the first shot missed and that the final shot came after a near five second delay, and is hiding statements contrary to his belief from his readers. Isn't this exactly the kind of thing for which he excoriates others?

- Bugliosi continues his narration by having **Clint Hill** climb onto the back of the limousine, and Mrs Kennedy crawl out toward him. They both climb back onto the seat. This is **FAIR.**
- On page 43 Bugliosi backtracks a second and reports that **Mary Moorman**, standing on the grass just yards from the President, has taken a photo "an instant after the head shot." He reports that she "quickly falls to the ground" and tugs on the pants of her friend, **Jean Hill**, encouraging her to get down. He says Hill is too stunned to move. He cites a number of sources, including Jean Hill's testimony, in support of this activity. He fails to report that Hill testified that after she yelled "Hey" at Kennedy *"he started to bring his head up to look at me and just as he did the shots rang out. Mary took the picture and fell on the ground and of course there were more shots."* (6H205-223). She was thereby testifying that more than one shot rang out in this period, and that other shots rang out afterwards. He also hides that Mary Moorman signed a statement claiming: *"As I snapped the picture of President Kennedy, I heard a shot ring out. President Kennedy kind of slumped over. Then I heard another shot ring out and Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and said "My God, he has been shot!" When I heard these shots ring out, I fell to the ground to keep from being hit myself. I heard three or four shots in all."* (24H217). This also suggests there were two shots in this period, and aligns with the statements of the Secret Service agents. Bugliosi, of course, is pushing that there was but one shot at this time, and that the previous shot came almost 5 seconds earlier. **SUSPICIOUS. (2x)**
- His desperation to hide that there was a shot just after the head shot becomes almost embarrassingly obvious with the presentation of his next witness. Bugliosi reports that *"Charles Brehm instinctively throws himself on his young son, covering him with his body. Brehm a former army staff sergeant, knows about gunfire. Nineteen years before, at Brest in Normandy,*

not long after D-Day, a German bullet went through his chest and blew his elbow joint apart. Now, despite his desperate hopes, he is positive the President was also hit." Bugliosi cites both a 1963 FBI report on Brehm and Brehm's 1986 testimony in a mock trial for this dramatic passage. By simply reporting that Brehm threw himself onto his son, and not specifying that Brehm responded to the third shot head shot by covering his son, Bugliosi avoids admitting to his readers that Brehm was consistent in his statements from day one, and that Brehm stated unequivocally that Kennedy was struck in the head by the second shot, and not the third. In the 1986 mock trial, Brehm testified: *"when the third shot--which seemed to me to be a wasted shot--went off, which frightened me more than any of the others because then I thought it was somebody shooting up the place. I then fell on my son."* Bugliosi knows this not only because he cites Brehm's testimony in his book, but because he was the prosecuting attorney taking Brehm's testimony. Even worse, Brehm was his witness. Bugliosi's twisting of Brehm's words to support his claim as fact that the first shot missed (when Brehm testified it did not), the second shot hit both Kennedy and Connally (when Brehm said it hit Kennedy in the head), and the third shot hit Kennedy in the head (when Brehm said it seemed to have missed) is simply outrageous. **SUSPICIOUS.**

- He next has **Abraham Zapruder** yell out *"They've killed him! They've killed him!"* and follow the limousine out of the Plaza with his camera. This is fair but is a continuation of his earlier testimony.
- He now returns to **James Worrell**, still standing in front of the depository, looking up. He uses Worrell's Warren Commission testimony to assert that Worrell *"pivots and looks back over his shoulder before the window with the rifle in it is out of sight and sees the rifle fire a third time."* Bugliosi, not surprisingly, conceals from his readers what Worrell said next. Worrell testified: *"Just as I got to the corner I heard the fourth shot."* (2H190-201). Failing to tell his readers of this fourth shot is yet another egregious deception on Bugliosi's part. Nowhere in his book does Bugliosi mention that Worrell, whom he uses to convince his readers that 3 shots were fired from the sniper's nest, heard 4 shots, one of which must have been fired from a different location. Even stranger, the shot Bugliosi avoids mentioning in this passage is Worrell's fourth shot. Earlier, when discussing the second shot, he discussed events occurring after Worrell's third shot. From this it appears that, not only does Bugliosi make shots disappear at his convenience, he changes the shots that disappear at his convenience. **SUSPICIOUS.**
- Bugliosi then swings back to his star witness, **Howard Brennan**, sitting on a wall across Elm Street from the depository. He has Brennan dive off the wall as this shot rings out, and watch the gunman pull his rifle back in from the window. This is a **FAIR** use of Brennan's testimony.
- To help support Brennan's assertion that this last shot was fired from the sniper's nest, Bugliosi now introduces a few new witnesses. First, he has photographer **Robert Jackson**, riding on Elm Street in the motorcade, look up and see the rifle pulled in from the window. Bugliosi cites Jackson's testimony, but fails to tell his readers that Jackson testified *"the second two shots seemed much closer together than they were to the first shot."* (2H155-165). Such an assertion, as previously explained, is an indication that the first shot did not miss. It is also, however, a suggestion that either the second shot was fired sometime after frame 252, the mid-point between the earliest moment Kennedy could have been hit, frame 190, and the head shot at 313, or that the third shot was fired after frame 313. Bugliosi's inclusion of Jackson's statements about a third shot in a section devoted to the shot at frame 313, when he may have been describing a shot just after frame 313, is probably innocent, but nevertheless **UNFAIR.**
- At this time, Bugliosi dramatizes the thoughts and actions of the other photographers in Jackson's car. Bugliosi reports *"The press car was halfway up the block toward Elm when its occupants heard the first shot."* Is it really possible Bugliosi does not know that this correlates

to their location seconds after his proposed first shot miss?

- He then singles out **Malcolm Couch**, who claimed to have seen the rifle sticking out of the window after Jackson pointed it out to him. Here, Bugliosi finally stumbles into a witness whose story vaguely supports the scenario he's been pushing. While the 11-27-63 FBI report on Couch cited by Bugliosi says Couch thought the first two shots were 10 seconds apart, Couch testified that the first shot rang out when the car in which he was riding was "*uh, 15 or 20 feet from the turn—from off of Main onto Houston*" and that the shots were "*fairly close together, they were fairly even in sound.*" (6H153-162). This is vaguely supportive of Bugliosi's scenario. **FAIR.**
- Bugliosi then has the photographers observe the chaos that followed the third shot. While Bugliosi doesn't cite their statements and testimony, we'll be a little more thorough, and acknowledge that the other three photographers, **Tom Dillard**, **Jimmy Darnell** and **James Underwood**, were inconsistent in their statements and testimony, regarding the sound of the shots. While Dillard testified that three "*approximately equally spaced*" shots rang out when they were "*just a few feet around the corner,*" (6H162-167) thereby supporting Couch's testimony (and Bugliosi's theory), Darnell only mentioned two shots when he talked to the FBI (CD7 p29), and Underwood not only originally reported the last two shots came in "*quick succession*" (Pictures of the Pain, 420-421) but testified that the car was in the middle of the block when the first shot rang out (6H167-171).
- This brings us to Bugliosi's final witness to state there was a sniper in the sniper's nest, **James Crawford**. Standing on the eastern side of Houston Street, Crawford recalls seeing a fleeting glimpse of someone in the window just after the last shot. Bugliosi reports "*Crawford had thought the first loud sound he heard to be a backfire of a car...Then he heard the second sound and began to look around, thinking someone was firing firecrackers. As the report from the third shot sounded, he looked up and saw a very quick, indistinct movement in the southeasternmost window on the sixth floor of the Book Depository Building.*" In his usual fashion, Bugliosi cites the Warren Commission testimony of Crawford to support this, and in his usual fashion he forgets to tell his readers that Crawford testified to events in direct opposition to the version of events Bugliosi claims is a fact. Crawford testified: "*I believe there was a car leading the President's car, followed by the President's car, and followed, I suppose, by the Vice President's car, and in turn by the Secret Service in a yellow closed sedan. The doors of the sedan were open. It was after the Secret Service sedan had gone around the corner that I heard the first report and at that time I thought it was a backfire of a car*" and then continued "*The second shot followed some seconds, a little time elapsed after the first one, and followed very quickly by a third one.*" (6H171-174) By having the Secret Service sedan around the corner at the time of the first shot, Crawford was indicating the first shot was fired after frame 190 of the Zapruder film. Bugliosi, of course, has it at frame 160. The third shot that Crawford insisted followed "very quickly" after the second, furthermore, follows a tension-filled 5 seconds after the second in Bugliosi's scenario. For the reasons stated in our discussion of Jackson, Bugliosi's use of Crawford is probably innocent but nevertheless **UNFAIR.**
- Finally, to support that Crawford saw someone in the window, Bugliosi cites **Mary Mitchell**, standing next to Crawford, and her confirmation that Crawford pointed out the window just after the shots. Not surprisingly, Bugliosi neglects to tell his readers that she testified to hearing three shots, with "*the second and third being closer together than the first and second.*" (6H175-177). This, of course, fits the statements and testimony of the vast majority of witnesses offered by Bugliosi, but runs contrary to his conclusions. His use of Mitchell's statement to describe the reaction to a head shot at frame 313, when she quite possibly was responding to a shot after frame 313, is probably innocent but is nevertheless **UNFAIR.**

This brings us to the end of our exhaustive look at an exhaustive look. By a rough un-scientific count, which is, of course, open to re-interpretation, we have examined Bugliosi's use of the statements and testimony of dozens of witnesses to describe 55 responses or interpretations to these three shots. 16 of these descriptions seem to be fair ones, reflective of the statements and testimony of the witnesses. Another 17 of these are unfair ones--meaning that, if one were to read the full statements and testimony of these witnesses, one would probably conclude they were not describing a response to the shots proposed by Bugliosi. Another 22 of these are overtly suspicious in nature, suggestive that Bugliosi is deliberately trying to conceal contradictory evidence from his readers--the exact crime for which he vilifies others.

While one might wish to give Bugliosi the benefit of the doubt, and assume the widespread misrepresentation of the eyewitness evidence in his book came as a result of "dramatic license" and lousy fact-checking by a research assistant, one should consider that on June 14, 2007, during an on-air radio interview with Pittsburgh radio station, WPTT, Bugliosi asserted *"99.9 percent of the research in this case was done by myself. I couldn't rely on anyone else to do the research for me."* This suggests that Bugliosi is not only entirely responsible for the many misrepresentations in his book, but that he actively prevented anyone from double-checking his quotes and citations. In this interview, he claimed further that his book was a *"very special book"* and that it was, no surprise, *"a book for the ages."* As it was *"a book for the ages,"* he explained, normal marketing considerations, such as size, were not to be considered. In an immodest moment, he asserted *"When scholarship is in conflict with marketability, you go the scholarship route."*

One winces in the face of such hubris. This is the man who attacked Oliver Stone, who'd created an admitted work of fiction based on a real event, for not laying out the evidence that ran counter to his narrative. This is the man who attacked Mark Lane, who wrote the influential book *Rush to Judgment* as a defense brief for Oswald, for leaving the prosecution's case out of his book. This is the man who promised to *"omit or distort nothing."* And yet, in his over 2500 page book, he completely conceals the inconvenient truth that the eyewitnesses he uses to describe the shooting scenario he presents as a fact, only support his scenario when he cherry-picks their testimony. He never mentions that one of the three men crouched just a floor below the sniper's nest originally said there'd been but two shots. He never mentions that two of the three men who saw a gun fire from the sniper's nest thought there'd been a fourth shot. Despite his promises not to do so, he removes words from the statements of some witnesses, and adds words to the statements of others, which just so happen to change their meaning. Does such a man deserve the benefit of the doubt?

If one were to warm up one's psychiatrist couch, and throw Bugliosi onto the fire, as he does others (beyond his attacks on Oswald, he is found of saying that conspiracy theorists are "certifiably psychotic" and that writer David Lifton took a "journey into dementia") one might very well conclude that Bugliosi, in his zeal to simplify an otherwise complicated bit of American history, put on his blinders and constructed a dramatic narrative that safely supported his conclusions. On November 4, 2007, in an interview on Book TV, he offered up some insight which supports this conjecture. When asked why, at this point in history, he still doesn't use a computer, or even have a cell phone, he replied: *"I think I have an instinctive disinclination for anything mechanical or technological...I like simplicity. I want everything simple. When I speak to a jury, I put a bib on them and spoon-feed them. You've got to be simple. Life is simple for the simple-minded. Maybe it's because I'm simple-minded, I don't know. I like simplicity."* Thus, one might assume that Bugliosi, desperate to give Oswald more time to fire his purported shots, and with a predilection towards simplicity, simply took the cue from all too many before him, conjured up an imaginary first shot miss, made it appear he had witnesses describing this shot, and let the evidence be damned.

Well, one should ask, isn't this the "cultural crime" of which he accused Oliver Stone?

And what of those in the media who've (at least so far) supported Bugliosi's deception? Are they un-indicted co-conspirators? Accessories after the fact? Or are they, in fact, innocent bystanders to his historic train-wreck?

In historian Jon Wiener's 2005 report on his profession, *Historians in Trouble*, he notes that it is not unusual for books with tremendous errors to receive excellent reviews. He explains: "Of course no reviewer is expected to consult the primary sources cited in a book under review--the assumption is that the author has fulfilled his duty to accuracy." In the case of *Reclaiming History*, it's clear that no one from the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Washington Post*--or any other media outlet for that matter--had the gumption or energy to consult the primary sources cited by Bugliosi. One should have thought they'd be curious to see if the man with all the answers had even marginally done his job. But one would be wrong. It is undoubtedly ironic then that a book designed to scold those who twist the historical record to meet their own ends, twisted the historical record to meet its own ends, and went undiscovered by the self-appointed watchdogs of the media, who were more than eager to kick sand in the face of those who twist the historical record to meet their own ends. It is ironic but not at all amusing.

Part 4: Renouncing Hypocrisy

In April 2008, Playtone, the Tom Hanks-owned company currently at work on a multi-million dollar, multi-part production of Bugliosi's *Reclaiming History*, a bio-pic on the death of an American president, premiered a multi-part production of John Adams, a bio-pic on the life of an American president. This too, was ironic, but not at all amusing. Okay. It was slightly amusing.

At one point of this production, in a scene presumably contrived for television, Adams, who bore a striking, almost eerie, resemblance to the actor Paul Giamatti, criticized the painter John Trumbull for his overly clean and patriotic depiction of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. His words, slightly edited, came straight from David McCulloch's book on Adams, which, one can only hope, did come straight from Adams' letters and writings.

In McCulloch's book, Adams complained: "it is a common observation in Europe that nothing is so false as modern history; I should say nothing is so false as modern history as ancient history, and I would add that nothing is so false as ancient or modern history in Europe, except modern American history."

He also unleashed this warning: "Do not let our posterity be deluded with fictions under the guise of poetical or graphical license."

One can only hope someone at Playtone recognized the irony.

Still, irony is often lost on those determined to reclaim a history that never really was.

One can only hope then that at least one member of academia, the press, or the Washington establishment, would note the irony. Yet nothing has been written in the national media (of which I am aware) criticizing Playtone's production of Bugliosi's book. One can only imagine the outrage among historians, the press, and the establishment, if, say, Oliver Stone purchased the rights to a book about, let's say, Pearl Harbor, which upheld, through events related in sworn testimony but taken out of sequence, the "fact" that Roosevelt knew all about the upcoming attack and did nothing to prevent it. One can only imagine the outrage if, say, Oliver Stone, bought the rights to a book about, let's say, the Iran/Contra scandal, which upheld, through sworn testimony cherry-picked from testimony suggesting a different scenario, the "fact" that Ronald Reagan had personally profited from the sale of arms to terrorists. Should Stone do such a thing he would be called a "murderer" of our "sacred" historical record, or maybe just "Oliver Stone," as his name has become synonymous with "murderer of our sacred historical record" to all too many.

And yet, in *Reclaiming History*, Bugliosi has asserted as fact, through illustration and argument, a sequence of events which is grossly at odds with the historical record he purports to be defending. This sequence of events is no minor subplot in his book of books, mind you, but is the central event of his book. It is the cornerstone upon which he builds his argument that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in killing President Kennedy. His selective use and editing of the evidence, moreover, suggests he knows full well that his version of events is at odds with the historical record, and is seeking to hide this from his readers. Where's the outrage?

When a creationist writes a book, purporting to be scientific, that so obviously and deliberately misrepresents evidence, the book is either criticized or ignored. So why, when his book contains these same flaws, has Bugliosi's book drew raves?, Is it "okay" to mislead if it's done for the greater good? If so, then who decides the "good"? If so, then how is Vincent Bugliosi any better than, gulp, Oliver Stone?

On December 17, 1991, in the *Washington Post*, former Warren Commissioner and ex-President Gerald Ford and former Warren Commission counsel David Belin wrote "*The basic format underlying the dissemination of lies is to cover up the overwhelming weight of the evidence and instead paste together scraps of testimony to form a case...*" Although, as we've seen, they were describing Bugliosi's use of narrative in *Reclaiming History*, they thought they were describing the methods of Oliver Stone.

Oliver Stone included their comments in his book about his movie. All of the early criticisms of Stone cited in this discussion come from Stone's book about his movie. While Oliver Stone was purported to have been intellectually myopic, and a propagandist, he nevertheless admitted his work was a work of fiction, based largely on the memoirs of a controversial figure, and featuring an alternative take on the same pool of information used by the Warren Commission to come to its conclusions. His film was well-received by the public and successful in its stated goal of provoking the U.S. Government into releasing hundreds of thousands of assassination-related documents to the research community.

Vincent Bugliosi, on the other hand, is a polemicist of different stripe. While he once denounced Stone for using film to present his distortions, as "*anything shown in a movie tends to be taken as a truth*," he has now entered into a deal to sell his own witting distortions of the evidence to the American public, using, well...not only film, but the credibility and star power of Bill Paxton and Tom Hanks. Meanwhile, while the film is in production, he has refused to debate serious researchers of different perspectives. Neither he nor Hanks' production company have sought to balance the perspective of his book and create something closer to truth, by hiring outside experts to help catch and correct Bugliosi's numerous mistakes, and assure that his mistakes are not repeated in the film. Certainly, at this moment, the thought of Bugliosi publishing a book comprising critiques of his work so that future generations can make their own decisions about his intelligence and integrity, a la Stone, is beyond anyone's imagination.

Bugliosi, apparently, has alienated even those who agree with him. His stratospheric arrogance is such that even his ally of sorts, Max Holland, currently at work on a Warren Commission defense of his own, felt it worthy of comment. In his May 20, 2007 review of *Reclaiming History*, Holland wrote: "*there is an occupational hazard that comes with being an advocate, especially a prosecutor, rather than a historian. Mr. Bugliosi assumes a pose of omniscience that is not always warranted. He is absolutely certain even when he is not necessarily right.*" This arrogance is never more apparent than when Bugliosi is in front of a camera. In a video-taped interview presented online to promote his book, Bugliosi boasted "*It's my very firm belief--I'm very, very confident--that no reasonable, rational person -- and let's underline those words 'reasonable' and 'rational' -- no reasonable, rational person can possibly read this book without being satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt that Oswald hit Kennedy and acted alone.*" Bugliosi's publisher, of course, shares this sentiment and claims his book answers all the questions.

Let's recall here the words of the New York Times' Tom Wicker. Wicker's chief complaint about Oliver Stone, he claimed, was not that Stone believed Kennedy had been killed by a conspiracy and Wicker did not, but that Stone cast negative aspersions on *"anyone who doesn't share his one true faith."* Wicker further complained that Stone *"uses the powerful instrument of a motion picture, and relies on stars of the entertainment world to propagate the one true faith."*

I hereby submit that Vincent Bugliosi is the real Oliver Stone.

Post Script

In 2008, it became apparent that Vincent Bugliosi's misrepresentation of the Kennedy assassination witness statements was no one-time mistake, and that such misrepresentations were for him quite possibly business as usual. A website was created for his book, with excerpts from many of the positive reviews cited above. Included in these quotes, however, was a quote from an unexpected source, noted conspiracy theorist Dr. David Mantik. The quote read: *"It is likely that [Reclaiming History] will stand forever as the magnum opus of this case. . . . It is a masterpiece."* This was a bold and deliberate misrepresentation of Mantik's actual comments, however, which read, in part:

"It is likely that this book will stand as the magnum opus of this case--though not without serious flaws...I would liken the book to a house held aloft by a multitude of stilts...The problem, as we shall amply soon see, is that he (Bugliosi) wears permanent blinders, particularly when it comes to experts, and especially so for those from science...As I see it, the fundamental difference between scientists and lawyers lies in epistemology—i.e., how does one define, or even find, truth? For lawyers, steeped in the adversarial system, the answer is clear-cut: use expert witnesses, and then let a jury vote. For a scientist, the very notion of a debate, and then a vote on truth, would be absurd, simply laughed out of court in a nanosecond. Instead, the scientist would set up a controlled experiment, perform multiple measurements, and then publish his results in a peer reviewed journal. But for his work to be accepted as part of the scientific corpus, it would likely be repeated several times over by independent groups...B's book represents a massive, even prodigious, outpouring of work. One must be either mad or a genius to wallow for 20 years in such an interminable project..In its own way, it is a masterpiece--a truly great prosecutorial brief...As would be expected, he sometimes misuses medical terms (and even misunderstands what I know), but overall he communicates these issues well, though we often disagree profoundly on interpretation. Whenever possible, though, he prefers simply to quote the experts who side with him, especially those from the WC and House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA). Of course, that's precisely what we should expect: lawyers are paid for presenting the experts, not for presenting the evidence. B rarely shows much originality or personal ability to analyze the medical or scientific data. In essence, he operates with a crutch virtually all of the time—without these experts at his side he is a near cripple. As for me, coming from a scientific background, and being thoroughly familiar with virtually all of this JFK (medical and scientific) evidence, I found B's myopic and closed-minded view of this critical data acutely disappointing. How can one dialogue with a lawyer who hides behind his chosen experts? Somehow, from such a brilliant mind, I had hoped for more. It was, of course, unreasonable of me. The gap between the different cultures is simply too large."

Now this was clearly a negative review, calling into question not only the accuracy of the information presented in the book, but Bugliosi's ability to interpret the information. Even so, in May 2008 the abbreviated quote in which Mantik appeared to rave about a "masterpiece" was put on the front pages of Four Days in November, the scarcely-noticed paperback abbreviation of Bugliosi's monstrous book.

On 6-12-2008, Bugliosi's number one fan David Von Pein sent Bugliosi's secretary an e-mail complaining about this and other developments. He posted this online. It concluded:

"I really wanted Vince B. to know about these things (which I truly don't think he's aware of at all) -- especially the Mantik review blurbs, which, as mentioned, are just flat-out embarrassing after reading Mantik's WHOLE review.

It makes it look as if the publisher (Norton) is so desperate for ANY kind of praise from the pro-conspiracy crowd that they are willing to bend the context of Mantik's words to suit their own pro-RH purposes. And that's not a good thing at all, in my view."

Von Pein received no response to his complaint, and the bastardized "quote" of Mantik praising Reclaiming History is still featured on its website.

This was actually not surprising. You see, what Von Pein failed to realize was that the deliberate misuse of Mantik's words was quite possibly not thought up by Bugliosi's publisher, but by Bugliosi himself. In late 2007, when the first negative reviews of Reclaiming History started trickling to the surface, Bugliosi chose to respond by attacking his critics, and to try to show them the error of their ways. To do this, he threatened them with lawsuits and quoted liberally from what he contended were positive reviews of his book. One such quote came from David Mantik's largely negative review of his book. It went like this: "It is likely that (Reclaiming History) will stand forever as the magnum opus of this case...It is a masterpiece."

While it's certainly possible that someone from Bugliosi's publisher furnished him this quote, and that he innocently repeated it, it seems highly unlikely that Bugliosi would fail to read a review by a prominent conspiracy theorist, particularly one in which the writer called his book "a masterpiece." As a result we can feel quite certain that Bugliosi knows full well his use of the quote is deceptive. And that he simply doesn't care.

I mean, let's be honest. This is a man who arranged or at the very least allowed the cover of his book *Four Days in November* to boast, in quotes above the title, "a book for the ages," when that quote, even if accurate, was never used to describe *Four Days in November*, but *Reclaiming History*, the much larger and more comprehensive book from which it was excised. Telling the truth was never in the cards.

Appendix One: The First Shot Miss Dilemma

The First Shot Miss Dilemma



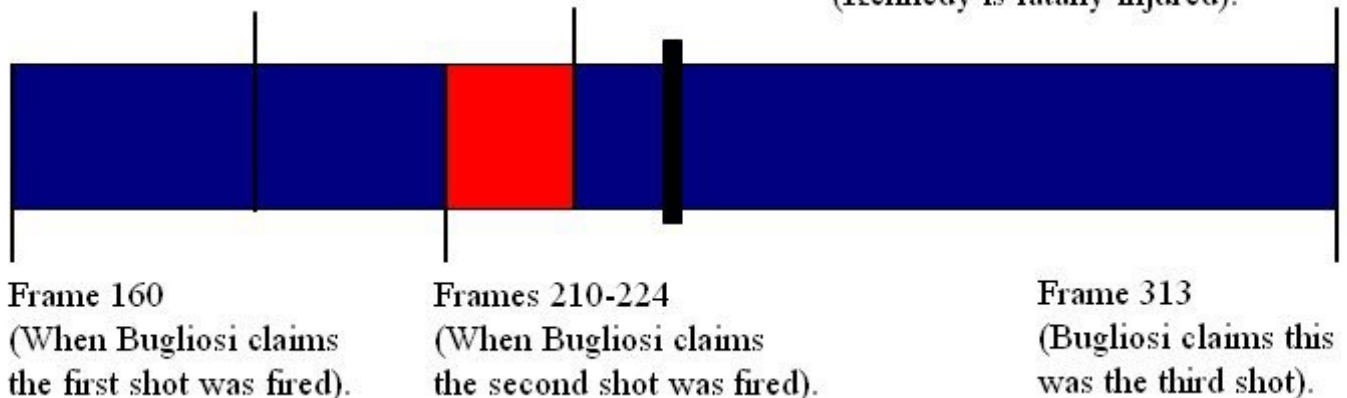
Frame 188
(Kennedy shows no signs of being hit).



Frame 225
(Kennedy is reacting to a shot).



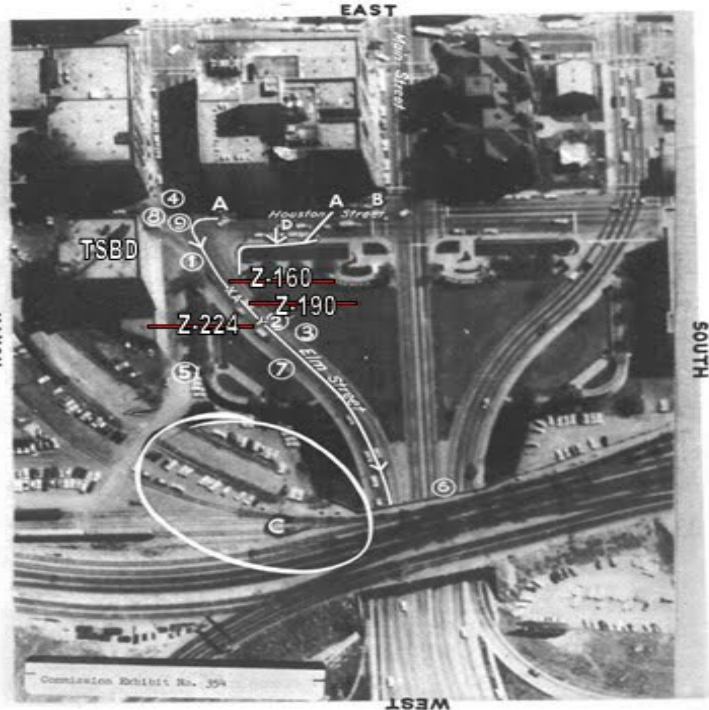
Frame 313
(Kennedy is fatally injured).



When Bugliosi proposes that the first shot missed circa frame 160 of the Zapruder film, he is not only proposing that the large number of witnesses close to the President who believed he was hit by the first shot were wrong, but that the vast majority of witnesses to comment on the timing of the shots (who felt the last two shots were much closer together than the first was to the second) were wrong. This doesn't leave a lot of witnesses from which one can honestly draw support. Bugliosi doesn't even try. The support he offers for his proposed "fact" is undoubtedly deceptive.

Appendix Two: Reclaiming History from Reclaiming History

Reclaiming History from Reclaiming History



Warren Commission Exhibits 347 (at left) and 354 (at right) were photos of Dealey Plaza with notations made by witnesses. Insert shows Kellerman's X and Greer's A on 347. Other notations on 347 and Z-frame locations on 354 are added-on.

When one inspects Warren Commission exhibits 347 and 354, and matches them up to the testimony explaining what the notations on them are designed to represent, it becomes painfully clear that the first shot miss circa frame 160 proposed by Bugliosi and his fellow single-assassin theorists, is nonsense, as wacky as most anything proposed by the conspiracy theorists they so actively disrespect.

Notations on CE 347:

- Secret Service agent Roy Kellerman, who rode in the front seat of the Presidential limo, marked the motorcade route, marked an X to reflect his appraisal of the limo's location at the moment of the first shot, and marked a Y to reflect his appraisal of the limo's location at the time of the second and third shots. (The version of CE 347 reprinted in the Warren Commission's volumes was nearly unreadable. After playing with the contrast of this image, however, I was able to discern Kellerman's X on the road near the limo's location around frame 190 of the Zapruder film. I was unable to ascertain the precise location of his Y.)
- Secret Service agent William Greer, the driver of Kennedy's limo, marked his appraisal of the limo's location at the time of the first shot with an A, the second shot with a B, and a third shot with a C. (I was able to discern Greer's A at a location around frame 220 of the Zapruder film, but was unable to ascertain the locations of his B and his C.)
- Buell Wesley Frazier, who was standing on the front steps of the depository, directly beneath the sniper's nest, marked by putting an F inside an oval the plaza location from where he thought the shots had been fired. (He placed this F in an oval in the railroad yards, far west of the building.)

Notations on CE 354:

- Secret Service agent Clint Hill, who ran from the back-up car and climbed onto the trunk during

the shooting, marked his appraisal of the location for the first shot with an X, and his appraisal for the second shot he heard--which was the fatal head shot--with a Y. (His X is at around the limo's location at frame 175 of the Zapruder film. His Y is around the location of the limo at frame 220. As the head shot clearly occurred when the limo was much further down the street, it seems likely he placed the first shot too close to the corner as well.)

- Secret Service agent Rufus Youngblood, riding in the Vice-Presidential limo two cars back from the President, marked the location of this limo at the time of the first shot with an A. (Youngblood's A is on Elm Street around the President's location at frame 180 of the Zapruder film. As the VP limo was 40-50 feet behind the President's limousine, this places the first shot somewhere between frames 220-230 of the film.)
- Motorcade witness Arnold Rowland marked a V to show where he was standing as the motorcade passed, an A to show where he'd been standing when he observed someone other than Oswald in the sniper's nest minutes before the shooting, a B to show where he went after that, and a D to show where he was pulled after the shots. (Rowland's V, apparently, was transposed by someone into an A at the corner of Houston and Elm.)
- Motorcade witness Virgie Baker marked a 1 to show where she was standing during the shooting and a 2 to mark the location where she thought she saw something hit the street behind the limousine. (Her 2 is approximately 100 feet away from her location, and at least 70 feet past where a bullet impacting behind the limo would have impacted should she have witnessed this impact circa frame 160 of the Zapruder film.)
- Warren Commission Counsel Wesley Liebeler marked a 3 to show where photographer James Altgens believed he was standing at the moment of the first shot. (He placed Altgens much further up the street than Altgens' actual location, as revealed by the Zapruder film, where Altgens remains unseen till after the head shot.)
- Liebeler next marked a 4 to show where Dallas Policeman Joe Marshall Smith believed he'd been standing during the shooting, and a 5 to show from where Smith believed the shots had been fired. (He placed this 5 near the end of Elm Street in back of the arcade.)
- Liebeler then marked a 6 to show where James Tague believed he'd been standing when he was wounded by a piece of flying cement, and a 7 to show where Tague later told his story to a Dallas Police officer.
- And finally, Liebeler marked an 8 to show where Policeman Welcome Barnett believed he'd been standing during the shooting. Barnett later corrected this position, and his corrected position is marked by a 9.

Appendix Three: Johnson's Lincoln

Johnson's Lincoln



At left: frame 160 of the Zapruder film, the moment Bugliosi proposes that the first shot rang out. The light-blue Lincoln in which Johnson was riding was just making the turn onto Elm. Everyone in this car stated that the car had completed its turn and was driving down Elm when the first shot rang out

At right: a crop of the James Altgens photo taken at frame 255 of the Zapruder film, isolating the Vice-President's car. Lady Bird Johnson and Senator Ralph Yarborough are still sitting upright in the back seat. As President Johnson believed that Secret Service agent Rufus Youngblood, riding in the front seat of the car, pushed him down and ushered the others to get down immediately after the first shot, it seems unlikely the first shot rang out at as far back as frame 160, more than 5 seconds before this photo.

The shot sequence Bugliosi presents as a fact is at odds with the statements of everyone in Johnson's Lincoln.



Appendix Four: Connally First Shot Analysis

Connally First Shot Analysis



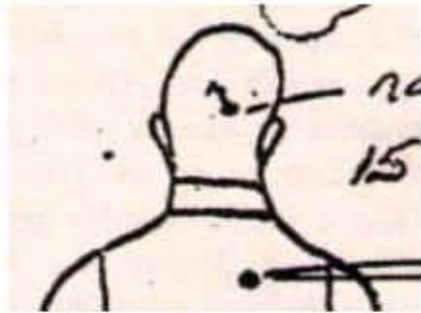
Insert at top: a crop of Warren Commission Exhibit CE 699: an aerial view of Dealey Plaza. Blue arrow added to show where Connally heard the first shot..

Above: Warren Commission Exhibit 882: a map of Dealey Plaza. Added lines mark Kennedy's position at Z-160, Z-190, Z-224, and Z-313. Blue circle reflects Connally's mark in CE 699.

Chapter 10: Examining the Examinations

The beginning of a detailed examination of the medical evidence, focusing on the manipulation of the back wound's location between 1963 and 1969

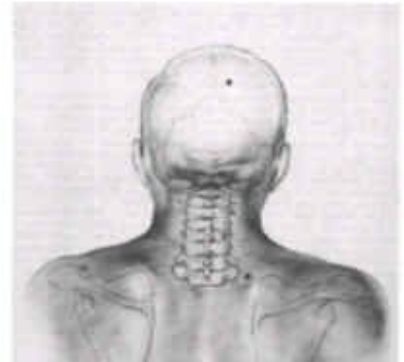
The Wandering Wounds



Autopsy Face Sheet,
November 22, 1963,
published as Warren
Commission Exhibit 397,
based on Dr. Boswell's direct
observation of the body.



Warren Commission
Exhibit 386, March 16,
1964, based on verbal
descriptions from
the autopsy doctors.



HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel
Report Figure 24, March, 1979,
based on the panel's interpretation
of the autopsy photos.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

The Wandering Wounds

Let us now discuss the medical evidence in the excruciating detail it requires.

While defenders of the FBI and Warren Commission, such as historian Max Holland, like to pretend there is nothing to discuss here, as all the questions have long been answered (In November 1995's *American Heritage Magazine*, Holland actually claimed that the *"passing controversy over the President's autopsy..had been fairly easily resolved"*), I suspect the reader will come to agree that the questions publicly asked and answered have been just the tip of the iceberg.

Let us begin, then, by examining the movement of the President's back wound.

On the evening of the assassination, an autopsy was performed on the President at Bethesda Naval Hospital. During the autopsy, Dr. J. Thornton Boswell marked the location of the President's wounds on a pre-existing outline of a body, on a piece of paper called a face sheet. This face sheet was eventually published in one of the 26 supporting volumes of the Warren Report.

On March 16, 1964, almost four months later, however, the autopsy doctors--Dr. Humes, Dr. Boswell and Dr. Finck--were called to testify before the Warren Commission. In preparation for their testimony, and at the urging of Warren Commission counsel Arlen Specter, Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell met with medical illustrator Skip Rydberg and created three drawings depicting the President's wounds. As the doctors were not allowed access to the autopsy photos, or even the face sheet, during the creation of

these drawings, they were forced to rely purely on their memories.

They were not pleased with having to do so. Dr. Humes, in fact, testified that the autopsy photos would demonstrate the wounds more clearly than the drawings, and admitted that the drawings were “*schematic*” and imprecise. His use of the word “*schematic*” was no mistake, either. A schematic depicts an “*arrangement of ideas into a systematic order*,” according to an old Webster’s, and is thus an admitted distortion. One of the three drawings demonstrates the presumed trajectory of the bullet creating the back wound and depicts the location of the wounds as viewed from the side. Yet another of the drawings depicts the trajectory of the fatal bullet and presumed position of the President’s head at the moment of the fatal shot’s impact. And the third drawing shows how these wounds might appear from behind.

And that’s just the beginning of the problems related to these drawings. As shown above, the location of the back wound on the face sheet was several inches lower than the location of the wound on Rydberg’s drawings. This was problematic. Since Oswald was believed to have fired at the President from a sniper’s nest more than 60 feet above and behind the President, it follows that if he were the shooter the President’s back wound would be at a higher point on his body than the purported exit on his throat. And yet the back wound on the face sheet was below the throat wound...

It should come as no surprise then that the upwards migration of the back wound for the Warren Commission’s exhibits was taken by many as an indication Warren Commission Counsel Arlen Specter had moved the wound to support his “single-bullet theory,” which held that a bullet passed through Kennedy from the sniper’s nest location, and proceeded to hit Governor John Connally seated in front of Kennedy.

But it’s a bit more complicated than that.

To get a clear understanding of why and how the wounds moved, we must go back to November 22nd, 1963, when the doctors performing the autopsy had a serious problem. They found a small entrance hole on the back of the President’s head, and a large exit hole by his temple, and concluded these holes were caused by the same bullet, but couldn’t figure out what became of the bullet causing a wound in the President’s back. When they learned that a bullet was found on a stretcher in Dallas, they concluded that this bullet must have fallen from the back wound during heart massage. Apparently, neither the doctors nor the FBI agents at the autopsy were aware that Dr. Perry, one of the doctors in Dallas, had already discussed a wound on the President’s throat at a press conference covered by the media.

The next day, however, after talking to Dr. Perry, and realizing he had performed a tracheotomy incision through this throat wound, and had thereby obscured its appearance, Dr. Humes concluded that the bullet penetrating the President’s back had proceeded to exit his throat. What’s important to understand, however, is that Dr. Humes made this deduction without re-inspecting the President’s body, and without even consulting the autopsy photos, which had been seized by the Secret Service. Only adding to his confusion was the unfortunate fact that Dr. Humes was a laboratory pathologist, accustomed to inspecting specimens to confirm a pre-existing diagnoses, and lacked experience as a forensic pathologist, whose job, according to Dr. Cyril Wecht, is “*to establish independently the exact cause and manner of death*.”

This lack of proper training, then, helps explain Dr. Humes’ inclusion of newspaper accounts in his subsequent report. His inclusion of these items as support three shots were fired from above and behind, furthermore, helps us understand that Dr. Humes was trying to match the wounds to the shots, as opposed to the other way around.

Knowledge of these accounts, moreover, would serve to discourage Humes from concluding there were more than three shots fired, or that any of the shots could have come from anyplace but above and

behind. Dr. Humes simply concluded that there was an entrance on the back and an exit towards the front of the President's skull, and an entrance high on the President's back and an exit near that level on his throat. Thus, the President must have been hit twice. Since Governor Connally, sitting in front of the President, had also been hit, this would account for the three shots heard by the witnesses. It was apparently just that simple for Humes. He really thought he'd figured it out. Keep in mind that he had marginal experience with wound ballistics and bullet trajectories, and had acknowledged problems with angles and numbers. Humes just used his common sense and came to a common sense solution. Four holes and no bullets in the body meant two shots struck the President. Period.

Unfortunately, a deduction such as this can have side effects. The memory research of Dr. Elizabeth Loftus reveals that when people are asked to imagine a plausible event their imagined events can creep into their memories. It is not illogical, therefore, to presume that Dr. Humes' and Dr. Boswell's attempt to determine--when Kennedy's body was no longer in front of them--if the wound on his back could connect to a wound in the location of the tracheotomy incision led to their recalling the back wound at a point higher than its actual location, in line with a shot from where they'd been told the rifle had been fired. Thus, the memories of the doctors may have been tainted even before meeting with Warren Commission counsel, and future U.S. Senator, Arlen Specter.

But the Warren Commission undoubtedly encouraged the tainting. On January 27th 1964, in executive session, Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin told the Warren Commission that the face sheet (which he called a picture) placed the back wound below the throat wound and that he would be seeking the doctors' "help" along these lines. While it seems clear the Rydberg drawings' depiction of the back wound above the throat wound was the very "help" Rankin was looking for, it does not mean the drawings were deliberate deceptions, however, as the doctors may have honestly come to believe the back wound was above the throat wound.

Note that I wrote "may." As noted by Dr. Cyril Wecht in *Six Seconds in Dallas* (1967), when one reflects that the autopsists, by their own admission, at one point suspected that the bullet creating Kennedy's non-fatal wound had been forced back out the entrance during cardiac massage, it's quite difficult to imagine how they could possibly have come to believe this entrance was on the back of Kennedy's neck (where it is depicted in the Rydberg drawings), as opposed to being on his back (where it is depicted on the face sheet). It seems likely, then, that the drawings were a deliberate deception.

Even so, events subsequent to the introduction of the Rydberg drawings suggest that the worst deceptions came later. Dr. Humes testified on March 16 that the drawings were schematic and that the autopsy photos would more accurately depict the President's wounds. The transcript to an April 30th executive session of the Warren Commission, furthermore, reflects that Counsel Rankin himself requested that Dr. Humes be allowed to examine the autopsy photos and compare them to the Rydberg drawings. This request, for that matter, was triggered by a memo of that same day from of all men Arlen Specter, which anticipated:

"Commission Exhibits Nos. 385, 386, and 388 were made from the recollections of the autopsy surgeons as told to the artist. Some day someone may compare the films with the artist's drawings and find a significant error which might substantially affect the essential testimony and the Commission's conclusions. In any event, the Commission should not rely on hazy recollections, especially in view of the statement in the autopsy report (Commission Exhibit #387) that:

"The complexity of those fractures and the fragments thus produced tax satisfactory verbal description and are better appreciated in the photographs and roentgenograms which are prepared."

While Rankin's request was approved, and while a May 12th memo from Specter indicates that an inspection by Humes was forthcoming, no such inspection took place, due to the admitted interference

of Chief Justice Earl Warren, who decided to inspect them himself.

Blind Justice

Warren's viewing the photos all by himself was one of the most questionable acts in an investigation defined by its questionable acts. In late May, 1964, around the time he was set to inspect the autopsy photos, Chief Justice Warren suddenly announced that the commission would not be publishing the testimony and evidence gathered at its hearings, including the drawings created by the autopsy doctors. This suggests the possibility a private inspection of the photos had led Warren to realize that the doctors' drawings were deceptive, and that he was trying to find a way to keep this hidden from the public. (Warren's decision not to publish the drawings was soon overturned by his fellow commissioners, none of whom had seen the autopsy photos.)

Warren's stated excuse for not allowing others to look at the photos, moreover--that he himself had looked at the photos and found them horrible and unnecessary to the work of the Commission--is truly hard to believe.

Still, when one considers that Warren was later to admit he found the case against Oswald a relatively simple matter, and was reported in a November 1966 Newsweek article to have boasted *"If I were still a district attorney and the Oswald case came into my jurisdiction, given the same evidence, I could have gotten a conviction in two days, and never heard about the case again,"* it seems possible he considered his task of being fair to Oswald a pointless one, and that this justified his exclusion of what he believed to be horrifying medical evidence from the record.

One might think the Chief Justice of the United States would have better sense than to deny such an important case its "best evidence" for personal or political purposes, but this was but one of numerous decisions made by Warren that reflect he saw the commission's work as political.

An August, 17, 1992 article in U.S. News & World Report, written with the cooperation of the surviving Warren Commission counsel, supports that Warren saw the commission's work in this light. Here, it was disclosed that he'd become severely agitated when he was informed that the final report of his commission would not be ready by July 1, 1964, as originally projected and as promised President Johnson. Here, it was also reported that after this failure the White House gave Warren a new deadline of August 24, the day of the Democratic convention. That this second deadline was given to Warren by McGeorge Bundy, Johnson's National Security Adviser, is especially intriguing.

Warren's denial that politics played any role in the commission's actions is also quite intriguing... Was he lying? Or was he simply in denial? When asked, in a November 3, 1971 oral history interview performed for the Johnson Library, if conducting the investigation in a campaign year *"posed any problem"* for the Commission, Warren at first grew confused, and tried to claim the investigation was in '63. He then realized his mistake, and answered *"No, no, really it was no factor. It was no factor at all, no factor at all."* Okay. When asked, in a March 26, 1974 interview by Warren Commission historian Alfred Goldberg if the Commission's report would have been better if the Commission had had more time, however, Warren said something quite different. He said *"We had all the time we wanted. If we had gone any further we would have gone into the political mess of the Presidential campaign."* While he then added *"There were no avenues left to explore,"* this was clearly cover for what he'd just admitted. The Commission's report was rushed out, after all, before the fingerprints in the sniper's nest could all be identified, and before the FBI's investigation of a mysterious sighting of Oswald in the company of anti-Castro Cubans could be completed.

That the Warren Commission was infected by political considerations from its beginning, however, can not reasonably be disputed. Heck, even its chief defender, former counsel David Belin, in his book on

the assassination, You Be The Jury, acknowledged that the ramifications of Warren's decision not to replace a no-show senior counsel named Francis Adams for fear how it might look, and to instead dump Adams' responsibilities in the lap of the relatively inexperienced Arlen Specter, were "*indeed chilling*".

Warren's comments in his final years, however, should make one suspect there was something more to his decision to withhold the autopsy photos from the doctors than his simple concern for the Kennedy family's privacy, and desire to move the Commission forward. In March 1974, a few months before his death, for example, Warren told Commission historian Alfred Goldberg, who'd asked "*On reflection, do you think it would have been better to have permitted the Commission staff access to the x-rays of the President?*" that "*On reflection, I do not believe that access to the x-rays should have been given. The public was given the best evidence available, the personal testimony of the doctors who performed the autopsy. In a trial, the court would not have permitted the x-rays to be introduced because it would have operated against the defendant. This decision was largely mine but the Commission approved.*"

Warren's answer to Goldberg is both hard to believe and historically inaccurate. Since when has a drawing of a victim's wounds based upon a doctor's verbal recollections been considered "better evidence" than a photo taken at the actual autopsy? Particularly when the doctor's own testimony says the x-rays and photos taken at the autopsy would better demonstrate these wounds? And since when have x-rays been considered too prejudicial to be allowed into evidence? X-rays have been admitted into evidence since 1896. And if Warren was so hesitant to use the x-rays, then how come not one but *nine* x-rays of Governor Connally were entered into evidence and printed in Volume 17 of his Commission's Report?

And that's just the start of it... In 1977, in his posthumously published memoirs, Warren once again discussed the Kennedy assassination medical evidence, and finally confirmed the rumors dating back to at least November 1966 that he'd viewed the autopsy materials. (The 11-18-66 issue of Life Magazine featured an article on Robert Kennedy by Hugh Sidey in which it was incorrectly claimed Robert Kennedy had withheld the autopsy photos and x-rays from the Warren Commission, but correctly claimed Warren had seen these materials. One wonders then, who told these things to Sidey.) In any event, in his memoirs Warren repeated his nonsensical claim that his personally viewing these materials and withholding them from others was not at all unorthodox and was, in fact, in Oswald's best interest. He insisted: "*the procedure adopted by the Commission was the one commonly used in criminal court to establish cause of death. In such circumstances, the court would not permit the prosecution to exhibit such a revolting picture because of the prejudice it would instill in the minds of the jury.*"

Even if Warren truly believed the photos and x-rays to have been too private to be placed into a public record, why should the autopsy doctors themselves, who'd already seen Kennedy's body, and had, in fact, scooped out his brains, have been denied the opportunity to check their findings against the photos and x-rays they themselves had taken? The offered explanation that Warren wanted everything used by the Commission to be made public just doesn't fly and is refuted by the thousands of pages on Oswald he unquestioningly withheld from this very same public. In sum, then, Warren's withholding the autopsy materials from the doctors makes no sense unless one accepts that Warren was either an incompetent old fool more concerned with protecting people's memories of Kennedy than in solving his murder, *or* was a competent politician tasked with white-washing what he knew to be a very complicated killing.

In 2005, I decided to research Warren's comment that the x-rays could not have been used in a court of law because they would have "*operated against the defendant*" and instill "*prejudice*" in "*the minds of the jury.*" I concluded he was citing Rule 403 of the Federal Rules of Evidence. It holds: "*Although relevant, evidence may be excluded if its probative value is substantially outweighed by the danger of unfair prejudice, confusion of the issues, or misleading of the jury, or by considerations of undue delay,*

waste of time, or needless presentation of cumulative evidence.” Introduction to Criminal Evidence by Jon R. Waltz discusses this a bit further. It says that photographs are admissible provided that:

1. The relevance of whatever the photographic evidence depicts must be demonstrated;
2. The evidence must be shown to constitute a true and accurate representation of what it depicts; and
3. The probative worth of the photographic evidence must not be outweighed by a potential for unfair prejudice stemming from its gruesome or inflammatory nature.

On the other hand, Waltz notes that “*Ever since Franklin (Franklin V. State, GA, 1882) it has been the rule that photographs and films are not ruled inadmissible simply because they depict in a graphic way the details of a shocking or revolting crime. They will be deemed inadmissible only if they are irrelevant to the issues in the case or where their probative worth is outweighed by their potential for unfair prejudice.*” Furthermore, Rule 401 of the Federal Rules of Evidence holds that “*‘Relevant Evidence’ means evidence having any tendency to make the existence of any fact that is of consequence to the determination of the action more probable or less probable than it would be without the evidence,*” and Rule 402 holds that “*All relevant evidence is admissible, except as otherwise provided by the Constitution of the United States...*”

These rules then lead me to conclude that the autopsy photos would have been inadmissible for the prosecution of Oswald, but thoroughly admissible for his defense. Let us be clear, then: *if* Oswald had lived and went to trial, his defense would have been entitled to view the photos and to hire an expert to inspect them. If this expert found anything on the photos and x-rays that suggested there was more than one shooter, or that the shots were fired from somewhere other than behind, Oswald’s defense would have been free to enter the photos into evidence, submit them before a jury, and have their expert give his opinion.

But Jack Ruby deprived Oswald of his life, and Earl Warren deprived Oswald of a fair trial (in the court of public opinion). The Warren Commission asked the President of the American Bar Association, Walter E. Craig, to advise the commission whether “*the proceedings conformed to the basic principles of American justice.*” There is no indication Warren ever told Craig he’d decided to keep the medical evidence away from anyone who might be able to interpret them.

And there’s yet another reason to believe Warren’s decision to withhold the photos was inappropriate. While Warren was the sole commissioner to view the photos, and was supposed to report back on what he saw to the other commissioners, he was not accompanied by an expert when he viewed the photos, and was by no means qualified to offer an expert opinion on what he saw. The circumstances undoubtedly called for an expert witness. Waltz defines an expert witness as someone whose “*opinions, inferences, or conclusions depend on a special skill or training not within the ordinary experience of lay jurors.*” He also states that “*it has generally been true that an expert witness must first describe the data on which his or her opinion, inference, or conclusion is based or, in the alternative, the witness must testify in response to a hypothetical question that sets forth the underlying data.*” Warren created no record detailing why he was expert enough to interpret the photos, and what methodology he used in interpreting them. It seems clear, therefore, that if Oswald had been tried in a court of law, and been convicted, after the presiding judge had behaved like Warren and prevented the autopsy evidence from even being examined, Oswald’s conviction would have been overturned.

Ironically, the court over-turning Oswald’s conviction might very well have been Warren’s own.

Dox Back Wound Drawing/ Autopsy Photo Comparison



Dox Drawing,
HSCA Exhibit
F-20



Fox photograph matching Dox drawing



At left: HSCA Figure 5, a blow-up of the backwound. If one assumes the head is at the top when measuring, as one normally would, the wound is wider than tall. Thus, the measurement at autopsy of 7 x 4 represents 7mm wide X 4mm in length.

Dox Back Wound/Fox Autopsy Photo Comparison

Confirmation that Warren should not have withheld the autopsy photos in 1964 came in 1978 when the HSCA released a tracing by artist Ida Dox of an autopsy photo of the president's back, along with a blow-up of the wound taken from the actual photo. These showed the wound depicted at the base of the neck in the Rydberg drawings to be, well...in the back, where Boswell marked it on the face sheet on 11-22-63.

But that's not the only reason this tracing is important.

Since the back wound tracing is a near-exact likeness of an alleged autopsy photo first printed by writer David Lifton, the release and publication of this tracing strongly suggests that the autopsy photos made available to the research community by former Secret Service agent James Fox are indeed copies of the originals in the National Archives.

With this in mind, then, we can compare the photo to the tracing/drawing, to see if anything was left off. When one does that one finds that the chief difference between the Fox photo and the Dox drawing

is that a small mark near the bullet entrance, apparently dried blood, has been left off the drawing. There is also what appears to be a fold in the back of the neck at the top of the ruler in the drawing, that is unseen in the photo. Now, these could both be innocent mistakes. It is interesting, nonetheless, that both these mistakes helped the HSCA with its argument that there was one back wound, near the neck, consistent with a shot from the Texas School Book Depository.

That the wound in the drawing is clearly wider than tall, however, is a bit more problematic. The measurements on Kennedy's face sheet for this wound were 7 by 4. This suggests, then, that it was in fact 7 mm wide by 4 mm long, and the exact opposite dimensions of the wound described in Dr. Humes' testimony before the Warren Commission, and depicted in the Rydberg drawings. Since Humes was not allowed to consult the autopsy photos before over-seeing the creation of the Rydberg drawings, of course, it remains possible that he was merely confused, and that he'd created the drawings in accordance with his conclusion the bullet creating this wound had come from above.

Dr. Richard Lindenberg of the Rockefeller Commission medical panel had no such excuse. After inspecting the photos in 1975 he wrote a report describing the back wound in the photo as "*7mm in width and 10 mm in length.*" But Lindenberg is pretty much alone on this.

My observation that the wound was wider than tall is shared by basically everyone to view the photo, including single-assassin theorist John Lattimer, who described the wound seen in the photo as "*6 mm x 8 mm in size, with the longer axis transverse*" (meaning wide).

Since the 15 by 6 entrance in the skull described on the face sheet was also transposed in Humes' testimony to be 6mm wide by 15mm long, and since the re-interpretation of these measurements was helpful in convincing the public the shots came from above, one might rightly wonder--hmmm--if the transposition of the measurements taken at autopsy in Humes' testimony was yet another part of the "help" offered Rankin.

It's important to remember, however, that Kennedy's entrance wound measurements were determined by the Army doctor Pierre Finck, and that Finck's precise method of wound measurement--whether he consistently listed width before length or vice-versa-- may not have been known to the Navy doctors Humes and Boswell.

So the evidence on this is unclear. It may be that Humes just screwed up.

But if he did so, he did so repeatedly. He had Rydberg place the back wound in the wrong location on the drawings. He had Rydberg draw this wound with the incorrect proportions. And he claimed he'd provided the measurements taken at autopsy to Rydberg to help him with his drawings, when he almost certainly did not...

Yep, although Humes testified that "*We had made certain measurements of the wounds and of their position on the body of the late President, and we provided these and supervised directly Mr. Rydberg in making these drawings,*" it seems clear he was either wrong about this, or gave Rydberg the wrong measurements.

Just ask the man who was taking his testimony, Arlen Specter. Humes testified on March 16, 1964. And yet Specter, in his 4-30-64 memo to Rankin, wrote "*Commission Exhibits Nos. 385, 386, and 388 were made from the recollections of the autopsy surgeons as told to the artist. Some day someone may compare the films with the artist's drawings and find a significant error which might substantially affect the essential testimony and the Commission's conclusions. In any event, the Commission should not rely on hazy recollections...*"

And just ask Rydberg. In 2001, Skip Rydberg emerged from the shadows to tell his story. He spoke to researcher Barry Keane, and made an appearance at the 2003 Lancer Conference in Dallas. Rydberg

revealed at this time that Humes did not provide him with any measurements regarding the President's wounds.

But that's not all Rydberg revealed. A 2002 article on Rydberg by Barry Keane, updated in 2007, reproduced a 3-27-64 letter of commendation provided Rydberg for the creation of his drawings. This letter, from Humes', Boswell's and Rydberg's superior, Capt. John Stover, described the circumstances of Rydberg's creation of the drawings. It reported: *"During the period 12 to 15 March 1964 you were called upon to prepare, on extremely short notice, highly technical medical illustrations, using only verbal instructions given you by officers of this Command. These illustrations were required and utilized in a presentation by this Command before a very high level agency of the United States Government. This work was performed in an outstanding fashion, in a most expedient manner, and utilized for the most part off-duty hours. The illustrations thus produced most accurately depicted the situation required."*

The "situation required," not the "reality observed"...

And should that not be telling enough, there's also this. When Rydberg asked Dr. Boswell in May, 1968, for a recommendation, Boswell wrote back that he was *"somewhat circumspect about putting anything in writing or discussing this due to continuing controversy."*

Hmmm... We have good reason, then, to think Humes' "mistakes" were not only not mistakes, but deliberate misrepresentations of the evidence.

It did seem a bit of a coincidence that his "mistakes" all helped the Warren Commission sell that Oswald acted alone.

Well, then why would he specify in his testimony that the autopsy photos would better reflect the President's wounds?

Well, the thought occurs that he was having second thoughts...

Well, then, what about Arlen Specter, the man who urged the doctors to create the drawings, then took their testimony, then put the Rydberg drawings into evidence? If he knew the drawings were inaccurate, why did he later ask that they be compared to the autopsy photos?

Was he having second thoughts as...well?

What was his role in all this?

Back Wound in Motion



1. Warren Commission Exhibit 385, March 16, 1964



2. A photo from the June 1, 1964 New York Times, courtesy KRLD, of the May 24, 1964 re-enactment. Note the chalk mark location.



3. Above: Warren Commission Exhibit 903, from Senator Specter's website. The neck entrance in this trajectory was said to "approximate" the chalk mark location...

3-5. The trajectory analysis conducted by Arlen Specter after the May 24, 1964 re-enactment.



(4. Left)... even though the trajectory passed inches above the mark... (5. Above)... even when the stand-in leaned forward



6. CE 385, published November 24, 1964.

Back Wound in Motion

As we've seen, the Rydberg drawings were made at the request of the Warren Commission. As we've seen, Chief Justice Earl Warren prevented anyone from checking their accuracy.

This should lead us to conclude, then, that, as of May 24, 1964, the day of the Warren Commission's re-enactment of the shooting, the wound locations depicted on the Rydberg drawings were presumed to have been accurate.

This raises an intriguing question...why weren't they used in the re-enactment? I mean, news photos of the re-enactment, published in, among other places, the New York Times, make it clear as day that on May 24, 1964, more than two months after the Rydberg drawings had been placed into evidence as the official representations of the president's wounds, those running the re-enactment had relied upon other sources when placing a chalk mark on the back of the stand-in for President Kennedy, in order to designate the wound location.

Well, why was this done?

Well, the thought occurs that someone--in this case, Warren Commission Junior Counsel Arlen

Specter--was trying to be accurate. An April 30, 1964 Specter memo, after all, admitted that, in opposition to Dr. Humes' sworn testimony, and in opposition to Specter's subsequent words in the Warren Report, the Rydberg drawings "*were made from the recollections of the autopsy doctors as told to the artist.*"

The measurements on the face sheet were not used in the creation of the Rydberg drawings, and Arlen Specter knew it. It seems likely, then, that he wanted to see for himself if his single-bullet theory made sense--when using the actual locations of Kennedy's wounds.

In any event, the Warren Report says that for the re-enactment "*The wounds of entry and exit on the President were approximated based on information gained from the autopsy reports and photographs.*" Well, this is curious. Which photographs? Certainly not the ones Chief Justice Warren withheld from the doctors?

Oh, yeah? Specter, in his 2000 autobiography, *Passion for Truth*, finally shed some light on this matter. He admitted that on the day of the re-enactment in Dallas he was shown an autopsy photo of the back wound by a member of the Secret Service, Thomas Kelley. (The Saturday Evening Post had mentioned Kelley's name in regards to this incident in 1967 and Kelley had admitted his role to researcher Harold Weisberg a few years later.) While Specter didn't say he consulted this photo before approving the chalk mark on the jacket of the stand-in, one can only assume he used it to confirm its location.

Specter and Kelley's use of the photos wrongly denied them in their passion for truth can only be considered admirable. And yet, they sought to hide this from the public and commission when Kelley testified on 6-4-64.

When one looks at the re-enactment photo published in the New York Times and re-printed in the Doubleday edition of the Warren Report, it is clear that a bullet passing through the chalk mark on the President's stand-in's back and continuing on to hit Connally's stand-in in his armpit would most likely exit from the President's stand-in's chest, and not his throat. Specter had seen the Zapruder film. He *knew* Kennedy wasn't leaning forward before the first shot. He *knew*, for that matter, that the theory he was testing left no room for deflection and he *knew*--from the photo Kelley showed him--that the chalk mark was accurate and that the wounds didn't align.

It is truly troubling, then, that on June 4, 1964 Thomas Kelley testified that the basis for the chalk mark used during the re-enactment was a photograph of CE 386, the Rydberg drawing depicting an entrance at the base of Kennedy's neck. As shown on the slide above, the entrance on this drawing was inches away from the entrance used during the re-enactment.

That Kelley's inaccurate testimony was no simple mistake becomes clear, moreover, once one realizes that the man taking his testimony, and leading him to make such a claim, was someone who undoubtedly knew better--you guessed it, Arlen Specter.

And it's even worse than that. Not only did Specter exact false testimony from Kelley regarding the source of the chalk mark used in the re-enactment, he asked Kelley if Exhibit 386 was the "*basis for the marking of the wound on the back of the President's neck*" when he knew full well this mark was on the back.

This obvious deception suggests, then, that Kelley was covering for Specter, and keeping from the record that Specter had looked at an autopsy photograph that proved the Rydberg drawings--already part of the record--inaccurate.

As FBI agent Robert Frazier, only moments later, told Commissioner Allen Dulles that the location of the chalk mark used in the re-enactment was determined by the measurements on the face sheet, Kelley's lie may also have been designed to hide that these measurements proved the wound Specter

had taken to claiming was on the back of Kennedy's neck...was really inches lower on his back.

Arlen Specter: Back to Back and Face to Face



Above, left: an FBI photo rescued from the Archives by John Hunt. Here, Specter has the FBI stand-in leaning further forward than photos of the assassination show Kennedy leaning, and the back wound location, marked by the chalk, is still inches below the trajectory proposed by Specter.

Above: CE 903. Is it a coincidence then that Specter chose another photo, one that completely fails to show the back wound location, to demonstrate his theory to the Warren Commission?



At left: yet another photo from Specter's re-enactment. Note the shock on his face as he realizes the single-bullet theory he proposes makes no sense when one takes into account the actual wound locations.

Arlen Specter: Back to Back and Face to Face

That Arlen Specter was willing to cut corners to prop up his single-bullet theory is confirmed, moreover, by further examination of the FBI photos of the May 24, 1964 trajectory analysis. In one photo the Kennedy stand-in is seen leaning as far forward as one might possibly conceive Kennedy was leaning before he was shot. And yet the trajectory rod held by Specter aligning Connally's back wound with Kennedy's throat wound passes inches above the chalk mark designating the location of Kennedy's back wound. A second photo is taken from the opposite angle; this one, however, only shows the JFK stand-in from the front and gives little indication of where the trajectory rod passes in relation to the back wound.

That Specter opted to have this second photo submitted into evidence as Warren Commission Exhibit CE 903, as the one and only official depiction of the single-bullet theory, when this photo fails to even show the location of the back wound, speaks volumes, IMO.

(When shown the images on the slide above, single-assassin theorist John McAdams reacted in a typically dismissive manner. On 1-16-2010, on the alt.aassassination.jfk newgroup, he wrote: *"Specter pretty much had it nailed. The rod he has placed is very close to the true trajectory, probably as close as it can be without getting a rapier and running through the guys in the car."* McAdams sidestepped, of course, that the problem was not that the rod was at the wrong angle, but that the rod was placed at the proper angle, and connected Connally's back wound to Kennedy's throat wound, but somehow still passed inches above the chalk mark designating the location of Kennedy's back wound.)

There are still other curious details about the May 24 re-enactment. For one, Specter used Connally's actual jacket in the re-enactment in order to establish the entrance location on *his* back, but disregarded the entrance location on Kennedy's jacket, even though, according to both the 1964 Warren Commission testimony of Thomas Kelley and the 1977 testimony of Lyndal Shaneyfelt in a civil suit brought by Harold Weisberg, the coat was at their disposal during the re-enactment.

It is also suspicious that no attempt was made to measure the right to left trajectories of bullets entering the car from the sniper's nest, while the car traveled down Elm. This allowed the commission and its experts to say the alignment of Kennedy with Connally was close enough without their having to make any actual calculations. This was a little too convenient.

Specter's presentation of the trajectory analysis in the Warren Report is also quite suspicious. At one point he acknowledges that the FBI measured the approximate trajectory needed to support the single-bullet theory during the May 24, 1964 re-enactment, and that this angle was then compared against the locations of the President's and Connally's wounds. Reflecting the testimony of the FBI's Lyndal Shaneyfelt, who'd asserted that the rod representing the single-bullet trajectory in the photo passed through a position on the back of the stand-in *"approximating that of the entrance wound,"* Specter then concludes that *"the angle was consistent with the trajectory of a bullet passing through the President's neck and then striking Governor Connally's back...The alinement of the points of entry was indicative and not conclusive that one bullet hit both men...Had President Kennedy been leaning forward or backward, the angle of declination of the shot...would have varied...The angle...was approximately the angle of declination reproduced in an artist's drawing...made from data provided by the autopsy surgeons."*

Specter was thus citing CE 385, which he knew to have been created without Rydberg's having access to the autopsy measurements, and which he knew to be inaccurate after viewing the photo of Kennedy's back wound, as support for the single-bullet theory central to the commission's single-assassin conclusion.

When one considers that, should Specter have returned to Washington and informed the Commission that their operating premise of Oswald's sole guilt was made doubtful by his failure to get a couple of wounds to align--and that he'd used evidence expressly denied him to make this determination--his career would have been in jeopardy, then one can see how easy it was for him to decide the trajectory connecting Connally's and Kennedy's wounds was "close enough," and get Kelley and others to play along. Specter was, after all, a mere 33 year old assistant district attorney at the time. He was by no means an expert in forensic pathology or wound ballistics. And besides, the proposal for the re-enactment (contained in an April 27 memo by Norman Redlich) promised chief counsel Rankin and the Commission that the point of the re-enactment was not to establish the facts *"with complete accuracy, but merely to substantiate the hypothesis which underlies the conclusions that Oswald was the sole assassin."*

It is said that behind every great man is a crime. One might grant, then, that Senator Arlen Specter's

“crime” was one of rejecting his self-identified “passion for truth” for the benefit of his career. An old story, indeed... and as American as apple pie...

Arlen's Spectre

It's ironic, then, that Specter's failure to tell the Commission that the wound he saw on the autopsy photograph was on the President's back, and not neck, was to haunt the old age of another prominent Republican and "great man," Commission member and future President Gerald Ford. In 1998, as a result of records released by the ARRB, it was discovered that Ford was the commissioner to have the words "*a bullet had entered his back slightly above the shoulder*" in a draft of the Commission's report changed to "*a bullet had entered the back of his neck.*"

This news even made the papers. When asked about the change, Ford explained to a reporter that he believed this wording was more precise. Many conspiracy theorists, by then familiar with the back wound photo published in best-selling books, however, scoffed at Ford's words, and assumed him to have been lying through his dentures.

But I'm not so sure. Perhaps Ford had been confused by the Rydberg drawings, which did indeed depict the back wound as residing at the base of the neck.

And perhaps there was more to Ford's confusion than just his looking at a drawing and assuming it was accurate. When one reads Chapters Two and Three of the Commission's report, the chapters to which Specter contributed, it seems incredibly clear that someone, almost certainly Specter himself, but perhaps his immediate superior Norman Redlich, who also worked on these chapters, went back at the last moment and changed its references to a back wound to references to a neck wound. And missed a couple... (In his 2000 memoir *Passion for Truth*, Specter claimed that Redlich "*essentially let my work stand, especially the key points about the assassination and the Single-Bullet Conclusion.*")

In any event, these changes were almost certainly made before Ford ever saw the chapter. It seems likely, then, that Ford changed the wording of that one passage to bring it back in line with the other (inaccurate) references to the wound within the report, and that he was not consciously lying when he did so.

I mean, just look at this... Here are the diverse and confusing references to the wound in Chapters Two and Three of the report. And yes, these are all references to the same wound, a wound the primary writer of these chapters, our man from Philadelphia, Arlen Specter, knew to be inches below the shoulder line after viewing the back wound photo. (Page numbers come from the version of the report on the National Archives website)

- *One bullet passed through the President's **neck** p. 48*
- *The autopsy also disclosed a wound near the base of the back of President Kennedy's **neck** p.61*
- *The nature and characteristics of this **neck** wound p.61*
- *The President's **Neck** Wounds p.87*
- *another bullet wound was observed near the base of the back of President Kennedy's **neck** p.88*
- *in its path through the President's **neck** p.88*
- *By projecting from a point of entry on the rear of the **neck** p.88*
- *Concluding that a bullet passed through the President's **neck** p.88*
- *the doctors at Bethesda Naval Hospital rejected a theory that the bullet lodged in the large muscles in the back of his **neck** p.88*
- *the surgeons were unable to find a path into any large muscle in the back of the **neck** p.88*

- *This led to speculation that the bullet might have penetrated a short distance into the back of the **neck** p.88*
- *Dr. Perry did not know about either the wound on the back of the President's **neck** or the small bullet-hole wound in the back of the head p.90*
- *After reviewing the path of the bullet through the President's **neck** p.91*
- *the experts simulated the **neck** p.91*
- *The autopsy disclosed that the bullet which entered the back of the President's **neck** p.91*
- *After the examining doctors expressed the thought that a bullet would have lost very little velocity in passing through the soft tissue of the **neck** p. 91*
- *A photograph of the path of the bullet traveling through the simulated **neck** p. 91*
- *The clothing worn by President Kennedy on November 22 had holes and tears which showed that a missile entered the back of his clothing in the vicinity of his lower **neck** p.91*
- *all the defects could have been caused by a 6.5-millimeter bullet entering the back of the President's lower **neck** p. 92*
- *The **back** of the stand-in for the President was marked with chalk at the point where the bullet entered p. 97*
- *The position of President Kennedy's car when he was struck in the **neck** p.97*
- *the point of impact on the President's **back** p. 98*
- *the next point at which the rifleman had a clear view through the telescopic sight of the point where the bullet entered the President's **back** p.98*
- *the President was probably shot through the **neck** between frames 210 and 225 p. 105*
- *the bullet which passed through the President's **neck** p. 105*
- *The bullet that hit President Kennedy in the **back** and exited through his throat p. 105*
- *at the time when the President was struck in the **neck** p. 105*
- *which followed the shot which hit the President's **neck** p. 106*
- *A surveyor then placed his sighting equipment at the precise point of entry on the back of the President's **neck** p. 106*
- *That angle was consistent with the trajectory of a bullet passing through the President's **neck** p. 106*
- *the angle of that shot could have accounted for the wounds in the President's **neck** p. 106*
- *of a test simulating the Governor's chest wound with the **neck** and wrist experiments p.107*
- *concluded that it was probable that the same bullet passed through the President's **neck** and then inflicted all the wounds on the Governor p. 109*
- *Referring to the President's **neck** wound p. 109*
- *Thus, the Governor's wrist wound suggested that the bullet passed through the President's **neck** p. 109*
- *the bullet which entered the Governor's chest had already lost velocity by passing through the President's **neck** p. 109*
- *as to whether the same bullet did or did not pass through the President's **neck** p. 109*
- *it was probable that the same bullet traversed the President's **neck** p. 109*
- *After a bullet penetrated President Kennedy's **neck** p. 109*
- *From the initial findings that (a) one shot passed through the President's **neck** p. 111*
- *Agent Bennett stated: ... I looked at the **back** of the President. I heard another firecracker noise and saw that shot hit the President **about four inches down from the right shoulder** p. 111*
- *It is possible, of course, that Bennett did not observe the hole in the President's **back** p.111*
- *30 to 45 frames (approximately 2 seconds) later than the point at which the President was shot*

in the **neck** p. 112

- from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds between the shot which struck President Kennedy's **neck** p. 115
- That approximation was most probably based on the earlier publicized reports that the first shot struck the President in the **neck** p. 117

Thus, the back wound was officially moved to the back of Kennedy's neck by a series of mistakes and/or wishful thoughts and/or deliberate fabrications, first by Humes and Boswell in the original creation of the Rydberg drawing, then by Warren in his withholding of the photographs, then by Specter in his failing to report the inaccuracy of the Rydberg drawings, and his pushing that the wound was on the neck in the report, and finally by Ford and his fellow commissioners in their changing certain passages of the report to be consistent with Specter's (and possibly Redlich's) misrepresentations. Truth by committee had become a lie.

Specter and the Strap Muscles

Now I know some out there would prefer I give one-time Senator Specter the benefit of the doubt. And I would prefer to do so myself. But I just can't. If there had been but one or two misstatements or misrepresentations in Specter's chapters in the Warren Report and subsequent statements regarding his work for the commission, one might grant he'd simply made a mistake as to the location of the back wound in the photo shown him by Kelley, and had failed to double-check Humes' measurements to see where the wound was actually located.

But, sadly, this is not the case. There is, instead, a whole slew of misstatements and misrepresentations, all contributing to Specter's "Single-Bullet Conclusion."

Consider the presentation of the back wound bullet trajectory in the Warren Report... On page 90 of the paperback, it claims "*The autopsy examination further disclosed that, after entering the President, **the bullet passed between two large muscles**, produced a contusion on the upper part of the pleural cavity (without penetrating that cavity), bruised the top portion of the right lung and ripped the windpipe (trachea) in its path through the President's neck.*" On page 91, it appears to build upon this, and relates: "*While the autopsy was being performed, surgeons learned that a whole bullet had been found at Parkland Hospital on a stretcher which, at that time, was thought to be the stretcher occupied by the President. This led to speculation that the bullet might have penetrated a short distance into the back of the neck and then dropped out onto the stretcher as a result of external heart massage. Further exploration during the autopsy disproved that theory. **The surgeons determined that the bullet had passed between two large strap muscles and bruised them without leaving any channel**, since the bullet merely passed between them.*"

Upon reading this, one would undoubtedly come to believe the two large strap muscles in the second quote are the two muscles mentioned in the first quote, and were on the back of Kennedy's neck.

And one would be right. While taking the testimony of Dr.s Baxter and McClelland, Specter made reference to the bullet's passing between the "*strap muscles of the shoulder*" and "*strap muscles on the posterior aspect of the President's body*," respectively. But there are no strap muscles in the shoulder or on the posterior aspect of the body. The autopsy report makes no mention of these muscles. It notes, instead, that "*there is considerable ecchymosis of the strap muscles of the right side of the neck and of the fascia about the trachea adjacent to the line of the tracheotomy wound.*" This would be at the front of the neck.

But you needn't take my word for it. In his testimony before the Warren Commission, Dr. Humes

specified that the bruised strap muscles which helped lead him to conclude the throat wound was an exit were on *"the right anterior neck inferiorly"* (i.e. the lower right quadrant of the front side of the neck). Dr. Humes explained that the bruising on these muscles next to what he initially believed was a simple tracheotomy incision was far more extensive than the bruising next to the incisions on Kennedy's chest, and that this led him to suspect these neck bruises preceded the emergency procedures performed in Dallas, and were in fact caused by a bullet. Humes said NOTHING about a bullet sliding between two muscles on the back of Kennedy's neck or shoulder. In fact, when discussing the entrance on Kennedy's neck/back, he said just the opposite, and described a defect in the underlying tissue, but no evidence for a pathway between two muscles. He testified *"When the tissues beneath this wound were inspected, there was a defect corresponding with the skin defect in the fascia overlying the musculature of the low neck and upper back."* He then added *"We were unable, however, to take probes and have them satisfactorily fall through any definite path at this point."*

(It should be noted, moreover, that the doctor doing this probing was Dr. Pierre Finck and that Finck later confirmed Humes' testimony. On January 24, 1969, when testifying during the trial of Clay Shaw, when asked about his failure to "satisfactorily" find a "definite path" from the back wound through Kennedy's neck, Finck testified: *"I couldn't introduce this probe for any extended depth."* He was then asked *"how far in this probe went"* and responded *"The first fraction of an inch."*)

It should probably be mentioned here that *"the musculature of the low neck and upper back"* through which Humes and Finck could not find a path was the trapezius muscle, a flat sheet of muscular fibers covering the back of the neck and shoulder. A bullet could not slide between two muscles in this area because the area was covered by but one. (Should one not believe me on this, one should look [here](#).) The trapezius muscle covers so much area, in fact, that anatomists break it up into four parts when describing it in anatomy books. Kennedy's back wound, moreover, was in part three, the thickest and strongest of the four parts of the trapezius muscle.

It follows then that Humes had strong reasons to conclude, as he did on the night of the autopsy, that the bullet creating the back wound had failed to enter the body. Perhaps the cartridge for this bullet had been undercharged. Perhaps there had been a misfire.

When one digs further, moreover, and reads the Warren Commission testimony of Dr. Malcolm Perry, one finds that Dr. Humes continued to doubt that a bullet had entered Kennedy's body at the back wound location even after Dr. Perry had told him of the throat wound, which could serve as an exit for the bullet. According to Perry:

*"He inquired about, initially, about the reasons for my doing a tracheotomy, and I replied, as I have to you, during this procedure, that there was a wound in the lower anterior third of the neck, which was exuding blood and was indicative of a possible tracheal injury underlying, and I did the tracheotomy through a transverse incision made through that wound, and I described to him the right lateral injury to the trachea and the completion of the operation. He subsequently called back--at that time he told me, of course, that he could not talk to me about any of it and asked that I keep it in confidence, which I did, and he subsequently called back and inquired about the chest tubes, and why they were placed and I replied in part as I have here. It was somewhat more detailed. After having talked to Drs. Baxter and Peters and I identified them as having placed it in the second interspace, anteriorly, in the midclavicular line, in the right hemithorax, **he asked me at that time if we had made any wounds in the back.** I told him that I had not examined the back nor had I knowledge of any wounds of the back."*

So where did Specter get that a bullet slipped between two back muscles? Simple. He either misunderstood Humes' reports and testimony (which would be problem enough), or he completely made it up.

I currently suspect the former. On March 12, 1964, a few days before Humes testified, Specter stopped by Bethesda Naval Hospital, and discussed the basic facts of the autopsy with Humes and Boswell. Intriguingly, Specter's memo on this meeting portends his inaccurate representation of the strap muscles in the Warren Report. He relates: *"Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell were shown the Parkland report which describes the wound of the trachea as 'ragged,' which, they said was characteristic of an exit rather than an entrance wound. Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell further said that it was their current opinion that the bullet passed in between two major muscle strands in the President's back and continued on a downward flight and exited through his throat. They noted, at the time of the autopsy, some bruising of the internal parts of the President's body in that area but tended to attribute that to the tracheotomy at the time. Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell stated that after the bullet passed between the two strands of muscle, these muscle strands would resist any probing effort and would not disclose the path of the bullet to probing fingers, as the effort was made to probe at the time of the autopsy."*

Now, some might read Specter's memo and see this as evidence Dr.s Humes and Boswell lied to him, but then retreated from their lies in their testimony. But I suspect instead that Specter was confused by his notes on the meeting, and had mistakenly come to believe the bruised strap muscles were on Kennedy's back, not throat.

Let's re-read the key section: *"Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell further said that it was their current opinion that the bullet passed in between two major muscle strands in the President's back and continued on a downward flight and exited through his throat. They noted, at the time of the autopsy, some bruising of the internal parts of the President's body **in that area** but tended to attribute that to the tracheotomy at the time."*

If one read the words *"in that area"* as a reference to the *"President's back,"* instead of as a reference to *"his throat,"* then Specter's memo is consistent with Specter's later claims the strap muscles were bruised and on Kennedy's back.

Now let's re-read the last line: *"They noted, at the time of the autopsy, some bruising of the internal parts of the President's body **in that area** but tended to attribute that to the tracheotomy at the time."*

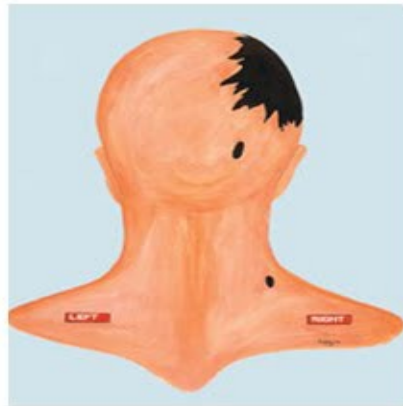
Well, why would the doctors have attributed bruised back muscles to a tracheotomy?

It seems clear, then, from Specter's own memo, that the doctors said the bruised strap muscles were on Kennedy's throat, and that Specter came away from their meeting thinking the *"two major muscle strands"* they'd said were bruised were on Kennedy's back.

Perhaps he couldn't accept that a high-velocity bullet had passed through the President's back and throat without leaving a discernible path through his back muscles... Perhaps he'd found it easier to believe it had slipped between two back muscles... Perhaps he'd failed to grasp there was but one muscle in the area...

Or perhaps his confusion was just a smoke screen...

Specter Fails The Lie Detector



At left and above: CE 385 and CE 386, respectively. These drawings were entered into evidence by Warren Commission Counsel Arlen Specter on March 16 1964, as depictions of President Kennedy's wounds.



Realizing that the Commission's conclusions could be cast into doubt should the autopsy photos prove the wound at the base of Kennedy's neck in the drawings to have been further down his back, Specter wrote a 5-12-64 memo reporting that the Commission "should be certain... the photographs... confirm the precise location of the wound of entrance in the upper back of the President as depicted in Commission Exhibits 385 and 386." He was shown the photo above and at right on 5-24-64. And yet, in his chapters in the Warren Report, submitted a few weeks later, he called the wound he'd just called a wound in the "upper back" a wound "on the back of the President's neck." In 1999, Specter re-inspected this photo. And yet, in his memoirs, released 2000, he once again presented the wound in the photo as a wound "on the back of the neck." L-I-A-R.

Specter Fails The Lie Detector

When one reads Specter's post-Warren Commission comments on its investigation, unfortunately, his slipperiness becomes readily apparent.

Let's start with an article on Specter by Gaeton Fonzi published in the August 1966 edition of Greater Philadelphia Magazine. Here, Specter aggressively defended his work for the Warren Commission. Fonzi maintained throughout the article, however, that many of the questions regarding Kennedy's autopsy could have been cleared up if Specter had viewed the autopsy photographs. When asked about this, and why he hadn't been more aggressive about viewing the photographs, for that matter, Specter is reported to have *"appeared visibly disturbed"* and to have stammered for awhile before responding *"The commission decided not to press for the x-rays and photographs."* According to Fonzi, Specter then became apologetic, and said *"Have I dodged your question?... Yes! I've dodged your question."* He then gave a more detailed response: *"The Commission considered whether the x-rays and photographs should be put into the record and should be examined by the Commission's staff and the Commission reached the conclusion that it was not necessary..."*

Specter had thereby concealed that he had in fact been shown a photo of Kennedy's back wound by a member of the Secret Service, and that he'd opted not to report this to the commission.

His silence served another purpose as well. At another point in the article, after discussing Warren Commission Exhibit 385, a Rydberg drawing depicting the path of the bullet through Kennedy's neck, in which the bullet enters at the base of Kennedy's neck, Fonzi asked Specter to explain why so many witnesses, including the FBI agents present at the autopsy, claimed this wound was in the shoulder. He then wrote *"Specter says it's possible that the whole thing is just a matter of semantics. 'It's a question of whether you call this point shoulder, base of neck, or back. I would say it sure isn't the shoulder, though I can see how somebody might call it the shoulder.'"*

Now, admittedly, it's not crystal clear that when Specter said "this point" he was pointing to the entrance location depicted in CE 385, but the implication seems clear. If this is so, moreover, it seems equally clear that Specter was blowing smoke, trying to convince Fonzi that the confusion over the wound's location could be purely semantics, when he knew for certain--from sneaking a peek at an autopsy photo--that the wound depicted at the base of the neck on CE 385 was really inches below on the shoulder.

In late 2012, after the passing of both Fonzi and Specter, Fonzi's wife made the tapes of their interviews available to the public via the Mary Ferrell Foundation website. These tapes confirm Specter's dishonesty. In three separate interviews--in over two hours of discussion--Specter never once admits that he'd been shown a photo of Kennedy's back wound, or even that the wound was on Kennedy's back. When interviewed on 6-28-66, he told Fonzi *"The bullet entered the back of the neck between two strap muscles."* This, as we've seen, was baloney. But he goes further, embarking on the discussion of semantics Fonzi mentioned in his article, and then proceeding to describe it as a neck wound whenever possible, at least five times by my count.

Specter's deceptiveness, in fact, hits rock bottom in the second of these interviews. On 6-29-66, when discussing the single-bullet theory, the holes on the President's clothes, and the strange fact that Governor Connally's clothes were cleaned and pressed before being made available to the Commission, Specter asserted *"The real question on the holes are the direction."* He then injected *"We didn't see the President; we didn't see the pictures."* Fonzi hadn't asked the question, but Specter was volunteering that "we" didn't see the autopsy photos of the President, perhaps to conceal that "he" had, in fact, seen the one picture needed to determine the location of the President's back wound.

And that's not the most revealing of Specter's deceptions. Perhaps inadvertently, Fonzi's tapes offer real insight into Specter's mindset--not only that he was lying, but why he was lying. In his 6-29-66 interview with Fonzi, when discussing Edward Epstein's book *Inquest*, in which Epstein suggested the Warren Commission investigation had been a whitewash performed in the name of the national interest, the politician in Specter came out, and he played to the grandstands. He told Fonzi: *"It was not my function to decide the national interest. It was not Lyndon Johnson's function to decide the national interest. The national interest is decided in a democratic society by the free flow of facts into the truth. And any time any individual sets himself up to decide what is justice or what is the national interest, he's kidding himself. I'm not about to follow anybody's orders on that. They want to run their Commission. tell a bunch of lies, let them go ahead and run their Commission. They can't ask me to work for them."* Specter, to his mind, was independent, and beyond the corrupting influence of Washington.

Now compare that to what Specter told Fonzi in their final interview on 7-8-66. When discussing the Commission's decision not to inspect the autopsy photographs, Specter at first said *"As assistant counsel for the Commission, I do not think that it is appropriate for me to make a public statement disagreeing with the conclusion of the Commission on this question."* Then, when asked if he'd thought of resigning when the autopsy photos and x-rays were withheld, he responded: *"The decision of the Commission that the photographs and x-rays were not necessary in order for the Commission to arrive at a conclusion was not an egregious abuse of their discretion in light of the fact that they had substantial evidence on this question from eyewitness reports, from the highly qualified autopsy surgeons who had personally observed the President's body, a detailed report of the characteristics of the wounds, and there were important countervailing considerations which led the Commission to its conclusion that the films were not necessary in the light of the question of taste and the stature of the young American president whose memory will be regarded in the light of a smiling, handsome, erect, president, as opposed to a mutilated corpse with half his head shot off."* Specter was pretending, of course, that everything the Commission looked at would automatically become available to the public,

which he knew to be untrue.

But he continued from there, and ultimately revealed more of himself than he possibly could have intended. He insisted *"The President of the United States didn't want Arlen Specter to conduct the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy, the President of the United States appointed the Commission to do that job..."* So there it was--what in retrospect reads like a confession that he'd chickened out--that he'd had the opportunity to make a difference but was overwhelmed by the feeling he'd be out of line in doing so. He then continued *"...and if the Commission had done anything improper or made any effort to suppress material evidence or to mislead the American public in any way, that is the area where any honest public servant would be called upon to search his conscience for his resignation, not on discretionary questions as to whether the Commission ought to have additional evidence on the same point."*

Well, my God. Feel free to read that again. Specter suggested that it would have been wrong for him to help the Commission if he felt it was making a deliberate effort to mislead the public, but that it wasn't his place to raise a ruckus if the Commission was simply ignoring important evidence, as long as it was ADDITIONAL evidence, that they were free to ignore at their discretion. In other words, he was thinking like a junior partner, unwilling to argue with a senior partner. He knew the autopsy photo showed a bullet wound on Kennedy's back, not neck, but thought this photo but one piece of evidence, which the Commission would feel free to ignore. Fate looked him in the face and he blinked. He'd lawyered his way out of doing the right thing.

That Specter was worried about Fonzi's article and had chosen to deceive him is further supported, moreover, by a far-friendlier article about the Warren Commission and the medical evidence published a few weeks later, by Joseph Daughen in the 8-28-66 Philadelphia Bulletin. Here, almost as an aside, Daughen asserted *"in Dallas, a staff member who had expressed concern over the absence of the evidence was shown by a Secret Service agent a photograph purportedly representing the upper back of the President."* Hmmm... Specter was interviewed for this article. Clearly, then, he had told Daughen of his viewing the photo in Dallas. Well, why hadn't he told this to Fonzi, when the commission's failure to view the photos was central to Fonzi's article?

Well, the thought occurs that that's it, right there. The viewing of the photos was central to Fonzi's article. If then-District Attorney Specter had told Fonzi he'd seen the photo then Fonzi would have insisted he describe what he saw. And Specter, presumably, was hoping to avoid that. (Notice how the compliant Daughen not only fails to name Specter as the staff member who'd viewed the photo of Kennedy's upper back, but fails to describe where the wound was in this photo.)

In any event, in the 10-10-66 edition of U.S. News & World Report, Specter finally admitted he'd been shown one of Kennedy's autopsy photos. He didn't exactly come clean, however. Nope, true to form, he side-stepped the fact the photo shown him by Kelley didn't match the Rydberg drawings by claiming *"It showed a hole in the position identified in the autopsy report."* Well, of course it did. The autopsy report described a wound on Kennedy's back, and not at the base of his neck, where Specter had taken to pretending it had been. In the article, Specter then moaned that, should this wound have been on Kennedy's back below the level of his throat wound, as proposed by conspiracy theorist Edward J. Epstein, it would mean *"the autopsy surgeons were perjurers, because the autopsy surgeons placed their hands on the Bible and swore to the truth of an official report where they had measured to a minute extent the precise location of the hole on the back of the President's neck, as measured from other specific points on the body of the President."*

Well, once again, the Specter shift was in place. He defended the integrity of the doctors by claiming they'd be perjurers if the autopsy report was in error, when he almost certainly knew the problem was not with the autopsy report, but with the schematic drawings of Kennedy he--Arlen Specter--had asked

them to create. To reiterate, the measurements taken by the "autopsy surgeons" suggested the wound to have been on Kennedy's back, at or below the level of the throat wound, and *not* on the "*back of the President's neck*," where both Specter and the "*surgeons*" had taken to saying it had been. The autopsy report, moreover, said nothing about the relative locations of the back wound and throat wound.

So why was Specter suggesting otherwise? Was he playing a sneaky lawyer trick, and leading his readers to assume something he knew to be untrue?

I'd bet the farm on it. He then insisted that "*The photographs would, however, corroborate that which the autopsy surgeons testified to.*" Well, notice the language... If he meant to say that the autopsy photo he'd been shown depicted a wound at the base of Kennedy's neck, in the location suggested by the Rydberg drawings, then why didn't he just say so? And why, instead, did he claim that the autopsy surgeons testified to the accuracy of their measurements, and that the photographs corroborated these measurements? Was he trying to avoid saying that the Rydberg drawings were accurate--because he knew full well they were not?

Specter also discussed the strap muscles in this interview. He claimed that at the beginning of the autopsy the doctors found that "*a finger could probe between two large strap muscles and penetrate to a very slight extent*" a "*hole at the base of the back of the neck.*" He then pushed what clearly wasn't true--that he got this information from somewhere other than his own fertile imagination. He related that the Warren Commission testimony of the "*autopsy surgeons*" had established "*the path of the bullet through the President's neck, showing that it entered between two large strap muscles...*"

His statements in the 11-25-66 issue of Life Magazine were equally curious. He said "*Given the trajectory from the Book Depository window, the autopsy, about which I have no doubts, and the FBI report on the limousine; where, if it didn't hit Connally, did that bullet go?*" Yes, you read that right. Specter claimed he had no doubts about the autopsy. Well, maybe he didn't. But his version of the autopsy--the one where the doctors found a path between two muscles on the back of Kennedy's neck--was not the real autopsy.

I'm being facetious, of course, which sounds a lot like the substance Specter was spreading. The autopsy photo he'd been shown--the one on the slide above--depicted a wound in Kennedy's upper back, at or below the level of his throat wound. The "*trajectory from the Book Depository window*," therefore, necessitated that either 1) Kennedy was leaning sharply forward when hit, or 2) the bullet creating this wound had curled upwards upon entry. The "autopsy" about which Specter had no doubts, however, had ruled out that the bullet had struck anything upon entry. The films of the assassination studied by Specter, furthermore, proved Kennedy wasn't leaning sharply forward when hit. So what was there to have doubts about? What, Specter, worry?

Let's recall here that in his 4-30-64 memo to J. Lee Rankin, Specter urged that the Rydberg drawings be compared to the autopsy photos, and specified:

"2. THE COMMISSION SHOULD DETERMINE WITH CERTAINTY WHETHER THE SHOTS CAME FROM ABOVE. It is essential for the Commission to know precisely the location of the bullet wound on the President's back so that the angle may be calculated. The artist's drawing prepared at Bethesda (Commission Exhibit #385) shows a slight angle of declination. It is hard, if not impossible, to explain such a slight angle of decline unless the President was farther down Elm Street than we have heretofore believed. Before coming to any conclusion on this, the angles will have to be calculated at the scene; and for this, the exact point of entry should be known."

Now let's do a quick replay. On 4-30-64, Specter admitted that he'd thought the trajectory in Rydberg drawing CE 385 too shallow to support the shooting scenario he'd proposed. Well, this is the same as his saying he thought the neck wound too low to support Kennedy and Connally being hit by the same

bullet at the time he'd assumed they'd been hit. On 5-24-64, however, he was shown a photo of Kennedy's back, in which the wound was revealed to have been approximately two inches lower on Kennedy's back than in Rydberg drawing CE 385. This meant it was far too low to support the shooting scenario he'd proposed. So how did Specter respond to this challenge? Did he change his scenario? Nope. On 6-4-64 he took testimony from FBI agent Lyndal Shaneyfelt in which Shaneyfelt purported that the trajectory from the sniper's nest approximated the trajectory through Kennedy's neck in CE 385--the drawing which Specter now knew to be inaccurate. Specter then pushed this nonsense in the Warren Report. He then defended his work by telling Life Magazine he had no doubts about the autopsy, and that the trajectory from the sniper's nest--the trajectory he'd thought incompatible with CE 385, and would have to have thought thoroughly incompatible with the photo he'd been shown--contributed to his faith in his scenario.

Well, hello! Do I have to spell it out? Specter was L-Y-I-N-G!

An 11-26-66 UPI article (found in the Milwaukee Journal) was also given the Specter touch. Taking note of Dr. Boswell's recent claim the photos could dispel the controversy over the President's wounds, the article reported that "*Specter said he had not seen the autopsy pictures*" but that he had nevertheless conceded "*If it keeps up, you may get a look at them.*" Note that Specter said he had not seen the "pictures" (plural), and that this allowed him to avoid admitting that he'd seen one "picture" (singular).

Specter did discuss his viewing the photo of Kennedy's back soon thereafter, however. In the January 14, 1967 issue of the Saturday Evening Post, he is quoted as claiming "*It showed the back of a body with a bullet hole, apparently of entry, where the autopsy report said it was.*" Well, there it is again. Notice the language... Notice how Specter once again steers clear of saying that he'd looked at a photo of the President's back, and that this photo showed a wound on the back of the president's neck, and confirmed the accuracy of the Rydberg drawings.

On 12-4-68, while debating author Josiah Thompson at the University of Pennsylvania, moreover, he repeated his tall-tale about the strap muscles. According to a transcript of this conference in the Weisberg Archives, he told the students in attendance that the autopsy surgeons "*testified that there was a path through the President's neck where the bullet passed between two large strap muscles, bruised the top of the pleural cavity, bruised the top of the right lung, sliced his trachea, and exited from the front of the throat.*" After describing the wounds, he then detailed that "*We then sought to determine what would have been the velocity of a bullet entering the President's neck and exiting the President's neck.*" Well, my God. It entered the president's "neck," not back. This, clearly, was Specter's story, and he was sticking to it.

And stick to it he did. On 12-8-77, when testifying before the HSCA in executive session, Specter made at least five separate references to a wound on the back of Kennedy's neck. He never once described this wound as being on Kennedy's back. This was remarkable, moreover, seeing as the HSCA had added two of Specter's old Warren Commission memos into his testimony...which made at least five separate references to this wound...as a wound on Kennedy's back.

Yes, it's true. Specter had routinely described this wound as a back wound prior to his being shown a photo confirming it to have been a back wound, and then and only then began describing it as a neck wound.

Well, that's about as red as a red flag can get.

That Specter wasn't exactly telling the truth, the whole truth, as he'd solemnly sworn to do, moreover, is confirmed by something left out of his testimony. When asked about one of the Warren Commission memos introduced during his testimony, in which he'd asserted "*The Commission should determine with certainty*" that "*there are no major variations between the films and the artist's drawings*", he

explained that he'd believed *"it was highly desirable for the X-rays and photographs to be viewed"* at that time, in order *"to corroborate the testimony of the autopsy surgeons."* He then added *"I was overruled on the request..."*

Incredibly, he never admitted being shown the photo of Kennedy's back.

Nor was he ever asked about it... Apparently, Kenneth Klein, who'd conducted Specter's testimony, had failed to do his homework.

Or maybe there was more to it. Klein, born in Specter's home town of Philadelphia, had been hired to work for the HSCA by its original Chief Counsel, Richard Sprague, who'd worked for Specter in the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office. Many years later, for that matter, Klein went to work for Jenner and Block, the Chicago law firm of Specter's colleague on the Warren Commission, Albert Jenner.

And that's not the only curious tie between Specter and the committee. Specter's son, Shanin, just so happened to be Pennsylvania Congressman Robert Edgar's assistant on the committee. Edgar, while a liberal Democrat, was the Congressman from Pennsylvania's Seventh District, on the outskirts of Philadelphia, where the moderate Republican Specter had recently served as District Attorney, and was preparing a run for Governor. Edgar would proceed to author a dissent from the committee's report, in which he claimed its conclusion of a probable conspiracy was unjustified, and credit Specter's son Shanin and Warren Commission counsel David Belin for their assistance.

Specter and Edgar traveled in the same circles and almost certainly knew each other.

Or maybe all this means nothing. In 1986, Edgar left congress to run against Specter for U.S. Senator.

In any event, if Klein and Edgar had been on a mission to protect Specter's reputation, they were not entirely successful...because something seriously shocking happened the next year-- something that should have marked the end of Specter's political career... On 9-7-78, Dr. Michael Baden, the spokesman for the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, testified that from studying the autopsy photos the panel had concluded Kennedy's torso wound to have been--cut to the sound of Specter saying "oh crap"--not only not on Kennedy's neck, where Specter had long claimed it to have been, but on his back *below* the level of his throat wound.

Congressman Edgar was present for this testimony. His assistant, Specter's son, Shanin, may also have been present. The questions asked Baden by--you guessed it, Kenneth Klein--had been prepared in advance. This suggests, then, that Klein knew well in advance that Baden was gonna undercut the foundation for Specter's single-bullet theory, and that Edgar--and almost certainly his assistant, Specter's son, Shanin--knew this as well.

Let's recall here that Specter had once suggested that if this wound were below Kennedy's throat wound, well, then the autopsy surgeons were guilty of perjury.

So...does Specter call a press conference after Baden's testimony, and demand Humes, Boswell, and Finck be indicted for perjury?

No, of course not.

And does Klein call Specter to the stand and ask him to explain why, for nearly 15 years, he'd been calling a wound he'd known to have been on Kennedy's back a wound on the back of his neck?

No, of course not.

And that's not even the worst of it. If Specter had at this time come forward and said "Wow, that wound really was on Kennedy's back; I apologize for any confusion caused by my earlier descriptions of the wound," he might have escaped with a smidgen of credibility.

But instead he doubled down.

Yep, in an unbelievably suspicious move, not only did Specter fail to specify in his subsequent statements and articles that the doctors had been mistaken about the back wound location depicted on the Rydberg drawings--or apologize for his own misleading statements about this wound's location--but he continued--up till his death--to make claims about its location that are demonstrably false... He continued to claim even that the bullet creating this wound entered between two strap muscles on the back of Kennedy's neck.

It's sad but true... After becoming a U.S. Senator in 1980, Specter made very few public statements regarding the assassination. With the success of Oliver Stone's 1991 film JFK, however, he was no longer afforded this luxury. This led him to publish a response to the film in the 1-5-92 Philadelphia Inquirer. As one might expect, his response was filled with errors and misleading claims. To rebut the film's accurate depiction of Dr. Finck's testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw, in which Finck claimed the autopsists were ordered not to inspect Kennedy's neck, for example, Specter claimed: "*Finck testified under oath before the Warren Commission that an initial bullet hit Kennedy in the back of the neck, hit nothing solid, and exited from his throat - supporting the single bullet theory.*" Well, there it was again--"*back of the neck.*" Finck, of course, had said no such thing, and had responded without correction to Specter's questions regarding a "*back*" wound.

Perhaps the worst of Specter's deceptions, moreover, was this one: "*The movie mangles the facts on the single-bullet theory. The House assassinations committee, very critical of the Warren Commission on other matters, confirmed the single-bullet theory.*"

Well, this, of course, was smoke, and toxic smoke at that. Specter had previously claimed the back wound was above the throat wound, and that, if it was not, the autopsy surgeons were perjurers. The HSCA pathology panel had then determined that the back wound was in fact below the throat wound. With one exception, they'd concluded as well that the single-bullet theory was viable, should Kennedy have been leaning sharply forward when struck. Specter then seized upon this second conclusion, which in fact dismantles his single-bullet theory, as "confirmation" of the theory he'd proposed, and pushed upon the commission--entailing that the back wound was well above the throat wound.

And that was just the beginning of Specter's '92 campaign. On 5-12-92, Specter appeared before the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, urging that it pass a bill he'd co-authored, requiring federal agencies release as many JFK assassination-related documents as possible, and the creation of the ARRB. (His appearance can be found online in the C-Span Video Library.) He urged "*Let the facts be disclosed*" and said, of his famous single-bullet theory, that he believed it had been "*upheld*" by subsequent investigations, and would withstand further scrutiny. He then added "*If it isn't, so be it; let someone come along and disprove it.*" He failed to acknowledge that the central beam around which his theory had been constructed had long since been disproved.

Should one think this was Specter turning over a new leaf, however, one would be wrong. It was, to the discerning eye, yet another of his smoke screens, designed to hide his own failure to properly investigate the case. During this testimony he repeatedly complained that the Warren Commission did not have access to the autopsy photos and x-rays. He said this was because "*The wishes of the Kennedy family prevailed in not having those available even to the commissioners or to the staff*" and that "*They were not permitted to see them because there was a sense that they might come into the public domain.*"

This apparently came as a surprise to the Committee. As a result, a number of follow-up questions were asked on this issue. Under subsequent questioning by Sen. Carl Levin, Specter admitted that Warren himself "*may have been shown the photographs. I have reason to believe he did see them privately.*" He then injected "*but that was my area of responsibility.*" He never mentioned that he, too, had been shown

a photograph.

Well, I'll be. Specter was once again blowing smoke. His 4-30-64 memo to J. Lee Rankin, published by the HSCA in 1978, had revealed *"When Inspector Kelly talked to Attorney General Kennedy, he most probably did not fully understand all the reasons for viewing the films. According to Inspector Kelly, the Attorney General did not categorically decline to make them available, but only wanted to be satisfied that they were really necessary. I suggest that the Commission transmit to the Attorney General its reasons for wanting the films and the assurances that they will be viewed only by the absolute minimum number of people from the Commission for the sole purpose of corroborating (or correcting) the artist's drawings, with the film not to become a part of the Commission's records."*

And not only that. Earl Warren's memoirs, in which he'd admitted viewing the photos, had been available to the public since 1977. So why was Specter, fifteen years later, telling congress Warren *"may have been shown the photographs"* and acting as though this was inside information?

And where in the world did Specter get off blaming the commission's failure to view the photos on the Kennedys and their "wishes," when he knew full well that both Earl Warren and himself had viewed the back wound photo, and had known that the commission's exhibits were inaccurate, and had done nothing about it? What a piece of...work...

And I'm not the only one to have been troubled by his testimony. Approximately an hour after Sen. Specter's initial statements, Sen. John Glenn, the former astronaut, reading from a note presumably handed him by a member of his staff, confronted Specter regarding his blaming of the Kennedy family, and clarified for the record that the Kennedy family did not have possession of the autopsy photos and x-rays during the Warren Commission's investigation. This led Specter to back-pedal, at first claiming *"I did not say anything about the Kennedy family."* Of course, he had said something about the Kennedy family. Glenn failed to correct him on this, however, and asked Specter again whose decision it was not to inspect the autopsy photos and x-rays. Specter then admitted the truth. He testified *"I think the Kennedy family had a feeling on the subject. I can not testify to that from my own personal knowledge."* He then conceded: *"It was a Commission decision. The Kennedy family did not decide the issue. I believe the Commission did."* This concession, in turn, caught the attention of Sen. Levin, who sought further clarification, whereby Specter referred to his 4-30-64 and 5-12-64 memos to Rankin as proof he personally had tried to view the photos and x-rays. He then claimed *"I know I did not get to see them"* and *"I know that I did not have access to them."* Upon further prodding by Levin, moreover, he once again conceded that the commission's failure to view the autopsy photos and x-rays *"may well have"* come as a result of a decision reached by the commissioners.

He never once mentioned that he had, in fact, been shown the main photo he'd been seeking to see, the one establishing the location of the President's back wound, and that he had been shown this by the member of the Secret Service leading its investigation.

I repeat. What a piece of...work...

I mean, here was Specter testifying on this issue for a second time. And here, for a second time, he was failing to reveal that "Oh yeah, by the way, I did view a photo of the back wound which was subsequently determined to have proved the exhibits I'd placed into evidence inaccurate." Here he was, for a second time, failing to explain both why he'd failed to discuss his viewing this photo with his superiors on the commission, and why he'd proceeded to describe the back wound in the photo as a neck wound after doing so...

Apparently, his dodging yet another karma bullet emboldened Specter. The September 27, 1992 edition of Inquirer Magazine featured an extensive profile of Specter which briefly discussed his time working for the Warren Commission. While describing the single-bullet theory, he claimed the bullet *"entered*

between two large strap muscles." Yes, he once again claimed the bullet "entered" the back of Kennedy's neck between two muscles which Kennedy's "autopsy surgeon" made clear were at the front of Kennedy's throat. On May 30, 1995, Specter was interviewed on CBS radio by Tom Snyder, even worse, and once again revealed himself to be a serial spreader of nonsense. He told Snyder *"The bullet that hit the President in the back of the neck passed between two large strap muscles."* Yeah, sure it did. Shouldn't Snyder have told him that a tracing of the autopsy photo Specter looked at in 1964 was published by the government in 1979, and made 100% crystal clear that the wound was on the back, and NOT on the back of the neck, where Specter had long claimed it to have been? And shouldn't Snyder have thrown in that "And, oh yeah, the strap muscles were adjacent to the President's throat wound, and you should really stop pretending that the bruising of these muscles indicates the bullet creating the back wound traversed the body?"

But alas, no such luck. Specter's nonsense was not only swallowed by Snyder, but applauded.

And so the trail of lies continued. When Specter discussed his being shown the autopsy photo before the 1964 re-enactment in his 2000 memoir *Passion for Truth*, for example, he described it as "*a small picture of the back of a man's body, with a bullet hole in the base of the neck, just where the autopsy surgeons said Kennedy had been shot.*" Oh, my! Base of the neck? This once again steered clear of the fact that a tracing of this photo had been released by the government in 1979. This steered clear, moreover, of the incredibly inconvenient fact that this tracing PROVED the bullet hole to have been inches *below* the base of the neck. And what did he mean when he said "just where the autopsy surgeons said Kennedy had been shot?" Was he once again referring to the autopsy report, to hide that the exhibits *he'd* presented to the Warren Commission had been misleading?

In any event, Specter not only admitted in his memoirs that he failed to tell anyone on the commission he'd taken a look at the back wound photo, he tried to excuse his cowardice by adding "*an unauthenticated photo was no way to establish facts for the record.*" Well, this was the worst kind of nonsense. He'd admitted he was shown the photo by Thomas Kelley, the Secret Service inspector responsible for conducting its investigation of the assassination. He knew, moreover, that the Secret Service had possession of the photos. It would have been a simple matter then of his stopping by Bethesda for ten minutes and talking to Dr. Humes, to verify the wounds, and John Stringer, the photographer, to verify it was one of the photos he took on the night of the autopsy. He would then have had an authenticated photo.

That Specter's claiming the wound was at the base of the neck was not a one-time slip, whereby he accidentally repeated inaccurate information he'd grown used to telling, was made clear, for that matter, by his book's other references to the wound.

He first mentioned the wound in relation to his work for the commission.

- *"To nail down both the direction and the location of the bullet that struck the president's **back**, we wanted all possible indicators."* p.68

Notice how he calls it a back wound. He then discussed his meeting with the autopsy doctors in preparation for their testimony.

- *"At Bethesda, Ball and I tried to clear up some confusion over how far the bullet that struck Kennedy's **neck** had traveled through his body."* p.79
- *"they surmised that the bullet on the stretcher might have been pushed out the back of Kennedy's **neck** by the massage."* p.79
- *"As the autopsy progressed, the surgeons realized that the bullet had passed farther through the president's **neck**."* p.79

Now this last bit was just strange. The official story, of which Specter was presumably aware, was that the doctors didn't realize a bullet passed through Kennedy's neck until the morning after the autopsy, after Dr. Humes spoke to Dr. Perry and discovered that the tracheotomy incision had been cut through a bullet wound. So what does Specter cite as evidence for them learning of this the night before?

Read on and be amazed:

- *"They saw that the muscles in the **front of the neck** had been damaged at about the same time the wound was inflicted on the top of the chest cavity."*

Yes, truth is truly stranger than fiction. Here, in Specter's own book, was an accurate representation of Dr. Humes' testimony--that is, that the bruises on the strap muscles at the front of the neck had led him to suspect the neck wound pre-dated the tracheostomy. This, then, was as much as an admission he'd misled the public in his chapter in the Warren Report, and numerous interviews and articles, when he'd claimed the bullet slipped between these muscles upon entrance on the back of Kennedy's neck.

Or was it? Specter had a co-writer on his memoirs, Charles Robbins. Perhaps Robbins had caught Specter's mistake, and had added this bit into the book for the sake of accuracy.

This mystery only gets more curious, however, as we progress through Specter's book.

- *"When all the facts came in, it became clear that the **neck** shot had exited Kennedy's throat."*
p.80

Notice how what was formerly a back wound has now become a neck wound. Specter then discussed his being shown the back wound photo by Agent Kelley in 1964. As discussed, he presents this photo as:

- *"a small picture of the back of a man's body, with a bullet hole in the base of the **neck**, just where the autopsy surgeons said Kennedy had been shot."* p.88

He then describes a second viewing of the photo by him in 1999 in the company of Dr. Boswell.

- *"The entrance wound on the **neck** was about an inch below the shoulder line in the president's **back**. The exit wound at the site of the tracheotomy in his throat, was lower."* p.88

Well, how can a wound be "on the neck below...the shoulder line in the...back? Does that make any sense? Was he trying to have it both ways? And have the wound be on the back where everyone who's seen the back wound photo knows it to be? Whilst simultaneously being on the neck, where his single-bullet theory needs it to be?

Not surprisingly, Specter then insisted that he and Boswell had convinced themselves the President's back and neck wounds were "*consistent with the Single Bullet Conclusion.*" As if at this point we should take their word on anything...

Unfortunately, it seems the closest thing to an acknowledgment of error we'll ever get from Specter is his related acknowledgement that the Rydberg drawings were "*rough*" and that he would never have had them created if he knew that people would credit them "*with more precision than was intended.*"

Specter then discusses the Parkland witnesses, and repeats much of his nonsense.

- *"They never saw the bullet entrance wounds in the back of his head and the back of his **neck**."*
p.100
- *"The Parkland doctors saw the clean, round, quarter-inch hole in the front of the president's neck but didn't know about the wound in the back of his **neck**."* p.101
- *"Once the Parkland doctors were informed of the wound on the back of the president's head and **neck**..."* p.101

Specter then slips up again (at least presumably).

- *"...before the doctors there knew about the entrance wounds on Kennedy's **back** and head..." p.103*

The strangeness of Specter's book reaches a climax, however, when he discusses a conversation he had with Chief Justice Earl Warren, in which he convinced Warren of the soundness of the single-bullet theory. He claims he explained to Warren that:

- *"The autopsy showed that a bullet had struck Kennedy near the base of his **neck** on the right side and passed between two large strap muscles in his neck, striking only soft tissue as it continued in a slightly right-to-left, downward, and forward path..." p.109*
- *"The president's garment had holes and tears showing that a missile entered the back in the vicinity of his lower **neck**..." p.110*
- *"The wounds on the president and governor supported the Single-Bullet Conclusion. The first bullet would retain most of its high velocity after passing through the two large strap muscles in the back of the president's **neck**, slicing the pleural cavity, striking nothing solid, and then exiting from the front of his neck, nicking the left side of his tie." p.111*

Yes, you read that right. While on page 79 of his book Specter acknowledged that the bruised strap muscles described by Dr. Humes in his testimony were at the front of Kennedy's neck, 30 pages later he asserted that while selling the single-bullet theory to Warren he'd told him they'd been on the back of Kennedy's neck. He failed to explain that what he'd told Warren was inaccurate. Now, was this "gaffe" an accidental slip-up by Specter, and an indication that he'd long known or at least now knew that the strap muscles were on the throat, and not the back of the neck? Or was his presenting the same muscles in two different locations within one book the responsibility of his co-writer?

It's really hard to tell. Towards the end of his life, it became fairly clear that Specter's memory had faded.

When interviewed for a Fox News program in 2003, for example, Specter related that the early reports of the FBI and Secret Service said the first shot hit Kennedy on "*the back of the neck*," when, in fact, they said the first shot hit Kennedy "*below the shoulders*."

When discussing the assassination at the November, 2003 Wecht conference, for that matter, he claimed the driver of Kennedy's limousine was "James Greer" (as opposed to William Greer), and that Secret Service Agent Elmer Moore showed him an autopsy photo of Kennedy's back before the May, 1964 re-enactment. (In his book, published just three years earlier, he'd said it was Thomas Kelley who'd shown him this photo.)

But we can't let Specter off the hook for his most egregious statements, just because his memory might have slipped a little. Most of his questionable statements in 2003, in fact, were nothing new, and repetitions of the same old malarkey.

One could write a book, in fact, on the nonsense spewed by Specter at the 11-22-2003 Wecht Conference. He claimed, for example, that the wound on Kennedy's back was "*at the base of the neck*" and "*on the back of the President's neck*," and pointed to the back of his neck--inches above where Kennedy's wound was located--as he did so. He then repeated what he'd finally admitted in his book--that the Rydberg drawings were "*rough*" and "*inexact*" and that while he'd thought in 1964 that they were "*better than nothing*," he had since come to believe he'd been "*wrong about that*."

He then offered up more self-serving nonsense. He failed to admit that he'd used these "*rough*" and "*inexact*" drawings as evidence supporting his single-bullet theory, or even that the photo he'd been shown by "*Moore*" had proved to him they were "*inexact*," and, instead made out that he'd somehow

stood by his principles when he failed to tell the Commission the autopsy photo he'd been shown had proved the Rydberg drawings--what he had to have known would come to be considered the Commission's interpretation of Kennedy's wounds--were "inexact." Yep, Specter, standing before a large crowd of serious researchers, most of whom knew full well he was blowing smoke, claimed that when he was shown the photo by "Moore" before the reenactment he reacted not by using the wound location in the photo as the basis for the chalk mark on the JFK stand-in's jacket (as seems obvious from the photos of the reenactment), but by standing on principle. According to Specter, *"I told him I didn't want to see an unauthenticated photo. I wanted to see the Real McCoy."*

Well, my God! What horse-pucky!

In any event, Specter's statements at the Wecht conference cleared up one thing: he was still of the belief the strap muscles were on the back of Kennedy's neck, or at least in the business of pretending as much. Here is how he described his initial meeting with Dr. Humes: *"He said that the bullet had passed between the two large strap muscles, that it hit nothing solid as it went through the pleural cavity and sliced the President's trachea. When they conducted the autopsy, they did not know what had happened in the front until Dr. Humes called Dr. Perry--Malcolm Perry who had attended President Kennedy at Parkland. But, at any rate, the bullet according to Dr. Humes, passed between two large strap muscles (Here, he pointed to the back of his neck), as I say, but hit nothing solid..."*

In an interview broadcast on CNN's Newsnight program later that night, moreover, he repeated this nonsense: *"The bullet entered between two large strap muscles at the back of the president's neck, hit nothing solid, went through the pleural cavity, nicked his tie coming out."*

So there it is. While someone may have caught Specter's error regarding the strap muscles while working on his 2000 memoir, it apparently wasn't Specter, as by 2003 he had returned to form. This, then, suggests that it was Specter's co-writer Charles Robbins who'd corrected his error for his memoirs, and that Specter has in fact never wavered from his grossly inaccurate claim the strap muscles mentioned by Humes in his Warren Commission testimony were on the back of Kennedy's neck, and probed at autopsy.

Even after his departure from the Senate in 2011, moreover, he maintained the inexcusable. On February 21, 2011, an oral history interview of Specter conducted for PCN television was broadcast on C-Span. When discussing his first meeting with Humes, and the creation of the Rydberg drawings, Specter related *"He asked if it would be helpful to have some artist's drawings of where the bullet entered, in the head, the shots. And we said 'Yeah, that would be helpful.' Later they came to be a cause celebre. We never did see the x-rays and the photos while the committee was conducting its investigation. I saw them years later when I was Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee."*

Well, my, how convenient! His viewing the photo with Kelley had slipped his mind completely!

And that's not the worst of it. A few minutes later he once again discussed the make-believe strap muscles on the back of Kennedy's neck, and revealed that he'd not only learned little in the intervening years, but had actually grown ever more confused. When discussing his meeting with Dr. Humes on March 12, 1964, he claimed that Humes had told him *"he'd looked at the bullet hole on the back of the President's neck, and put his finger in the hole, and (discovered) that the bullet had hit nothing solid, (and) had passed between two strap muscles, and he didn't know what happened."*

It's shocking and sad, for that matter, how Specter, who'd once acknowledged that Humes had told him that the President's back muscles *"would resist any probing effort and would not disclose the path of the bullet to probing fingers,"* and who took Humes' testimony, in which Humes claimed he was *"unable...to take probes and have them satisfactorily fall through any definite path at this point,"* and who later admitted that the back wound could only be probed to *"a very slight extent,"* ultimately came

to claim that Humes' probing of the back wound revealed *"that the bullet had hit nothing solid, (and) had passed between two strap muscles."*

That this gross misrepresentation of the facts was quite possibly inadvertent was revealed, however, by some of the other whoppers told by Specter in the PCN interview. At one point, for example, Specter claimed that in their initial meeting Dr. Humes told him that 1) after the autopsy he'd *"speculated that the (bullet creating the) hole in the President's throat...might have come in from the front and struck a vertebra and glanced up and caused the tremendous damage to the top of the President's head"* and 2) that he'd abandoned this theory only after talking to Dr. Perry the next morning, and being told that the throat wound observed by Perry (which Perry had cut through while making a tracheotomy incision) was *"ragged,"* and appeared to be *"a wound of exit."*

Dr. Humes, of course, insisted to his dying day that he didn't know about the throat wound until he talked to Perry, and Perry, of course, insisted to his dying day that the throat wound appeared to be an entrance, whether or not it actually was an entrance.

Specter had clearly lost touch with what he had never fully grasped, and was all too willing to lie about.

Yes...to be clear, while it seems possible Specter was merely confused about the strap muscles, it seems almost certain that he LIED about the back wound location. The back wound photo Specter inspected shows a wound on the back, inches below the *"base of the back of the neck,"* where Specter long claimed it resided--even after viewing the photo. When taken in conjunction with Specter's previous behavior--his initial failure to tell the Warren Commission the back wound was not where it is shown in the Rydberg drawings, his taking testimony (which he knew to be untrue) suggesting the Rydberg drawings were used in the May 1964 re-enactment, and his deferring to the accuracy of the autopsy measurements when speaking to U.S. News (when the question related to the accuracy of the Rydberg drawings)--his being "mistaken" about something so obvious makes it abundantly clear that he lied, and lied repeatedly, in order to support the accuracy of the Rydberg drawings and convince the public the back wound was in a location consistent with his "Single-Bullet Conclusion."

Clothing Comparison



Left: Warren Commission Exhibit 386

Below: a crop from Figure 1 bringing the bullet hole in line with the bullet hole in CE 386.

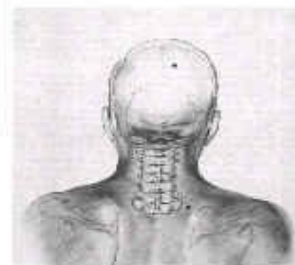
The jacket is way too large. Thus, the bullet entrance in CE 386 is too far to the right.



Autopsy Face Sheet
Warren Commission
Exhibit 397



Right: HSCA Figure 1, Kennedy's suit jacket, with bullet hole visible between the shoulders.



HSCA Figure 24

In his testimony before the Warren Commission, Dr. James Humes said the bullet hole in the jacket at left "corresponds essentially" with the bullet entrance at the base of the neck in the drawing at center and above. Did he tell the truth?

Clothing Comparison

And it's not as if I'm the first to conclude Specter lied. No, sadly for Specter, I'm merely the latest in a long line of researchers to do so.

By June of '66, the critics of the Warren Commission had found their audience. The release of Edward Epstein's *Inquest* and the upcoming release of Mark Lane's *Rush to Judgment* received widespread attention in the mainstream press. Other critics, such as Harold Weisberg, received less attention. These early critics, moreover, invariably focused on the apparent migration of Kennedy's back wound, questioning how the hole in the middle of the back on the face sheet had become the hole at the base of the neck in the Rydberg drawings. Their suspicion the Rydberg drawings were in error was fueled, moreover, by their studying the photos of the President's shirt and jacket, which revealed holes in line with the lower entrance on the face sheet, not exactly the base of the neck.

Between the FBI reports at odds with the autopsy report and the face sheet and clothes at odds with the Rydberg drawings, to be clear, the critics had more than enough kindling to fuel their fire. And much of their fire was justifiably directed at Arlen Specter.

Specter was slow to come to this realization, however, and would for a time grant interviews to those with a sincere interest in his work on the commission. To explain how the holes in the clothes could be so much lower than the neck wound, for example, Specter told Gaeton Fonzi in their 1966 interviews that the shirt and jacket of the President had "*hunched*" up while the President was waving to the crowd. This plausible-sounding theory was first suggested by Dr. Humes in his testimony before the Warren Commission, after having viewed the President's clothes for the first time and asserting that the hole in

the clothing “*corresponds essentially*” with the location of the back wound in the Rydberg drawing. (According to Finck’s report to his Army superiors, Humes had refused Finck’s request to inspect the clothes during the autopsy.)

Still, Specter never tested Humes’ theory. He could have arranged for an exact copy of the President’s jacket, with the precise location of the bullet entrance marked, to be worn by a man of Kennedy’s exact stature during the FBI re-enactment of May 24, 1964, but apparently was not interested in establishing that this theory actually made sense. It was only appropriate then that, according to Fonzi, when Specter tried to demonstrate to him just how this hunching could occur, he made a fool of himself. Besides simply not working, this “hunching theory” failed to adequately explain how a well-tailored shirt and jacket could hunch up precisely in unison. It also failed to explain why the wound in the Rydberg drawing was not only several inches above the hole in the jacket, but to its right.

But that didn't stop other Warren Commission counsel from trying this same line of defense. In an 11-7-66 radio interview with KCBS radio's Harv Morgan, Warren Commission counsel Wesley Liebelier proclaimed *"When you take a shirt and pull it down on your body...and measure 5 1/2 inches below that bony tip behind your right ear--when I do it on myself the mark on the shirt comes 3 inches below the collar line. And then when you raise your shoulders up ever so slightly and hump the shirt up and raise your arms into the position the President was at the time, and measure it again, the mark on the shirt comes 5 1/2 inches below the collar line."*

And should one think Liebelier's pushing this argument was a one-time thing, he presented an even more confusing argument in an 11-27-66 L.A. Times article in which his opinions and those of fellow Warren Commission counsel Joseph Ball were pitted against those of Warren Commission critics Edward Epstein and Mark Lane. In this article, he claimed: *"I had my wife measure 14 centimeters from my right mastoid process down into my shirt and that spot came three inches below the collar...And then if you raise your arm to the position that the President was in at the time he was shot, the shirt very easily rides up and so does the coat and I did it myself and measured again and the second mark comes on my body 5 1/2 inches below the collar line which is exactly one quarter of an inch from the place where the hole was in the President's shirt."*

Well, beyond being confusing (he presumably meant to say "the second mark comes on my shirt"), this is most revealing. Liebelier acknowledged that a wound 14 cm below the mastoid process (the measurement of the back wound at autopsy) would be 3 inches below the collar line. Take a look at CE 386, the drawing of this wound's supposed location, on the slide above. There is no way Liebelier could possibly believe the wound in this drawing is 3 inches below the collar line. There is no way, for that matter, he could possibly believe 2 1/2 inches of fabric bunched up above this point on Kennedy's neck/back.

And he didn't. Yes, when questioned by Morgan on the 11-7-66 radio show about the inconsistent back wound locations presented on the face sheet and Rydberg drawings, and the fact that the holes on the President's clothing suggest that the face sheet location was accurate, Liebelier (and not only Liebelier, but fellow WC counsel Joseph Ball) insisted that the face sheet measurements were *"the most precise way"* to determine the location of the back wound, and that, when one did so, one found it was *"somewhat higher"* on the back than the mark on the face sheet. No defense of the Rydberg drawings was even attempted.

Of course, Liebelier didn't exactly denounce them, either. In fact, before admitting that the measurements indicated that the back wound was only *"somewhat higher"* than the mark on the face sheet, he blew a puff of smoke in the direction of Morgan's listeners, telling them the wound was *"right at the base of the neck."* This, then, supported the myth he'd proclaimed earlier in the interview, that, when one used the wound and clothing measurements to determine the back wound location, one found

that the president's back wound was *"higher on the back than it was on the front"* and that the bullet traveled at a *"downward angle."* Call me irresponsible, but it seems mighty suspicious that Liebeler would proclaim such nonsense and make a point of claiming the face sheet was inaccurate, but then fail to acknowledge the 800 pound gorilla in the room--that the Rydberg drawings were even less accurate.

As a result, it seems clear that Liebeler and Ball, as Warren and Specter before them, knew full well that the Rydberg drawings were inaccurate and deceptive, but opted to not only not tell the public of this deception, but to play along and promote this deception.

Unscrambling History

Now I know what you're thinking, because I've had these thoughts myself. You're thinking that the list of people lying to support the accuracy of the Rydberg drawings has grown a bit unwieldy. And you're right. It's important to note, however, that Warren, Specter, and Kelley were the only ones to have seen the autopsy photo of Kennedy's back, and to have known for an absolute fact that the wound was on Kennedy's back, not neck.

It seems possible, then, that the others didn't know for certain they were lying, and were just repeating the nonsense Specter had fed them, and supporting the commission as a whole.

Or not.

When one fully immerses oneself in the Kennedy assassination medical evidence, one finds that it is indeed quite possible that many saw the photo of Kennedy's back, and knew, for a fact, the Rydberg drawings were deceptive, but opted to conceal this from the public.

The ARRB interview of Dr. Paul Peters, one of the doctors who'd worked on Kennedy in Dallas, yielded the surprising anecdote that he was friends with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's urologist, Dr. John Lattimer, and that Lattimer had told him a surprising story--that Hoover had given him access to a set of the president's autopsy photos--Hoover's own private set, mind you--just to spite Robert Kennedy.

If Peters' story is accurate, and Lattimer's story was true--well, geez--that's truly awful. The man who'd led the FBI's investigation into the physical aspects of the assassination, Al Rosen, we should remember, refused to look at the autopsy photos or even read the autopsy report. The man who'd conducted Kennedy's autopsy and who'd supervised the creation of the official drawings of Kennedy's wounds, Dr. James J. Humes, even worse, was denied the opportunity to review the autopsy photos or compare them to the drawings. And yet J. Edgar Hoover's urologist, Dr. Lattimer, could study them to his heart's content! Sickening.

(It should be pointed out, however, that in 1972 Dr. Lattimer became the first independent doctor to inspect the autopsy materials. It seems possible, then, that Dr. Peters took this actual event--of the urologist Lattimer's being the first to view the materials--and scrambled it up into the story he told the ARRB.)

Making Peters' story more believable, however, is Earl Warren's posthumously-published recollection that he saw the photos when they came over from Bethesda Naval Hospital. As the official reports and testimony of Robert Bouck, head of the Protective Research Division of the Secret Service, indicate that from the night of the autopsy until mid-1965 the autopsy photos remained in the sole custody of the Secret Service, and were never returned to Bethesda Naval Hospital--and that the Chief Justice never even paid them a visit to view the materials--this can be taken as an indication that the Navy had its own set of photos.

(It should be pointed out, however, that Warren was in his eighties when he wrote his memoirs, and may simply have forgotten a private visit with Secret Service Chief Rowley, or something equally innocent.)

The effects of old age might also explain the June, 15, 1975, statements of Warren Commission counsel Joseph Ball. Ball told the Long Beach, California, Press-Telegram that *"he was the first one to contact the autopsy surgeon at Bethesda Naval Hospital,"* and that *"We went out and spent the afternoon with him...he gave us a complete description of the wounds on Kennedy's body—he even drew pictures of it...He showed us a complete set of x-rays and color pictures which were turned over to Bobby Kennedy at his request and the request of the Kennedy family. The color pictures definitely show there was an entrance wound on the rear, right side of his head that blew the top of Kennedy's head off."* As Ball also insisted that the release of these pictures would end all speculation on the direction of the shots, and since he only mentioned the *"color pictures"* and stated elsewhere that *"These pictures show, as every doctor has testified, that the wounds of entry were in the back of the head...he was shot in the back of the neck and the rear of the head"* it seems likely the *"pictures"* he was thinking of were the Rydberg drawings, which were in color and depicted the wounds as described.

But the Rydberg drawings were never turned over to Robert Kennedy. And one can only wonder how Ball could think the release of a drawing long available would end all speculation on the direction of the shots. So perhaps Ball was also just confused. Ball was 73 at the time of this article.

Supporting that Ball's memory was slipping in 1975 (and that he'd confused the Rydberg drawings for the autopsy photos) is a 1-5-67 Van Nuys Valley News article on a press conference by Ball in which he *"admitted he has never seen"* the autopsy photos and x-rays, but nevertheless called for the public release of the photos and x-rays to *"competent pathologists"* in order *"to show the world Cmdr. James J. Humes and the other doctors testified properly and accurately."*

There is, however, some, but not much, support for Ball's latter-day claim he'd seen the photos. A June 1967 series of articles on the Warren Commission by Associated Press writers Bernard Gavzer and Sid Moody reported: *"Albert Jenner, an assistant counsel now in Chicago, says he saw some of the autopsy photographs..."* Hmm... 1967 was of course only three years after the Warren Commission and Jenner was then but 60 years old. It's doubtful, then, that his memory could have faded so rapidly about such an issue of such importance. The possibility exists, therefore, that the autopsy photos supposedly denied the autopsy doctors prior to their Warren Commission testimony and still officially hidden from the public were never denied to anyone, and were secretly circulated among the autopsy doctors, the Warren Commission, and the Warren Commission staff, as well as various Washington insiders, throughout 1964.

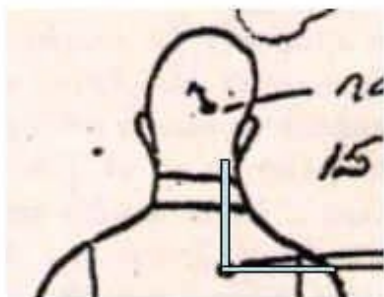
A September 18, 2010 post by single-assassin theorist John Fiorentino on the alt.assassination.jfk newsgroup further supports this possibility. While disputing something I'd written, Fiorentino boasted that he'd received a clear copy of the back wound photo from Warren Commission counsel David Belin. As Belin had also worked with the Rockefeller Commission pathology panel, which had indisputably viewed the photos, however, it seems probable Belin had kept one of the Rockefeller Commission's copies as a "souvenir."

The likelihood remains, then, that Jenner lied to the Associated Press for their 1967 article. Researcher Sylvia Meagher claimed to have sat behind Jenner's daughter at a February 1967 televised discussion of the assassination, and to have overheard Jenner's conversations with his daughter. After Mark Lane quoted Jenner from a 12-23-66 radio broadcast, where Jenner claimed *"Some members of the Commission saw both the film and the colored pictures, and the X-rays. We of the staff saw them ourselves,"* and Jenner refused to comment, Meagher heard Jenner's daughter ask her father if he'd in fact seen the photos, and witnessed Jenner shake his head "no." In December, 1966, of course, the

Commission and its former counsel were dedicated to cutting off the then-widespread demands for a new investigation, and Jenner's lies may have been designed to help their cause.

There is reason to believe, moreover, that their efforts were part of a much larger plan.

Boswell's Anatomy



Autopsy Face Sheet marked by Dr. Boswell, November 22, 1963

Here, the mark signifying the back wound location is equidistant between the two landmarks used in the autopsy report.



Autopsy Face Sheet with X depicting a new actual location of the back wound, marked by Dr. Boswell for The Baltimore Sun, November 25, 1966

Here, the X is 87 percent further from the shoulder tip than from the right mastoid process.



Autopsy Face Sheet with mark and arrow depicting an even newer actual location of the back wound, marked by Dr. Boswell for the HSCA, August 16, 1977

Here, Boswell's mark is 360 percent further from the shoulder tip than from the right mastoid Process.

Since the measurements taken at the autopsy reflect that the back wound was the same distance from the bottom right tip of Kennedy's skull and his shoulder tip, we are able to assess the accuracy of the three face sheet drawings created and approved by Dr. Boswell. He had it right the first time.

Boswell's Anatomy

We've already asserted that the placement of the back wound on the face sheet was reasonably accurate. We'll now prove it beyond all doubt. The measurements recorded at autopsy placed the back wound equidistant between two landmarks, 14 cm below the right mastoid process of Kennedy's skull, and 14 cm from acromion, the tip of his right shoulder. As demonstrated above, the mark on the face sheet is--well, I'll be darned--equidistant between these two landmarks.

That's it. That's all there is to it. This isn't rocket science.

In November, 1966, however, after critics of the Warren Commission had pointed out that he'd marked the back wound on the face sheet below the level of the throat wound, Dr. Boswell reportedly re-marked a copy of the face sheet for the Baltimore Sun, and placed the back wound at a location well

above the throat wound. He explained this at the time, moreover, by stating *"If I had known at the time that this sketch would become public record, I would have been more careful."*

And yet, as careful as he claimed to be in 1966, in 1977, after having been contacted by the HSCA and asked to mark a third face sheet, he depicted the back wound even higher on the body, squarely on the President's neck.

From these actions one might wonder if Boswell was remembering things *backwards*, that is, if he was taking what he believed to be important or was told was important, e.g. that the bullet entrance was high enough on the President's body for a bullet heading on a downward trajectory to enter the President's back and exit his throat, and then marking this position on the sheet. Perhaps the suggestion he'd been part of a conspiracy had taken its toll on Dr. Boswell and had led his memories of the wound to blur into accordance with the official government impression of the wounds. Perhaps this "blurring" was in full effect even before Boswell re-inspected the autopsy photos on November 1, and was to such an extent that neither he nor Dr. Humes realized the back wound in the photos they were studying was at or below the level of the throat wound, and most certainly not above. The research and writings of Dr. Elizabeth Loftus tell us, after all, that when one is led to imagine a plausible event, e.g. the single bullet theory, one's memories can become entangled with that imagined event. Perhaps then Boswell's face sheets are simply textbook cases of memory distortion arising from imagining a plausible event.

Dr. Boswell's 1996 ARRB testimony in fact supports that he worked backwards. Even though he'd been shown the official back wound photos three times, most recently in 1977, Boswell corrected his questioner Jeremy Gunn by telling him that the wound was not a thoracic wound (as stated in the autopsy report signed by Boswell in 1963) but on the neck. He stated further that the wound would not be nearest a thoracic vertebrae, but a cervical vertebra. While looking at the back wound marked on the face sheet, moreover, he tried to explain his reasoning: *"where I had drawn this was—if you looked at the back of the coat it was in the exact same place...but the coat had been...he was waving, and this was all scrunched up like this. And the bullet went through the coat way below where this would be on the body, because it was really at the base of his neck. And the way I know this best is my memory of the fact that...when we opened up the chest...the bullet had not pierced through into the lung cavity... And so...The wound came through and downward and out about the thyroid cartilage. So if you put a probe in this and got it back through like this, that would come out right at the base of the neck."* Minutes later, when shown the autopsy photo of Kennedy's back, however, Boswell recognized his error and acknowledged that the wound in the photo was in fact not on the neck but **on the back**, and was nearest, by his estimate, the second thoracic vertebrae.

Were Dr. Boswell a simple liar he would most probably have argued that the wound was actually nearest a cervical vertebrae, but that the angle of the photograph had distorted the wound's actual position, etc...

That Dr. Boswell was remembering things backwards in '96, however, does not preclude that he was pressured into changing his statements in '66. He was, after all, under a military order of silence in 1966. Before speaking to the Baltimore Sun and other papers, he would almost certainly have to have received approval from the Justice Department.

Now, ask yourself, was this approval likely to be granted should Boswell not agree to, well...agree?

The Boswell Incident

A little back-story (pun intended) is in order at this time...

By June of '66, people were talking not only about the books of Epstein and Lane, but articles critical

of the Commission appearing in various magazines and newspapers. One of these, an article by Fred Cook in *The Nation*, revealed that the Warren Commission had not only failed to study the photographs and x-rays of President Kennedy's body in order to verify the accuracy of the Rydberg drawings depicting Kennedy's wounds, but had, even worse, prevented the doctors who'd created these drawings from studying these materials, and using them for reference.

This was powerful stuff. The impact of this information was such that Jacob Cohen, in a counter-point to Cook's article in *The Nation*, nevertheless agreed that *"the x-rays and photos must now be made available for competent study and interpretation."*

The net effect of these articles, even defenses of the Commission like Cohen's, then, was to raise doubts about the Commission's conclusions.

This, in turn, raised doubts about the legitimacy of Lyndon Johnson's presidency. As a consequence, it became politically desirable for the Johnson Administration to have the autopsy doctors do what they should have done in 1964--verify the accuracy of the drawings they'd presented the Warren Commission.

But there was a problem: the autopsy materials had been given to the Kennedy family the year before. Negotiations thereby commenced for their return.

Before this was done, however, Robert Kennedy had a talk with family friend, historian Arthur Schlesinger. According to Schlesinger's posthumously published journal, *Journals 1952-2000*, he spent the evening of October 30, 1966 discussing William Manchester's upcoming book on the assassination with Kennedy, and *"this led on to a discussion of the autopsy photographs and then of the Warren Report. RFK wondered how long he could continue to avoid comment on the report. It is evident that he believes it was a poor job and will not endorse it, but that he is unwilling to criticize it and thereby reopen the whole tragic business."*

The next day, October 31, 1966, the Kennedy family transferred control of the photographs and x-rays back to the National Archives and announced that, in but five years, in what those loyal to President Johnson undoubtedly hoped would be his second elected term as President, these photographs and x-rays would be subject to review...by independent experts, beyond Johnson's control.

Wasting no time, on November 1, 1966, the Johnson Administration arranged for autopsy pathologists Dr.s Boswell and Humes, autopsy radiologist John Ebersole, and autopsy photographer John Stringer to finally review the autopsy photographs and x-rays they'd taken on 11-22-63. They created an inventory list for these items. Under the guidance of Johnson's Justice Department, they signed this list on November 10. Suspiciously, the final version of this list included a statement that these photographs and x-rays represented all the photographs and x-rays taken at the autopsy, a statement all four men would later swear was untrue. More important for our immediate discussion, however, is that the inventory list signed by the doctors describes photo 11 as showing *"a wound of entrance of missile high in shoulder"* and color transparency 38 as showing a *"missile wound high in right superior, posterior shoulder."*

On 11-4-66, at a press conference, President Johnson was asked why the autopsy photos and x-rays had not been made available to the public. He responded:

"I think it has been available to the Warren Commission any time it wanted to see it. Second, I think it is available to any official body now. Third, I think that every American can understand the reasons why we wouldn't want to have the garments, and the records, and everything paraded out in every sewing circle in the country to be exploited and used without serving any good or official purpose. It is my understanding--all of this took place while I was away--that most of this has been over in the

Archives stored all the -time. It has always been available to the Warren Commission and the Government, the Justice Department, the FBI. The late, beloved President's brother was Attorney General during the period the Warren Commission was studying this thing and I certainly would think he would have a very thorough interest in seeing that the truth was made evident. I believe he did have. I think that he, the FBI, and the entire Government made available everything that the Commission wanted. I think they made a very thorough study. I know of no evidence that would in any way cause any reasonable person to have a doubt about the Warren Commission. But if there is any evidence and it is brought forth, I am sure that the Commission and the appropriate authorities will take action that may be justified."

President Johnson had of course misrepresented RFK's role in the assassination investigation, which had been next to non-existent. He had also failed to appreciate that the Commission no longer existed. He was apparently unaware, moreover, that his long-time friend and former campaign manager, Texas Governor John Connally, had just been interviewed by Life Magazine, and would magnify the cries for a new investigation by asserting that he had serious doubts about the single-bullet theory, the cornerstone upon which the commission's case for a single-assassin had been built. (Johnson shared these doubts, but had never admitted as much to the public.)

Perhaps, then, Johnson thought he had things under control. The 11-14-66 issue of U.S. News and World Report, in anticipation of William Manchester's book, recounted in detail the day of the assassination. It took Johnson's side on a number of issues. It included as well a brief article on Humes' and Boswell's 11-1-66 review of the autopsy photos and x-rays. This article showed Dr. Humes to be quite careful: *"Afterward, Commander Humes said 'the pictures showed just what we testified to' before the Warren Commission—that the assassin's bullets were fired from 'above and behind,' and that the fatal shot caused a 'massive' head wound."* But the article showed Dr. Boswell in a different light. It claimed: *"Commander Boswell said the pictures prove that 'the drawing we submitted' to the Commission 'was identical with the photographs.'"*

Yes, he said *"identical."* If the Administration was looking for someone to issue a license to lie, they had their man.

They most certainly had cause for concern. Johnson's Daily Diary, available on the Johnson Library website, reflects that on 11-19-63 Johnson spent the bulk of a 2 hour flight *"reading a proof"* of William Manchester's book on the assassination, *The Death of a President*. Manchester's book was authorized by the Kennedy family. The early drafts of the book were purported to have been extremely hard on Johnson--not painting him as a conspirator to kill Kennedy, but as one unable to conceal his delight in his own rise to prominence. Reading this book, particularly at this point in its development, would no doubt contribute to Johnson's already stated belief that Robert Kennedy was out to get him, and willing to use the assassination to do it.

On November 21, 1966, and over the next few days, an AP article is published nationwide, in which long-time Kennedy family friend, historian Arthur Schlesinger, is quoted as having told an audience that *"substantial facts and doubts do exist which would warrant a very intensive inquiry."* In the eyes of Johnson, this could only be a message from Robert Kennedy. In this same article, moreover, one-time Johnson mentor and member of the Warren Commission, Senator Richard Russell, let it be known that he'd objected to the Commission's conclusion there had been no conspiracy, and only agreed to go along with the suggestion there hadn't been one because Chief Justice Warren wouldn't allow him to publish a dissent.

Between the Life article, the upcoming Manchester book, and this AP article, then, the Johnson Administration must have felt under siege.

They decided to fight back. Some time in this period (my efforts to establish the exact date continue)

Johnson's former aide Jack Valenti writes a memo to Johnson describing disbelief of the Warren Commission's findings in Europe. According to James Reston Jr.'s book on Governor Connally, *The Lone Star*, Valenti notes, furthermore, that *"This is not a lightly or rarely held view. It is widening among the peoples of Western Europe. It could become so malignant as to threaten seriously the very integrity of the American Government."* Valenti then proposed the formation of a panel of prominent lawyers, led by Louis Nizer, an outspoken supporter of the Warren Commission's findings. Valenti then concluded *"Nizer and others ought to be unleashed immediately to publish a counter defense that would nail the detractors and the irresponsible nuts against the wall. The key to the whole assault on the Commission is the so-called single-bullet theory. If this panel of distinguished lawyers could demolish the attack on the single-bullet theory, the slanderers would be laid to rest."*

And Valenti wasn't the only one proposing the Administration do something to silence the critics of the single-bullet theory.

On November 21, former Warren Commission counsel W. David Slawson (now working for President Johnson in the Office of Legal Counsel) writes a memo to Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark regarding a telephone conversation he'd just had with former Warren Commission counsel J. Wesley Liebler. According to Slawson's memo on this phone call (which can be found in the Harold Weisberg Archives) Liebler claimed that he'd spoken to Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times the week before, and that Salisbury *"was planning a series of articles on the criticisms of the Warren Report,"* and *"believed the criticisms were serious enough to warrant a re-opening of the investigation."* Even so, Liebler felt:

"There is still a reasonable chance of spiking this thing by a re-investigation limited to aspects of the autopsy, but if public opinion continues to develop like it has over the past few months we may soon be faced with a politically unstoppable demand for a free-wheeling investigation of all aspects."

The political importance of this "limited" re-investigation was paramount, moreover, because, according to Liebler: *"The lunatic fringe already allege or broadly hint (involvement of) the highest echelons of Government in the assassination, and the Government's participation in the 'hiding' of the photographs and X-rays dangerously lends creditability (sic) to their hints and allegations."*

According to Slawson, Liebler then went on to relate that he (Liebler) had tried to convince Richard Billings of Life Magazine to hold off on its current article on Connally, as it had *"a responsibility not to publish"* an article on Connally without asking *"questions designed to elicit the other side of the issues on which he disagreed with the commission."* According to Slawson, Liebler then proceeded to discuss how at least one of the critics could be turned against the others, noting that Edward Epstein, the author of *Inquest*, *"now feels satisfied on all issues raised in his book except those connected with the autopsy X-rays and photographs. He still believes that they should be examined by an independent group of pathologists. If they are so examined, and if the group contains a man acceptable to him, and if the result is to confirm the Commission's findings, Epstein will publicly state his satisfaction with the report--in effect, he will publicly repudiate the doubts and suspicions he himself cast in his book. And he will join with Liebler and others in defending the report against Lane, who Epstein is now convinced is unscrupulous and dangerous."*

This memo, then, suggests that the Acting Attorney General, President Johnson's legal advisers, and former Warren Commission counsel were all conspiring to prevent a new investigation.

What happened next is uncertain, but it appears that Johnson himself took the next step, and asked Governor Connally for his help. President Johnson's Daily Diary for 11-22-66 reflects that he talked to Governor Connally in the morning, and spent the entire evening with him at his presidential ranch in Texas. On 11-23, the very next day, Governor Connally, whose recent interview with Life Magazine helped fuel the crisis, called a press conference in which he read a prepared statement, reiterating his

doubts about the single-bullet theory but nevertheless joining hands with the Johnson Administration by attacking the critics of the Warren Commission. A transcript of the statement published in the next day's New York Times reflects that he began by re-asserting his recollection of the shooting, in which the President and he were hit by separate bullets, but then added *"I want to make It very clear, however, that simply because I disagree with the Warren Commission on this one detail does not mean that I disagree with the substance of their over-all findings."* He then listed the members of the commission one by one, and described them as *"men of unquestioned integrity of long and devoted service to their nation; men whose dedication to the tasks of seeking truth in these circumstances I would never question, and men whose patriotism has been manifested so many times in so many ways over such a long period that it now is somewhat shocking to me that in the backlash of tragedy, journalistic scavengers such as Mark Lane attempt to impugn the motives of these members individually, cast doubts upon the commission as a whole, and question the credibility of the government itself."* He then pushed that rather than start a new investigation of *"unfounded conspiracy theories"* that is *"neither warranted, justified, or desirable,"* *"we (and by "we" he clearly meant members of the media, such as those working for Life Magazine and the New York Times, who'd proposed such an investigation) should turn our attention to doing a little research on and evaluation of the credentials of these self-appointed experts, who, with no new evidence, no new facts, nevertheless use distortion, inference, innuendo, in order to cast doubts and create confusion."* He then offered *"I suspect that a searching investigation into their own credentials will divulge that their motives have political overtones and that their views have been given prominence out of proportion to their value."*

One can only speculate as to the actual author of Connally's statement. The President's diary for 11-23-66, however, reflects that at 3:34 PM he once again talked to Connally. One might venture this was a discussion of the press conference, and perhaps an expression of gratitude.

But that wasn't enough for some close to Johnson. As discussed in a November 16, 1988 article by Seth Kantor (found in the Henderson N.C. Times-News) an 11-23-66 memo to Johnson from John Roche, one of his "special consultants", took note of both Governor Connally's recent statements and those of former Warren Commissioner Richard Russell (who'd admitted, in an interview with the Atlanta Journal, reported nationwide by UPI on this very day, that he agreed with Connally in rejecting the single-bullet theory), and asserted: *"The comments of Richard Russell and the Life Magazine article by Governor Connally are the two most serious blows which have yet occurred to the public credibility of the Warren Commission. Russell, in particular, by undermining the unanimity of the commission, has turned the cat loose among the canaries. Now the newspapermen are beginning the process of interviewing everyone listed in Who's Who on his view of the Warren Commission... Paranoia, regrettably, is more infectious than measles. We have enough problems already with the war in Vietnam, and to have the nation suddenly indulging in an orgy of sick speculation on events in Dallas could really poison the atmosphere."* Roche then suggested that Johnson give *"top priority to the problem, perhaps convening a group of your wisest counselors to work out a strategy."* He then urged Johnson to instruct his aides to make no comment on the issue, a suggestion with which Johnson complied by dictating a memo to Robert Kintner, telling him to *"instruct everybody accordingly."*

Johnson, or *"one of his wisest counselors"* then, arranged for others to do their dirty work, and publicly support the single-bullet theory deemed necessary for the single-assassin conclusion. While it's just speculation that someone from the White House made some calls to bring about the news stories of the next few days, this speculation is more than reasonable given the circumstances. Consider...

An October 6, 1966 phone call between President Johnson and his most trusted adviser Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas has Johnson instruct Fortas to have a talk with FBI Assistant Director Cartha "Deke" DeLoach, whom Fortas claims is a *"very close friend"* to Johnson, and enlist him in their campaign to prop up the Warren Commission's conclusions.

An internal FBI memo dated 11-22-66 (Rosen to DeLoach, 11/22/1966, FBI HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-4267), however, shows that this help was not readily available, for on this memo FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover notes *"We don't agree with the Commission as it says one shot missed entirely & we contend all three shots hit."*

But then something happened. On 11-25-66, Hoover issues a statement claiming *"There is no conflict"* between the FBI's position and that of the commission, as *"The autopsy report said the bullet did exit from the front of the President's neck. Thus, it could have passed through Connally, who was seated in a jump seat directly in front of the president."* He then explains the confusion, attributing it to the fact that the FBI agents at the autopsy had been told no exit wound could be associated with the entrance wound on the back, but that, unknown to these agents, *"the physicians eventually were able to trace the path of the bullet through the body."* (This, of course, never happened.)

So...someone--perhaps Johnson, perhaps DeLoach--got to Hoover, and got him to publicly support the single-bullet theory.

DeLoach himself suggests his involvement. An 11-25-66 memo from DeLoach to Tolson recounts that DeLoach had called Chief Justice Earl Warren on 11-23-66 on an apparently unrelated matter, but that Warren had brought up some of the recent problems surrounding the commission during the phone call. According to DeLoach, Warren complained about former commission counsel Wesley Liebeler, and noted that Liebeler was a *"'beatnik' type of individual who had proved to be very unethical."* According to DeLoach, Warren was displeased that Liebeler had kept detailed notes on his disagreements with the commission, and that Liebeler's notes had formed the *"basis"* of Epstein's book. In closing, however, DeLoach revealed more about himself than about Warren and his obvious dislike of Liebeler. He wrote: *"I informed the Chief Justice... that the Director, in the near future, planned to issue a statement defending the FBI's phase of the assassination investigation. The Chief Justice said he was glad to hear this and that the Director's name and prestige would be a great help in clearing the air."*

Well, let's think about this. DeLoach has told Warren on the 23rd--the day after Hoover claimed the FBI did not agree with the commission--that Hoover was about to issue a statement defending the FBI's phase of the assassination investigation. And Warren was pleased with this and felt this statement would help "clear the air." Well, seeing as a statement from Hoover defending the FBI in which he voiced his disagreement with the single-bullet theory would not be good news to Warren, it seems fairly obvious DeLoach knew Hoover was about to offer his support for the single-bullet theory, and has told Warren as much...two days before Hoover did so.

Now consider that a 12-5-66 column by Drew Pearson, Washington D.C.'s most influential muckraker, was devoted to the proposition that much of the secrecy surrounding President Kennedy's autopsy was the fault not of the Johnson Administration, but the Kennedy family, which sought to hide President Kennedy's Addison's disease from the public. This column, built around an article in a German publication, repeated and proposed a number of cruel lies, including *"that the Kennedys hid the X rays, even from the Warren Commission,"* because the *"X rays could have revealed the Addison's disease."* Pearson, it should be noted, often worked as a hatchet-man for Johnson. In an oral history for the Johnson Library he admitted that he was scheduled to meet with Johnson at Johnson's ranch on the night of the assassination. About what it is not clear. But it seems more than a coincidence that, within days of the assassination, Pearson published a blistering attack on Don Reynolds, the insurance salesman who'd testified before congress on 11-22 regarding Johnson's corrupt business practices.

And this was no isolated incident. On March 3, 1967, the day after Robert Kennedy publicly declared his opposition to Johnson's continuing escalation of the war in Vietnam, Pearson and his colleague Jack Anderson published a column regarding a story he'd known about for months, and had personally discussed with Johnson. Its opening line read: *"President Johnson is sitting on a political H-bomb, an*

unconfirmed report that Senator Robert Kennedy may have approved an assassination plot which then possibly backfired against his late brother." Yep, you got it. In December 1966, just after Life Magazine, the New York Times, and Kennedy family friend Arthur Schlesinger called for a new investigation of the Kennedy assassination, Pearson published a column blaming the Kennedy family for the secrecy regarding President Kennedy's autopsy, and then, in March 1967, just after Robert Kennedy started criticizing Johnson's policy regarding Vietnam, Pearson published a column blaming Robert Kennedy for his brother's murder.

It seems clear, for that matter, that Johnson was behind Pearson's attacks. October 3, 1966, October 6, 1966, and January 11, 1967 taped telephone conversations between Johnson and his Supreme Court appointee and confidante Abe Fortas help us understand what Johnson's friend Connally meant when he said he suspected there were *"political overtones"* behind the books and articles criticizing the Warren Commission. These calls make clear, moreover, that Johnson himself was a conspiracy theorist of the highest order, and that he suspected Robert Kennedy (big surprise)--along with pollster Lou Harris, The Washington Post, Newsweek, Look Magazine, and forty one employees of The Kennedy Foundation--of conspiring against him at every turn. He proposed that Kennedy was somehow behind: 1) an attempt to tie Johnson to the crimes of convicted felon Billie Sol Estes in 1962; 2) the public exposure of corruption and the subsequent loss of power of Johnson crony Bobby Baker in 1963; 3) the public disgrace and resignation of Johnson aide Walter Jenkins in 1964; 4) the current attacks on the Warren Commission; 5) the concurrent creation of "great doubt" about whether he, Johnson, "really killed the President;" 6) the forthcoming resignation of Johnson aide Bill Moyers; 7) the forthcoming release of William Manchester's *The Death of a President* in 1967, while Johnson was still in office, and 8) the recent exposure of corruption and the subsequent loss of power of both Democratic Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York and Democratic Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut. Apparently, Johnson felt "Bobby" was out to get him from even before the assassination, and was trying to undermine the legitimacy of his presidency, so that he ("Bobby") could retake the presidency in his brother's name.

When one takes Johnson's paranoia about RFK into account, of course, it only makes sense that he would strike back in every way possible...including spinning public opinion against a new investigation via the planting of stories either critical of the Kennedy family (the Pearson columns) or supportive of the Warren Commission and single-bullet theory (the Hoover statement).

So now let's consider that on 11-24-66, a brief spell after Jack Valenti's memo urging that the single-bullet theory be defended, three days after David Slawson's memo urging that a re-investigation of the medical evidence be used to cut off a new investigation, the day after John Roche's memo stressing the importance of such an action, and the very day of a 10-15 minute phone call between President Johnson and Abe Fortas, the recording of which was destroyed under order of President Johnson (the only recording to be so destroyed), an AP article emerged, in which Dr. J. Thornton Boswell took personal responsibility for much of the confusion over the President's wounds.

This article, by Jack Miller, claimed:

"A doctor who helped perform the autopsy on President John F. Kennedy said today he made a diagram error in a hasty 'worksheet' sketch which was not drawn for the final autopsy report. Some critics have used the sketch in challenging the Warren Commission Report.

Dr. J. Thornton Boswell said the diagram showed that the lower bullet wound was in the President's back. Actually, he said, the wound was at the back of the base of the neck.

The position of the wound was crucial in determining the trajectory of the bullet.

Boswell said the diagram was drawn quickly during the autopsy as 'rough notes' and was not meant to

be exact. He pointed out that longhand notes he made on the sketch gave the correct, precise location of the wound...

In an interview, Boswell said that when he examined the autopsy photographs for the first time Nov. 1, the pictures showed clearly that the wound was in the neck. The photographs are in the National Archives and are not available to the public...

One of the critics of the Warren Report, Edward Epstein, used the diagram and the FBI reports to suggest the possibility that there may have been a second assassin.

But Epstein, author of the book "Inquest," conceded in the current issue of Esquire magazine that if the autopsy photos showed the wound in the neck, there would be no further doubt about the autopsy report and that second assassin would be ruled out."

And should one think the timing of this article a coincidence, one should also consider that an 11-25-66 article by Peter Kihss for the New York Times quoted Boswell as asserting that, after he and Dr. Humes inspected the photos on November 1, 1966, there was "*absolutely no doubt in our minds now*" about the single-bullet theory, and then repeated the lie that measurements were used to create the Rydberg drawings. To be precise, the article related that:

"The Warren Commission published "schematic drawings" done by a Navy medical illustrator and based on measurements and verbal descriptions given him by the autopsy surgeons just before they were called to testify. The drawings include Commission Exhibit 385, which shows the downward path the bullet is thought to have taken through the President's neck, and they remain 'sufficient to illustrate the finding' Dr. Boswell said yesterday."

And, should one still have doubts that Dr. Boswell's interviews were being orchestrated by hands unseen, one should finally consider that in the extensive 11-25-66 article in the Baltimore Sun, in which a new and improved version of the face sheet was unveiled, Dr. Boswell was purported to have also claimed that:

- *the photographs and X-rays prove conclusively that the facts about the wounds as printed in the Warren Commission Report were consistent with the findings of the autopsy...*
- *there was absolutely no doubt that the controversial neck and throat wound was caused by a bullet that entered the base of President Kennedy's neck, passed completely through the neck, and exited from the throat...*
- *The wound in the back of the neck, was without any doubt, one of entrance and not of exit...*
- *A report made by FBI observers present at the autopsy inaccurately referred to a 'back' wound rather than a neck wound and should be discounted...*
- *the autopsy was routine in every respect and...included every activity which would accompany a medical-legal autopsy...*
- *(At the commencement of the autopsy) The pathologists had already been told of the probable extent of the injuries and what had been done by physicians in Dallas...*
- *the tracheotomy incision was examined and extensive trauma was noted on one side...*
- *(The pathologists) "concluded that night that the bullet had, in fact, entered in the back of the neck, traversed the neck, and exited anteriorly'..."*
- *a telephone call made to the hospital in Dallas by Dr. Humes the next morning merely confirmed what was already a certainty to the pathologists--that there was a bullet wound in the President's neck at the point of the tracheotomy incision...*
- *(CE 385) was a scale drawing based on a photograph taken of the president when he was alive...*
- *the bullet path (on CE 385) was drawn using data about the entry hole and the lung bruises*

obtained during the autopsy and the precise exit wound as defined by the Dallas physicians...

- (The FBI report's reference to a back wound may have represented) *"a laymen's observation of an area just below the shoulder line that, to a physician, is still the neck region..."*

and then the standard line, pushed by Specter and Liebel, that:

- *the President, according to movie films, had his arm raised, waving to the crowds, when he was shot. This movement would have raised his coat and shirt resulting in bullet holes lower in the clothing than were indicated by the wound.*

Now, all of these claims were misleading or untrue. So...was it merely a coincidence that, just days after one of President Johnson's most trusted aides informed him that the single-bullet theory must be defended, and just days after a legal adviser to President Johnson called the acting Attorney General of the United States Ramsey Clark and proposed that a *"re-investigation"* of the medical evidence could hold off the calls for a thorough re- investigation of the murder of President Kennedy, the supposedly sworn-to-silence Dr. Boswell, who'd signed a document stating that the non-fatal wound was in the *"right superior, posterior shoulder"* barely two weeks before, suddenly granted interviews in which he claimed the non-fatal wound was *"in the neck"* and that the location of this wound left *"absolutely no doubt"* about the single-bullet theory? And was it merely a coincidence that Dr. Boswell's account of the autopsy contradicted Dr. Humes' sworn testimony about the throat wound? And that he instead claimed they'd assumed it was an exit while the body was still in front of them? And was it just a coincidence that this not-so-subtle tweak to the official story might help Johnson and his men fend off calls for an exhumation of the President's body?

No. I think not. The articles reek of an orchestrated lie.

If they were a lie, moreover, it's hard not to believe the upward migration of Kennedy's back wound between the night of the autopsy and the testimony of the autopsy doctors before the Warren Commission was similarly orchestrated, and was a migration spurred on by the climate in Washington, and not the incompetence of a couple of doctors.

Manchester Dissected

That Boswell's interviews contained deliberate disinformation, and came about as a result of a united effort to mislead the public about the location of Kennedy's back wound, finds support, moreover, in an unexpected place. By November 1966, when Boswell gave his interviews, Washington D.C. was humming with chatter on the upcoming release of William Manchester's *The Death of a President*, a book written at the request of the Kennedy family, for which Manchester had been granted unparalleled access to Kennedy's Secret Service detail. Much of this chatter, moreover, revolved around President Johnson's concern the book would make him look bad. (After finally giving in and reading the book, Jacqueline Kennedy came to agree that the book was indeed unfair to Johnson, and fought successfully for a number of edits.)

In any event, the book, when serialized in the 1-24-67 issue of *Look Magazine*, included the following description of the first shot's trajectory: *"The President was wounded, but not fatally. A 6.5 millimeter bullet had entered the back of his neck, bruised his right lung, ripped his windpipe, and exited at his throat, nicking the knot of his tie."* Now, from this, one might assume Manchester was simply regurgitating Dr. Humes' Warren Commission testimony. But there's more to this than at first meets the eye.

It then explains:

*"In the summer of 1966, a former Cornell graduate student published a **dissertation that** suggested*

*that this first bullet followed a different trajectory. The implication was that a second assassin had aided Oswald. The issue is resolved by the X-rays and photographs which were taken from every conceivable angle during the autopsy on the President's body. **Robert Kennedy has decided that this material is too unsightly to be shown to anyone, including qualified scholars, until 1971. He has turned it over to the National Archives with that restriction. Although this writer has not seen the material, he interviewed three people with special qualifications who examined it before it was put under seal. None of them knew the other two, but all three gave identical accounts of what they had seen in the photographs and X-rays.** The X-rays show no entry wound 'below the shoulder,' as argued by the graduate student. Admittedly, X-rays of active projectiles passing through soft tissue are difficult to read. **However,** the photographs support them in this case--and **clearly** reveal that the wound was in the neck. Finally, the recollections of all doctors present during the autopsy, including the President's personal physician, agree unanimously with this overwhelming evidence."*

When published in book form, three months later, moreover, the words in bold above had been re-written. This paragraph was now just a footnote, and read:

*"In the summer of 1966, a former Cornell graduate student published a **book which** suggested that this first bullet followed a different trajectory. The implication was that a second assassin had aided Oswald. The issue is resolved by the X-rays and photographs which were taken from every conceivable angle during the autopsy on the President's body. **Because the material is unsightly it will be unavailable until 1971. However, the author has discussed it with three men who examined it before it was placed under seal. All three carried special professional qualifications. Each was a stranger to the other two. Nevertheless their accounts were identical.** The X-rays show no entry wound 'below the shoulder,' as argued by the graduate student. Admittedly, X-rays of active projectiles passing through soft tissue are difficult to read. **Yet,** the photographs support them in this case--and reveal that the wound was in the neck. Finally, the recollections of all doctors present during the autopsy, including the President's personal physician, agree unanimously with this overwhelming evidence. Thus the account in the above text is correct."*

Well, I'll be. Who were these three "professionals?" While one might at first assume they were three of the four members of Kennedy's autopsy team (the four being Humes, Boswell, Stringer, and Ebersole), who'd just inventoried the evidence for the archives, Manchester specifies both that the men conducting this examination were strangers to each other, and that they'd examined the evidence before it was returned to the government and placed under seal by the Kennedy family on October 31, 1966. He also lists no interviews with these men in the Sources sections of his book.

He does list a 7-11-66 interview with Dr. George Burkley, Kennedy's physician, however. This lends support that he spoke to Burkley on this issue, and that Burkley had, yes indeed, confirmed that the wound was on the neck, as reported. There's a HUGE problem with this, however. The death certificate for Kennedy made out by Burkley on 11-23-63 described the wound Manchester describes as a wound on the "back of his neck" as a wound "in the posterior back at about the level of the third thoracic vertebra." Back, not neck. And the third thoracic vertebra--not remotely on the neck.

So who could get to Burkley, and get him to mislead Manchester about the location of the back wound? Well, it seems a bit of a coincidence that Burkley was retained by President Johnson, and was Johnson's personal physician when Manchester asked him about the back wound. It's also quite intriguing that the only known inspection of the autopsy materials prior to their being placed "under seal" was on April 26, 1965, when they were inventoried upon transfer to the Kennedy family, and that this inventory was performed by Dr. Burkley, along with Robert Bouck, Special Agent in Charge of the Protective Research Division of the Secret Service, Edith Duncan, administrative assistant to Bouck, Secret Service agent Chester Miller, and, according to some sources, Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley.

And yet...not only were these people not strangers to each other, they, (with the possible exception of Dr. Burkley), failed to have the *"special professional qualifications"* described by Manchester.

This, then, leads to the uncomfortable possibility the "examination" cited by Manchester took place while the autopsy materials were in possession of the Kennedy family, and that three trusted *"professionals,"* purported strangers to each other, lied to Manchester. If so, no word of this "examination" has ever surfaced.

If it even happened... Yes, it seems probable no examination of this type actually took place, and that Manchester was exaggerating both the precision of the examination he described, and the qualifications of those performing this examination.

This probability is supported by a letter published in *The Manchester Affair*, a book on the difficulties Manchester faced getting his book published. This letter was written by Manchester on 7-17-66, shortly after the publication of Edward Epstein's *Inquest*, the book by the *"former Cornell graduate student"* causing Manchester so much concern. This letter was written to Robert Kennedy, and brags: *"Epstein's Inquest, a really poisonous job, needn't trouble us any longer. With the help of Dr. Burkley and Howard Willens I think I've knocked out what, at first reading, appears to be one strong point in Epstein's version."* (The importance of this letter was first noted by Howard Roffman.)

As we've seen, in the Sources section of his book, Manchester lists an interview with Burkley on 7-11-66. Well, he also lists an interview with Willens on 7-8-66. These are the last of the hundreds of interviews listed in the Sources section. There is no record of him interviewing three men with *"special professional qualifications"* at any time this month. In fact, it had been months since Manchester had interviewed anyone prior to his interviews of Willens, and then Burkley. The probability exists then, that Burkley and Willens supplied Manchester with the identities of the three strangers with "special professional qualifications," mentioned by Manchester. Burkley, was, of course, a doctor. He saw the photos and X-rays. He was almost certainly one of the three "strangers."

But who were the other two?

A close look at Willens provides us an answer. Well, at least a possible answer. Willens had, of course, served as counsel for the Warren Commission, working as an assistant to General Counsel J. Lee Rankin. But what is little appreciated about Willens is that, unlike, the rest of the lawyers working for the commission, Willens did not come to the Commission from outside Washington, but inside. He was a lawyer for the Justice Department, strategically placed within the Commission by acting Attorney General Katzenbach, supposedly to work as a liaison between the Commission and the Justice Department.

But his actual role went further, much further.

According to Epstein's *Inquest*, for which Willens was interviewed, Willens was responsible for selecting most of the junior counsel working for the Commission. While some of these men, the work-horses of the Commission, were recommended by others, at least one was Willens' personal pick-- Arlen Specter, an old school chum of Willens', with whom he'd edited the Yale Law Journal. As Willens was also tasked with assigning these men their duties, it follows from Epstein's book that Willens was far and away the man most responsible for the strange circumstance that Arlen Specter, of all the lawyers in America, would end up being the chief investigator for the Commission on the specifics of the shooting, i.e. the man tasked with determining how many shots were fired, and from where they were fired.

Specter's 2000 autobiography, *Passion for Truth*, in fact, supports this analysis. There, Specter admits both that Willens offered him a job on the Commission and was involved in the discussions leading Specter to become the junior counsel investigating the actual shooting. Specter does clarify, however,

that Willens and Rankin offered him his choice of areas to investigate, with the exception of Area 2, which looked into the identity of the assassin (because Specter was a well-known prosecutor), and Area 4, which looked into Oswald's possible connections to Russia and Cuba (because the senior counsel for this area was also from Philadelphia), and that Specter himself made the decision to investigate Area 1 after a discussion with his law partner, Marvin Katz.

There is a strange element in Specter's account, however. He describes the area of his investigation, Area 1, as President Kennedy's activities from the moment he left the White House en route to Texas until his return to the White House after the autopsy. Well, this hides from his readers that he was also ultimately responsible for establishing the facts surrounding the shooting--how many shots were fired, how fast they were fired, and where they hit--and that this led him to orchestrate the May 24, 1964 re-enactment of the shooting, take the testimony of the FBI and Secret Service agents involved in this re-enactment, and take the testimony of two representatives of the U.S. Military on July 24, 1964, in which they played word games in order to assure the Commission Oswald was capable of performing the shooting.

And that's not all that's discomfiting about the Willens/Specter nexus. Willens was also responsible for disseminating the thousands of FBI, CIA, and Secret Service Reports provided the Warren Commission to the lawyers responsible for the related areas of investigation. This put Willens, an employee of President Johnson's Justice Department, in the driver's seat of the Commission's investigation.

And this didn't go unnoticed. When interviewed for Inquest, Commissioner John McCloy let his distrust of Willens known. He told Epstein that Willens *"was one of Katzenbach's boys. Katzenbach put him in there to keep us on the right track. There was already an independent investigator (Redlich) and there were some clashes. Willens was a bureaucrat and had a different perspective. Willens had to be reprimanded several times by the chief justice. Once he kept material from us--evidence-- he locked it in his top drawer, afraid we weren't ready for it. He wanted to be the star-- thought this case would make him. He is ambitious, and will probably write a book. We finally forced him to give us the evidence. He also reported to Katzenbach, gave him a different story."*

And McCloy was not alone in his criticism of Willens. In his final interview, a March 26, 1974 interview with Warren Commission historian Alfred Goldberg, Chief Justice Warren acknowledged he'd had difficulties with Willens. In a section slated to be edited from the typed-up interview, but viewable on jfkassassinationfiles.com, Warren noted the difficulties Chief Counsel Rankin had in dealing with the FBI, CIA, and State Department. He then added: *"There was another factor--the Department of Justice sent a young man over to the Commission to act as liaison with them. He was very critical of me from the time he came over to us. Lee Rankin as Chief Counsel was in a very delicate position."*

And this wasn't the last time Willens' loyalty to the commission was called into doubt...by a supposed colleague. In 1975, a June 3, 1960 memo in which FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned the State Department that someone might be impersonating Oswald bubbled to the surface. A 2-23-75 article in the Sacramento Bee on this discovery notes that *"Neither J. Lee Rankin, the former general counsel of the commission, nor any of his former staff aides who were most involved in investigating Oswald's background, said they could remember seeing it. However, Howard P. Willens, now a private lawyer here, identified himself in an interview Saturday as the commission lawyer who had reviewed the F.B.I. file. Willens, who was then the special liaison officer to the Justice Department, said that 'while I do not think that anyone can state now with the necessary precision whether or not he saw the Hoover memo, it is my best recollection that I did, in fact, see that memo. I do not want to be in a public debate with my old colleagues,' Willens said, 'but I know that there was discussion of this among others on the staff concerned with the activities of Oswald abroad. I am concerned with continued public references*

to the notion that the commission overlooked obvious facts."

Well, yeah, of course he was concerned. If he'd seen the memo, but no one else had, it meant that he, as the reviewer of the files tasked with making sure they reached the appropriate counsel, screwed up, OR made it disappear.

The article then quotes W. David Slawson, one of the 'old colleagues' Willens didn't want to debate: *"We were the rumor runner-downers, and we certainly should have seen this material, as we did a great deal of other stuff that we showed to be unfounded," he said. 'It may be more significant that we did not see it, in terms of a possible cover-up and the reasons for it, than if we had seen it. I mean, I don't know where the imposter notion would have led us--perhaps nowhere, like a lot of other leads. But the point is, we didn't know about it. And why not?' Slawson said in an interview that the investigation should be reopened also 'because the interposition of an impostor, if it happened, is a political act. And, after all, this (the assassination) was not just another murder,' he said. 'It was, by definition, a political murder.'"* (Slawson later clarified that his call for a new investigation of the assassination was a call for a new investigation limited to the actions of the FBI and CIA.)

In any event, Willens was clearly ambitious and close to Specter, and was quite possibly told by Specter that Specter and Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley had viewed the back wound photo on May 24, 1964, the day of the re-enactment in Dallas.

Perhaps, then, Willens told Manchester that they'd viewed the photo and that it confirmed for them that the wound was in the neck. Perhaps, then, Manchester either briefly talked to them himself, or made out like he had personally spoken to them, in order to sell what he wanted his readers to believe: that there was but one shooter, Oswald.

I have come to suspect as much. In March 2012, I contacted Wesleyan University, where Manchester's papers are stored. It had occurred to me that the restrictions placed on Manchester's many interviews applied only to interviews conducted between March 26, 1964 and April 15, 1966, and that his July 1966 interviews with Willens and Burkley were not covered. I asked an archivist if she could help me find the notes for these interviews. Alas, she told me that a thorough search through the archives' data base turned up no record for these interviews. Hmmm... This raises the possibility no notes were created, and that they weren't created because these "interviews" were little more than short phone calls in which Manchester asked, point blank, if the wound was on the back or the neck, and was told it was on the neck.

In August 2012, moreover, I found further reason to doubt Manchester's scholarship on this issue. While browsing through the Weisberg Archives, I came across a July 1967 article by Edward Epstein--the writer whom Manchester sought to discredit with his claim the back wound was on the neck--in Commentary Magazine. Incredibly, someone (almost certainly Richard Goodwin, who'd published a positive review of Epstein's book on 7-23-66, but who was nevertheless drafted by Robert Kennedy into serving as the Kennedy family's editor of Manchester's book over the tendentious months that followed) had provided Epstein an August 1966 version of Manchester's original draft, then entitled "The Death of Lancer." Included in this draft were many references to President Johnson's weakness and lack of character. It also included the earliest version of the footnote designed to discredit Epstein's book, written before the Kennedy family had released the photos and x-rays back into the hands of the Johnson Administration. It read:

"The issue is resolved by the X-rays and photographs which were taken from every conceivable angle during the autopsy on the President's body. This material is widely believed to be in the hands of the Secret Service. In fact, it is the property of Robert Kennedy, who decided that it was too unsightly to be shown to the public, or even to members of the Warren Commission staff. However, this writer is in a position to comment upon it. The X-rays show no entry wound "below the shoulder," as argued by the

graduate student. Admittedly X-rays of active projectiles passing through soft tissue are difficult to read. However, the photographs support them in this case—and clearly reveal that the wound was in the neck."

Epstein then reveals that "When asked about this footnote by Richard N. Goodwin, who was then acting as a consultant on the book, Manchester let it be understood that he had personally studied both the X-rays and the photographs of the autopsy. Yet, as Goodwin later learned to his dismay, permission had never been granted Manchester to examine the photographs. When presented with this fact, Manchester admitted that he had actually never seen either the X-rays or photographs, but was reluctant to change the text which was then being rushed to publication by Look. Finally, under editorial pressure, he inserted a statement in the final version to the effect that he had not personally seen the autopsy pictures, but had discussed them with three men, each a stranger to the others, who carried "special professional qualification" and who had examined the evidence. Each gave, according to Manchester, accounts "identical" to the one he had reported in his August footnote."

While Epstein went on to suggest that these three unnamed strangers were not real, and were invented by Manchester to cover his tracks, it seems probable, based upon Manchester's interviews of Willens and Burkley, and subsequent letter to Robert Kennedy, that Manchester was merely trying to hide the identities of the men he'd spoken to, and had decided to let Goodwin think he'd personally viewed the autopsy materials. If this is so (that Willens and Burkley had only spoken to Manchester under the condition their identities not be made public, and Manchester had sought to hide their identities from Goodwin and others), well, then, this might explain why Manchester left behind no notes on his interviews with Willens and Burkley: he'd destroyed them.

Military Review Review

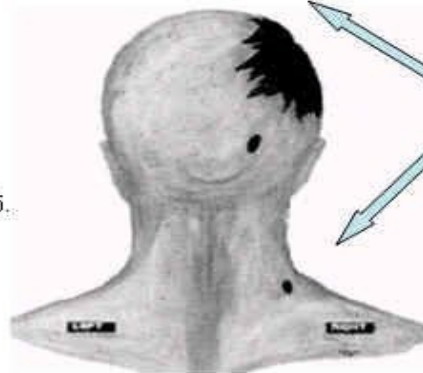


Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 385.
At right: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 386.
(Note the exaggerated neck lengths
in these drawings,
the source of much confusion.)

Fox Autopsy Photo corresponding
to back wound photos 11, 12,
38 & 39.



Fox Autopsy Photo corresponding
to left lateral photos 1-4.



Does the photo center and above
make it "clear" that the depiction
of a wound in the drawing
at left is "accurate?" If not, why
would the "Justice Department"
have a military surgeon fly back
from Vietnam to say so?

Military Review Review

The November '66 Boswell interviews were, however, not the last time the autopsy doctors talked to the news media and deliberately misrepresented the back wound location.

On January 20, 1967, the Justice Department asked the doctors to re-examine the autopsy photos. For this inspection, Dr. Finck was rushed back from Viet Nam.

The urgency of this review, moreover, appears to have been linked to an upcoming CBS News program re-investigating the assassination.

That CBS' over-all conclusions were pre-determined and were designed to re-sell the Warren Report to the American people (CBS had run a special supporting the Warren Report when it was first released) is suggested, moreover, by a January 11, 1967 memorandum from Les Midgley, Executive Producer of the upcoming program, to former Warren Commissioner John McCloy. There, Midgley cites a need for "*a statement—if possible—from Humes, Boswell and Finck that examination of the x-rays and color pictures does not change their findings, and we certainly would appreciate your assistance in obtaining same.*" This memo, for that matter, may have been written in response to a 1-14-67 Saturday Evening Post article already on the street claiming "*no single element of the commission's version of the assassination is more suspect than the official account of the President's autopsy.*"

In any event, the memo appears to have reaped some rapid rewards. According to McCloy's biographer, Kai Bird, McCloy traveled to Washington THAT VERY SAME DAY and met privately with a number of top government officials including Secretaries of State, Defense, and Treasury, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, and Henry Fowler. That Archivist Robert Bahmer wrote researcher Harold Weisberg on 1-16-67 and told him that no examinations of the autopsy photos and x-rays were pending, and that Dr. Finck received a phone call on 1-17-67--the VERY NEXT DAY--telling him to come to

Washington and conduct the examination proposed by Midgley but 6 days before, then, suggests that McCloy, who had been advising CBS News President Richard Salant on the creation of their upcoming program since early December, and *whose daughter was Salant's assistant*, may have talked to someone in the Justice Department as well.

That Midgley's memo also mentions his hopes of obtaining Dr. Humes' help in resolving "*forever the discussion about back versus neck wound*," and that Humes not only made an appearance on the program, but flat-out lied about the "*back versus neck wound*" to Dan Rather, is suggestive as well that McCloy's visit may have been not only the impetus for the doctors' January review of the autopsy materials, but the determinant of their written conclusions.

Something is just wrong. When one looks at the report of the so-called "military review," dated January 26, 1967, one can see that the photographs were not merely cataloged by the doctors, but re-interpreted to show that they did indeed confirm the findings of the Warren Commission. One of the autopsy photos determined to have been taken from behind Kennedy on the November inventory list was now determined to have been taken from in front of Kennedy. And that's not the worst of it. Amazingly, the photos determined on November 1, 1966 to represent a wound in the "*right superior posterior shoulder*" were now described as representing a wound "*low in the back of the neck*." Even worse, the report asserts that the original autopsy reports' description of this same wound as residing in "*the upper right posterior thorax*," meant that, in layman terms, it was low in the back of the neck. Since the thorax ends when it reaches neck, this would be the same as saying that Governor Connally's wrist wound was in layman's terms a hand wound, or that the City of Las Vegas is, in layman's terms, in California. No doctor would make this mistake. The report goes on to say "*No one photograph shows both the wound at the back of the neck and the wound in the throat, but by comparing Photographs 11, 12, 38, and 39 with the side views shown in photographs 1-4, inclusive, it is clear that Warren Commission Exhibits 385 and 386, which also depict the location of the neck wound, are accurate.*"

Dr. Humes told this same tale on CBS six months later.

Well, this goes too far. There is no way one can say that CE 385 and CE 386 are accurate, as they portray a bullet hole at the base of the neck, inches above and to the right of the wound on the autopsy photo. In fact, since the Dox drawing of the back wound taken directly from the autopsy photos was published by the HSCA, one can state unequivocally that this is a damned lie. Not one defender of the Warren Report will defend this statement.

Is it simply a coincidence then that the doctors claimed to have no memory of this report when asked about it by the ARRB?

Owing to their suspicious memory loss, and the suspicious change of the description of the autopsy photos, and the outright lie that the photos confirmed the accuracy of CE 385 and 386, I believe it's logical to conclude this report was created for political purposes...and that the doctors were forced to sign their names to it.

Dr. Finck's notes on his urgent trip to Washington support this contention. There, he refers to the wound described in the report as a "*neck wound*" as simply "*Entry, back*." There, rather than describe in detail the process by which the doctors composed their report, he declares that a "*statement had been prepared by the Justice Department. We signed the statement.*"

Call me overly sensitive if you like, but the rank odor rising from this review only adds to the rankness of Earl Warren's earlier decision not to allow an inspection of the autopsy photos, after telling Chief Counsel Rankin it would be fine. Something was rotten in Washington.

A 1-21-67 phone call from Attorney General Ramsey Clark to President Johnson supports that something was rotten, and that the autopsists were pressured into changing their interpretation of the

wounds for this report. The tapes of this phone call, as transcribed by Warren Commission defender Max Holland, reveal that Clark told Johnson that the doctors "*feel their professional reputations are at stake*" and that "*they're so reticent about signin' anything, that it's fairly difficult to work with 'em.*"

Well, reticence implies resistance, does it not? What were they resisting? On January 26, 1967, Clark adds more fuel to this fire by telling Johnson "*we have the three pathologists and the photographer signed up now on the autopsy review.*" When used in this context, the words "*signed up now*" would indicate the doctors were under pressure to go along with something, would it not? And why, after the doctors had inspected the photos on the night of January 20th and had stayed in the archives till midnight preparing a "*statement comparing the illustrations with our autopsy report,*" according to Dr. Finck's notes, did it take Clark almost another week to get them to sign a 5 page report "*prepared by the Justice Department?*" Was the doctors' original statement re-written by the Justice Department? What was in this re-written report that made the doctors so reticent? And what if anything, changed their minds? Could the doctors have been given direct orders to cooperate? And if the doctors had come to their conclusions purely on their own, why couldn't they remember their decisions years later or stand by them?

Intriguingly, Johnson is reported to have contemplated re-opening the investigation at this time. This was but a few months after Johnson had asked the FBI to figure out the Soviet Union's position on the assassination--and if it was responsible for the widespread criticism of the Warren Report--only to be told that the Soviets had long believed Kennedy was killed by the "ultraright," but had recently concluded Johnson himself was "responsible." This was within days, moreover, of Johnson's finding out about the CIA's assassination plots against Cuban leader Fidel Castro, and the possibility these plots had backfired, and had led to the bloodshed in Dallas.

While Johnson is purported to have decided that such an investigation was not in the best interests of the nation--or for the Kennedy family--there is reason to doubt this was true. As we've seen, Johnson thought Robert Kennedy was out to destroy him, and was out to destroy him in turn. This, then, undercuts any notion that Johnson was protecting the Kennedys. One can only wonder then if the problems with the doctors and autopsy photos was a bigger factor in his decision not to re-open the case.

As for Clark, I have been unable to find a single reference by him to the January 1967 review of the autopsy photos and x-rays, subsequent to his conversations with Johnson. In his 1978 interview with the HSCA's Andy Purdy, he said the 1968 Clark Panel was formed after the autopsy photos and x-rays became available and after Finck, Boswell, Humes and Ebersole's review proved inadequate. (Inadequate at what, one wonders--shutting down the critics?) Anyhow, this statement is confusing on the face of it because it makes it sound like there was but one review and that those four men were involved, when, in fact, Ebersole was only involved in the 1966 inspection and Finck was only involved in the 1967 inspection.

A 1998 interview with researcher James Douglass proved equally unsatisfying. Here, Clark told Douglass of obtaining the materials and calling in the doctors to make their initial inspection and then jumped to the creation of the Clark Panel in 1968. Either Clark had forgotten there were two separate reviews in 66 and 67 or he found discussion of the second review uncomfortable.

As for McCloy, his motivation for helping CBS debunk the conspiracy theorists and defend his work with the Warren Commission seems obvious. In a mid-70's letter to Warren Commission counsel David Belin, quoted in an 11-20-88 New York Times piece by Belin, McCloy complained: "*I never cease to be amazed at the willingness of so much of the public to accept the statements of the charlatans and sensationalists rather than the facts and the record.*" He then recalled the political climate in the mid-sixties: "*It was actually thought 'liberal' to be convinced that President Kennedy had been shot as a*

result of a conspiracy by a group of Texas millionaires or chauvinists and that it was quite 'illiberal' to think that he has been assassinated solely by a little 'punk' who perhaps had some communistic leanings."

How far McCloy was willing to go while assisting CBS in their quest to re-assert "*the facts and the record*" is made clear, moreover, by contrasting his video-taped response on the CBS program against his private correspondence with Belin years later. On the CBS special he said "*It was our own choice that we didn't subpoena the photographs, which were then in the hands of the Kennedy family.*" (This was not true; throughout the entire duration of the Warren Commission the autopsy photos were in the sole possession of the Secret Service. The Kennedy family and the Justice Department not only didn't control them, they never even saw them.) He then proclaimed "*Mr. Justice Warren was talking to the Kennedy family about that at that time. I thought he was really going to see them, but it turned out that he hadn't.*"

Now compare this to McCloy's mid-70's letter to Belin: "*I agree wholeheartedly with your criticism of the Commission itself for failure to demand the original x-rays and photographs. **I agreed to having the Chief Justice's viewing them alone if he would do so and I understand he was to do this.** The argument against their being viewed by the commission as part of the record was that the X-rays and photographs of the President's body did not in themselves carry as much weight as the interpretation of them by the experts. This together with what I thought to be the oversensitivity of the Chief Justice to the attitude of the family, resulted in a good bit of just criticism of the commission which in my judgment could have been avoided...*" Notice that he doesn't say "I mistakenly believed he would do this" or "he led me to believe he would do this." No, McCloy says that he agreed to let Warren inspect them alone and that it was his understanding that Warren did indeed inspect them alone. This, then, suggests that he knew Warren had seen the photos, and this, in turn, suggests he'd lied to CBS and the world when he said that Warren had not.

Note also that, according to Belin, this letter was written in the mid-70's. On 9-21-78 (the late '70's), McCloy testified before the HSCA, and admitted: "*I think we were a little lax in the Commission in connection with the use of those X-rays. I was rather critical of Justice Warren at that time. I thought he was a little too sensitive of the sensibilities of the family. He didn't want to have put into the record some of the photographs and some of the X-rays taken at the time. We took the testimony of course, of the doctors and probably with the X-rays--we wouldn't have been able to read the X-rays if we hadn't had the doctors' testimony.*" Note that he failed to mention Warren's looking at the photos and x-rays all by his lonesome, and the ridiculousness of Warren's not allowing the doctors who'd created these materials to inspect the photos and x-rays to verify the accuracy of their testimony. I mean, if Warren could look at the autopsy materials without putting them into the record--why the hell couldn't the men who'd actually created the materials, who'd seen Kennedy's body with their own eyes?

There's yet another intriguing aspect to McCloy's letter to Belin... The sentence in bold appears in the version of McCloy's letter published in Belin's November, 1988 book *Full Disclosure*, but was edited out of Belin's 11-20-88 article in the *New York Times*. Now, this could have been done for a number of reasons--perhaps Belin was trying to conceal that Warren had seen the photos... 11 years after the publication of Warren's autobiography in which he admitted seeing the photos. Or perhaps Belin simply felt this sentence a distraction from his overall point...

Or perhaps he'd become aware of McCloy's previous claim Warren had not seen the photos, and decided to do a little house-keeping... McCloy was 93 at the time, and would die early the next year... Perhaps he or someone close to him had given Belin a call...

In any event, it seems likely McCloy lied when he told CBS Warren had not seen the photos. Well, why would he have done this? To protect Warren? Well, if he was willing to lie to protect Warren on such a

minor matter then what reason do we have to believe anything he had to say?

And what about CBS? Since when do news divisions tell members of government commissions what types of reports will help shut down political rumors? And since when do they ask that such reports then be created? I mean, isn't that crossing a line between reporting the news and orchestrating the news? And why did CBS consider it their job to shut down rumors anyhow?

Perhaps as an acknowledgement that his behavior was not quite kosher, Les Midgley never mentions McCloy's "help" on the special in a book he co-wrote about the creation of the CBS special entitled *Should We Now Believe The Warren Report?* He never mentions it in his memoirs, entitled *How Many Words Do You Want*, either. While in this latter work Midgley does mention McCloy's appearance on the program, he downplays McCloy's crucial role, and even says "*McCloy was doubtful about participation, although he did, in the end, agree.*" Throughout both books, for that matter, Midgley staunchly defends his program: "*the avid critics and attackers thrive in a mental climate such that most of them undoubtedly believe CBS, its News Division, and its staff to be part of a vast conspiracy to conceal the "facts" about the assassination...They are wrong but nothing can be done about it...The people who wrote, filmed, produced, and appeared on these broadcasts would have been the happiest journalists of this or almost any other century if they could have come up with a sensational "solution" to the Kennedy murder...But it didn't happen.*"

Well, never mind believing the Warren Report. Based upon what we now know of Midgley's behind the scenes dealings with McCloy, should we remotely believe him? I'm undecided. Since Midgley's memoirs were written when he was in his seventies, it's possible he left out his indiscreet contact with McCloy for the same reasons he said that Connally was riding beside Kennedy at the time of the assassination and the magic bullet was found on the floor of the limousine...perhaps he was simply an old man who could no longer remember the facts.

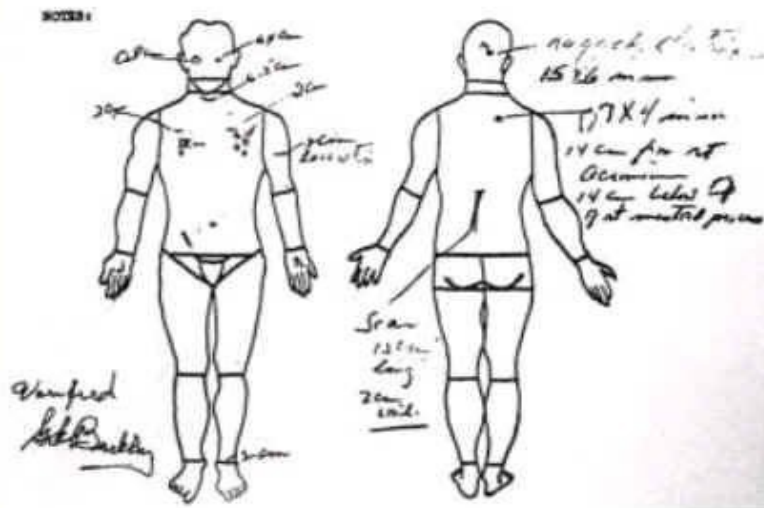
On the other hand, it seems a bit of a coincidence that Associated Press writers Sid Moody and Bernard Gavzer conducted a seven-month long investigation into the issues raised by critics such as Epstein, Lane, and Weisberg, and published their series the same week as the CBS telecasts, with nearly identical conclusions!

This coincidence becomes even more intriguing, moreover, when one realizes that Moody and Gavzer were granted interviews with 11 of the 15 Warren Commission counsel and 4 of the 10 staff for their investigation. Many of these men had spoken to Edward Epstein for his book *Inquest*, and had been embarrassed when Epstein used their words to expose the limitations of the commission's investigation. As one should have real doubts these men would turn around and allow such access to an investigation whose outcome was uncertain, one might reasonably conclude then that the AP's investigation was designed as a Warren Commission defense from the beginning.

Perhaps it was even coordinated with CBS through the "Justice Department."

Incredible? Read on.

Defending The Line



Above: autopsy face sheet prepared by Dr. Boswell, November 22, 1963. This one has been verified by Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. Burkley, the only doctor to observe Kennedy's wounds in both Dallas and Bethesda. This drawing depicts what is clearly a back wound.



Which of these drawings is more precise? Which of these drawings more accurately reflects the location of the back wound?



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 385, created for the testimony of Dr. Humes by Skip Rydberg, March, 1964. Here, the entrance is at the base of the neck

At left: a crop from the back wound photo reviewed by Dr. Humes on 1-20-67. Does this show an entrance "on the base of the neck?"

Defending the Line

On May 27, 1967, Acting Assistant Attorney General Carl Eardley wrote a letter to Dr. James J. Humes telling him that CBS News had requested permission to interview him for a television special and that the attorney general had no objection to his appearance. As Dr. Humes was under an order of silence from the military since the day of the autopsy, and as the White House renewed this directive right before the Warren Report was published, Dr. Humes could only speak to CBS News by permission. Two days later, Cliff Sessions, the Director of Public Information, wrote a memo to Eardley which included talking points for Humes to follow when questioned by Dan Rather on this special. Humes, to his credit, gave this memo, complete with talking points, to the ARRB.

Among the talking points provided Humes was that one bullet "*entered the back of the neck and exited through the throat,*" that the autopsy face sheet depicted this wound much lower than it really was, and that "*the location of the wound was accurately described in a notation on the margin of the drawing.*" It ended by stating that Humes had "*thoroughly examined*" the photographs and x-rays at the National Archives and that they supported in "*every detail*" the "*autopsy findings which were reported to the Warren Commission.*" Whether or not the Justice Department's providing Humes with this script was intended to communicate that he should not waver from this script is open to conjecture, but when asked about the locations of Kennedy's wounds by Rather in a taped interview first broadcast on June 26, 1967, Humes described the back wound as "*in the base of the neck on the right.*" When Rather followed up by asking about the conflicting locations of the back wound on the autopsy face sheet and Rydberg drawing CE 385, Dr. Humes inspected CE 385 and contended that the face sheet was never meant to be precise but that "*the second drawing which you have mentioned (CE 385) was prepared as we were preparing to testify before the Warren Commission, to rather schematically and as accurately*"

as we possibly could, depict the story for the members of the Warren Commission... We were trying to be precise and referred back to our measurements made in the margins of the other drawing....since this time we have had opportunity to review the photographs which we made at that time. And these photographs show very clearly that the wound was exactly where we stated it to be in our testimony before the Warren Commission, and as it is shown in this drawing." Rather then re-asked: "Your re-examination of the photographs verify that the wounds are as shown here?" To which Humes replied "Yes sir, they do."

This was simply not true. Humes was not only being deceptive about the accuracy of the Rydberg drawings, but about the inaccuracy of the face sheet. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, the back wound location on the face sheet had been marked in accordance with the measurements, while the Rydberg drawings were made from verbal descriptions only. This, then, suggests that Humes was lying through his teeth when speaking to Rather.

There is yet another reason to suspect Humes lied to Rather and CBS, and that this lie was orchestrated by the Justice Department. And that's that Humes wasn't the only one misrepresenting the back wound location on the program. Yep. While Humes was the only member of the autopsy team to comment on the autopsy photos in the program, he was not the only person to have seen an autopsy photo to misrepresent the location of the back wound in CBS' 4-part special. The other person was--you guessed it--Arlen Specter, the man most responsible for the development of the single-bullet theory. Specter, whose viewing of the back wound photo in 1964 had been discussed at least three times (anonymously in the 8-28-66 Philadelphia Bulletin, but by name in the 10-10-66 U.S. News & World Report and 1-14-67 Saturday Evening Post) within a year of his appearance on the program, had, we should remember, been hired for his job with the commission by Howard Willens, the Justice Department's point man on the commission.

So what did Specter say? Well, while discussing the President's wounds with--you guessed it--Dan Rather, Specter twice referred to the back wound as a "*wound on the President's neck*." Now, some might say "Ugggh, it *was* a wound on his neck, stupid--did you forget that the bullet supposedly exited from the throat?" and want to give Specter a break on this, I firmly believe such a break is unjustified, as people--at least the people I know--just don't speak in that manner. I mean, no one I know would describe a bullet entering the back and exiting the throat as a bullet "inflicting" a "wound on the President's neck." And I assume your friends are no different.

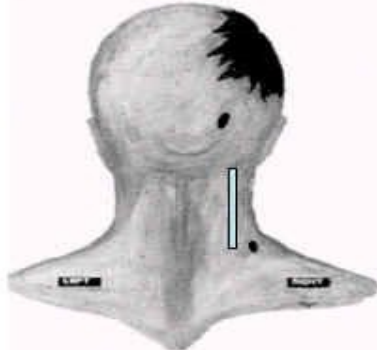

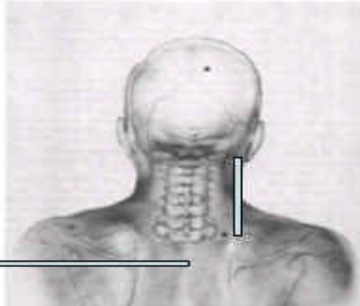

And it's not as if Dr. Humes' interview with Rather was the last time the autopsy doctors misrepresented the back wound location...under pressure from the "Justice" Department.

During the January, 1969 trial of Clay Shaw, the subject matter of the film JFK, it became Dr. Finck's turn to fudge the facts. Although Dr. Finck's testimony on behalf of Shaw had been orchestrated by the Justice Department, and was intended to convince the jury that the medical evidence pointed towards Oswald acting alone, Finck's strange demeanor and surprising answers confused almost everyone. At one point, in fact, he was doing so badly that Carl Eardley rushed Dr. Boswell down as a possible replacement. In any event, in his testimony, Dr. Finck described Kennedy's back wound as a wound on the "back of the neck" not once but 33 times. This was suspicious, particularly in that in his testimony before the Warren Commission, his military reports to his superiors, and an article he'd written for Military Surgeon magazine, he had never once described the wound in such a manner, and had instead described it as being in the "upper back" or in the "right upper region of the posterior thorax." In fact, as far as can be determined, he has never claimed it was on the "back of the neck" before or since his testimony in the Shaw trial. During his testimony before the HSCA, for example, he said the wound was on the "upper back/lower neck" 5 times, even though he had not seen the photos in the intervening years, and had no reason to add in the "upper back" outside a desire to be accurate.

So...yeah, it seems clear someone briefed Finck before his testimony, and instructed him to say the wound he'd previously claimed was on Kennedy's back was instead on the back of his neck. As a military report Finck filed on his participation in the Shaw trial discloses that he had a meeting with Acting Assistant Attorney General Carl Eardley shortly before his testimony, we may even know the name of this person.

It seems obvious then that the doctors were under intense pressure from the Justice Department when they publicly misrepresented the location of the back wound. While this may seem an argument for a vast government conspiracy, it is undoubtedly possible that those putting the pressure on the doctors felt they were merely defending the government's line against its critics, and not protecting any possible conspirators. As for Carl Eardley, who supervised the doctors' re-inspection of the photos in January, 1967, and presumably saw the photos himself, it would have only been fair for him to have been asked on national television, with the eyes of the nation upon him, where the neck ends and the back begins, and whether the wound in question on the autopsy photos was on the neck or on the back.

The Incredible Shrinking President

 <p>Warren Commission Exhibit CE 386 March 16, 1964</p>	 <p>Fox left lateral photo, image inverted Clark Panel interpretation</p>	 <p>HSCA Figure 24 March 24, 1979</p>	 <p>Fox left lateral photo, image inverted. HSCA interpretation</p>
<p>From the mastoid process to the back wound is 14 cm. If this drawing was based upon the autopsy protocol's measurements of the wound location, as Dr. Humes testified, Kennedy's skull was over 27 cm wide.</p>	<p>From the mastoid process to the back wound is 14 cm, with the bottom margin of the tracheotomy incision 5 cm below. Once again a giant.</p>	<p>From the mastoid process to the back wound is 13 ½ cm. An exit wound 5 cm below this wound (as in the Clark Panel's measurements) would place it well below his throat.</p>	<p>The throat wound is instead 1 cm above the back wound.</p>

The Incredible Shrinking President

Scarcely a year after the military review, however, it was determined that yet another examination was needed, this time without the input of those present at the autopsy. While the inspiration for this new panel purportedly came from Dr.s Boswell and Humes, who, according to a letter written by Boswell to the Justice Department, wished for a second opinion, Dr. Boswell's testimony before the ARRB reflects that he wrote this letter only after Carl Eardley *"called me out of the blue...and said they thought it was a good idea to have an independent panel...now I had been talking about this with perhaps him and other people...And whether Carl suggested it or whether I convinced him, I'm not sure. But, anyway, he was willing to accept the letter, which he essentially described to me what they wanted, and I wrote*

it.”

This suggests then that Boswell's letter was but window dressing to disguise the fact that someone in the government, possibly even the President himself, wanted a new panel formed. It's helpful, then, that Johnson's Attorney General Ramsey Clark later accepted credit for the panel's creation, telling an HSCA investigator that he felt the earlier examination by the doctors was “*inadequate*,” and that this had led him to create a new panel.

Clark was actually quite forthcoming. He also told his interviewer he was present when the doctors viewed the photos, and that he'd viewed the photos himself. He also said he drew a line with the doctors: that they were not there to re-open the Warren Commission's investigation, but to see what was shown in the photographic evidence. He also said he was “relieved” when the experts corroborated the findings of the Warren Commission.

Heck, he even acknowledged that he'd used Jim Garrison's trial of Clay Shaw as a vehicle for releasing the panel's report.

This last acknowledgement appears to be a bit disingenuous, however, as it seems clear Clark's decision to get a second opinion in the first place was that Jim Garrison, the district attorney of New Orleans, had both pressed for access to the Kennedy assassination medical evidence and added President Johnson onto his list of suspects in President Kennedy's murder.

Clark nearly admitted as much. In his book *Crime in America*, published 1970, Clark questioned Garrison's mental health. He claimed Garrison's conduct during his investigation of Shaw was “*abusive*,” and that his “*charges of conspiracy reaching even into the Federal Government*” were “*bizarre*.” Such a man, in Clark's mind, would no doubt be capable of stretching the slightest inconsistency into the appearance of a vast conspiracy.

Well, it only makes sense then that Clark--with or without the support of President Johnson, whether he was involved in the assassination or not--would endeavor to find out just what the photos showed before Garrison did, and would want to make sure there was nothing in them that Garrison could use to question the legitimacy of Johnson's presidency.

It's also worth noting that, by February, 1968, Johnson had decided not to seek another term in office. It seems possible then that he wanted to be sure the photos showed no evidence for a conspiracy, lest the next President, who in his worst nightmares would be Robert Kennedy, the deceased President's younger brother, use the photos to re-open the investigation into President Kennedy's murder and damage his--Johnson's--prized legacy.

But no matter the precise reasons for the panel's creation, it's clear it served a purpose politically. Although the panel was conducted in secret on February 26, 1968, its report was not released until January 16, 1969, the day Jim Garrison's prosecution of Clay Shaw finally went to trial. Four days later, Johnson left the presidency.

What was surprising about this panel, however, was that it agreed with the many assassination researchers on a central point--that the autopsy report's description of an entrance wound low on the back of Kennedy's head was incorrect. Instead, the secret panel proposed that the entrance hole in the back of the President's head was 4 inches higher than described in the autopsy report, at a point often described as a cowlick. While the skull photographs and x-rays were certainly influential in their decision, another factor apparently was that the photos of the President's brain revealed no path of destruction linking the cerebellum (the point nearest the entrance in the President's hairline displayed in the Rydberg drawing) with the clearly devastated upper right lobe of the President's brain (where the bullet was presumed to have made its exit).

While much has been made of this movement of the head wound--mostly by conspiracy theorists delighted that Dr.s Humes and Boswell were made to look foolish--these same theorists miss that the Clark Panel itself made as many or more substantive mistakes as Dr.s Humes and Boswell.

Some of these mistakes, in fact, cast doubt upon the integrity of the panel. To begin with, even though the Clark Panel determined the head wound in the photos to have been four inches higher on Kennedy's skull than the one described in the autopsy report, they stuck by the measurements of the wound, only transposing the numbers. This 6 by 15 measurement, however, was not anywhere near the proportions of the mark in the cowlick in the autopsy photo they claimed as the entrance.

Even stranger, the Clark Panel claimed the back wound was 7 by 10, longer than wide, when the close-up photo released by the HSCA proves it to have been wider than long.

This suggests then that these doctors were following in the footsteps of Humes and Specter, and describing the wounds as longer than wide to help create the illusion the shots came from above.

And that's not the only reason to dis-believe...

- Let's start with something simple. The Clark Panel, in concurrence with the autopsy report, concluded that the back wound was 14 cm below the mastoid process of Kennedy's skull. It also claimed, however, that the back wound was *"5.5 cm below a transverse fold in the skin of the neck,"* also visible in the back wound photo. It follows, then, that this fold was 8.5 cm below the mastoid (which is at the approximate level of the bottom tip of the ear)...and much closer to the back wound than to the mastoid. Now look at the lateral autopsy photo on the slide above. Is it remotely possible that the fold is 8.5 cm (over 3 1/2 inches) below the mastoid? No. There's no way that fold can be 3 1/2 inches from the mastoid. This suggests then, that the Clark Panel has somehow inserted extra space between the mastoid and the skin fold (perhaps in order to pretend their findings were consistent with the autopsy measurements) whilst simultaneously moving the back wound up the neck.
- Beyond concluding that the back wound *"lies approximately 5.5 cm below a transverse fold in the skin of the neck,"* the Clark Panel also asserted that the bullet wound in the throat was *"above the trachea incision"* and *"situated approximately 9 cm below the transverse fold in the skin of the neck described in the last paragraph."* They were thereby presenting the throat wound as 3 1/2 cm below the back wound.
- The HSCA medical panel, conversely, proposed that the throat wound was 1 cm above the back wound. This means the two panels were 4 1/2 cm apart on their interpretation of the relative placement of these wounds.
- Actually, more. The HSCA medical panel also proposed that the throat wound was on the bottom margin of the trachea incision, which was 1 1/2 cm wide. This means that, from the perspective of the HSCA, the Clark Panel's throat wound location was not 1 cm above the HSCA's back wound location, but 2 1/2 cm.
- So let's be clear: the Clark Panel proposed the back wound was 3 1/2 cm above the throat wound, which was 2 1/2 cm above the HSCA's proposed location for the back wound. This means there's a 6 cm difference in interpretation of the back wound location when compared to the throat wound. Now, if the Clark Panel's back wound location is 6 cm higher than the HSCA's back wound location, the problem can be directly linked to a difference of opinion on the back wound's location. Only no such luck.
- As stated, the Clark Panel concurred with the measurements taken at autopsy and concluded that the back wound was 14 cm below the mastoid process. When one takes into account that the HSCA's back wound location was, in the eyes of the Clark Panel, another 6 cm below this location, then, in order for both panel's measurements to be correct, the HSCA's back wound

location would have to be 20 cm below the mastoid process. This they did not do. The HSCA medical panel instead determined this wound to be about 13 1/2 cm below the mastoid process.

- The HSCA's measurements are the more accurate. The Clark Panel held that the back wound was 14 cm below the mastoid, and that the throat wound was 3 1/2 cm below this point. This location was, furthermore, 1 1/2 cm above the throat wound location as determined by the HSCA, along the bottom margin of the tracheotomy incision. This means that, in order for the Clark Panel's measurements to be correct, the bottom margin of the tracheotomy incision must have been 19 cm below the mastoid process. The measurements of the HSCA medical panel, on the other hand, place the bottom margin of the tracheotomy incision about 12 1/2 cm below the mastoid process. I have measured this location on myself and others and the HSCA's measurement is far more accurate. A wound 12 1/2 cm below the mastoid would be between the Adam's Apple and sternal notch, where Kennedy's wound was located. A wound 19 cm below the mastoid would, in contrast, be a wound overlying the sternum, about the level of the top of the heart. This suggests then that, for the Clark Panel's measurements, they'd somehow added an extra 6 1/2 cm (over 2 1/2 inches) onto the front of Kennedy's throat, basically doubling its length. Now why would they have done this, other than to lower the throat wound location, and help sell the single-bullet theory they'd been asked to review? Were they deliberate liars? Or simply incompetent?

Only adding to the likelihood the Clark Panel lied is that they re-measured the hole in the back of Kennedy's jacket, and claimed it was 12 cm below the upper edge of the coat collar. The FBI had previously measured this distance and found it to be 5 3/8 inches, or 13.6 cm. The HSCA would subsequently measure this distance and find it to be 13.5 cm. It seems more than a coincidence then that the FBI and HSCA measurements were off by but 1 mm, and the Clark Panel's measurement was off by 15 times as much, particularly when this "mistake" by the Clark Panel helped them sell the single-bullet theory already supported by their clearly inaccurate wound location measurements.

One is tempted to conclude, therefore, that the Clark Panel was the fully-orchestrated cover-up many believed the Warren Commission to have been. This suspicion is only heightened, moreover, by the peculiar fact that the Clark Panel is the only review of the autopsy evidence to have a representative of the American Bar Association along to serve as "legal counsel to the panel," and to "collaborate" with the panel in the "preparation" of its report. Such an overt conspiracy is made doubtful, however, by the Clark Panel report's acknowledgment that the Warren Commission's wound in the "back of the neck" in fact entered in the "back" and its description of several strange things that were never even noticed by the doctors on the night of the autopsy, including metal fragments in the President's neck, a large round fragment at the back of the President's skull, and a strange shape in the President's brain. If they were deliberately covering up, after all, it seems doubtful they would have opened fresh doors to such previously unexamined mysteries. The probability remains, then, that on some of its findings the Clark Panel was well-intentioned, but just horribly, horribly wrong.

But you really gotta wonder. When one compares Warren Commission CE 386 with HSCA Figure 24, and adjusts their size based upon the measurements contained within their respective reports, one can see that the skull in the Warren Commission drawing is roughly 27 1/2 cm from ear to ear, the skull of a giant, while the skull in the HSCA drawing is 19 cm, much more in line with a normal human skull. When one sizes a photo of Kennedy using the Clark Panel's measurements, moreover, one finds it to be in line with the clearly inaccurate CE 386. This is a bit shocking. That the Clark Panel's measurements reflect a body as large as the one in the Rydberg drawings, approximately 50% larger than life--and that these mistakes help support the single-bullet theory--should make one suspect that the members of the Clark Panel, as with the military doctors before them, were pressured by the Justice Department into supporting the single-bullet theory.

Researcher Harold Weisberg sure smelled a rat. He attempted to gain access to the working papers of the Clark Panel, and, after being told that the working papers had been destroyed, personally contacted the various members of the panel. In his book *Post Mortem* Weisberg includes a small section on his correspondence with these men. He relates that Dr. Russell Fisher was the leader and spokesman for the panel. In a letter to Weisberg, Fisher claimed that “*quite some time after the panel report had been submitted*” he conducted tests on cadavers to see if a bullet could go through a human neck as proposed by the single-bullet theory. Fisher explained, moreover, that this was “*purely to satisfy my own interest,*” and that he'd made no effort to file a report on these tests, or share his results with his fellow forensic pathologists.

It may seem strange, then, that Fisher was all too happy to share his results with Weisberg. He told him “*we were convinced it was possible for a bullet tract to connect the entrance and exit wounds without being deflected by, or hitting the bony vertebrae.*”

There's a problem with Fisher's story, however. Fisher also told Weisberg that “*The measurements...can be assumed to be accurate. They were measured by scale. We had photographs which showed a scale. We were able, therefore, to confirm the measurements...*”

As we've seen, however, this last assertion is incorrect. The Clark Panels' measurements for the relative positions of the back wound and throat wound were embarrassingly inaccurate. The inaccuracy of these measurements, moreover, should make us question the accuracy of whatever tests Fisher performed on the entrance and exit wounds.

I mean, seriously, did he shoot the cadavers on a downward trajectory, as theorized in his report? If he did then he should have realized that either the entrance wound was much higher than the entrance wound on Kennedy's back depicted in the autopsy photos, or the exit wound much lower than the location of the tracheotomy incision.

Perhaps, then, Fisher simply lied to Weisberg to get him off his back...

A final point learned from Weisberg's contact with Fisher should come as no surprise. Fisher told Weisberg that, when completed, the Clark Panel's report “*was transmitted by Mr. Bruce Bromley to Mr. Carl Eardley of the Justice Department.*” Eardley, of course, had previously worked with the autopsy doctors, and was the Justice Department's point man on the medical evidence.

Chapter 11: The Single-Bullet Theory

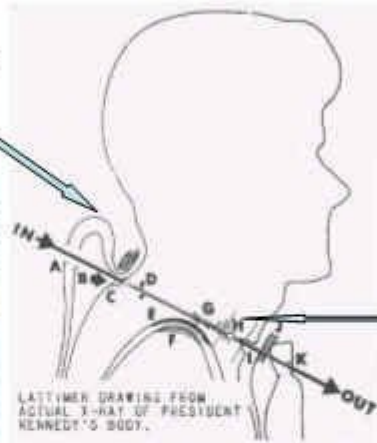
Lattimer Analysis



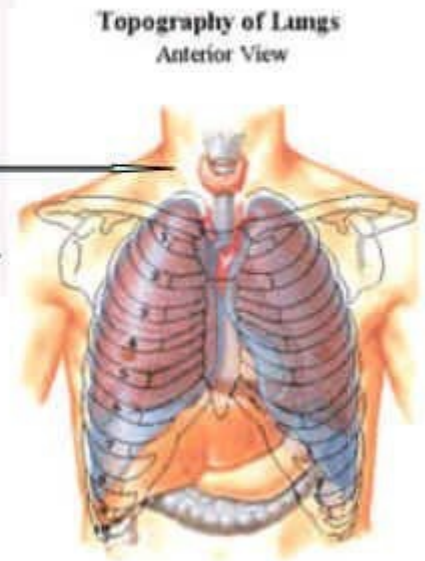
Warren Commission
Exhibit CE 385



Fox Autopsy Photo



Lattimer drawing
from book:
Kennedy and Lincoln



Actual position of lungs
in torso.

Note that in Lattimer's analysis the bullet enters at an even higher point than in the Rydberg drawings.
Note also that he's lifted the lungs to be closer to the bullet path.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Lattimer Analysis

Only adding to my suspicion that the Clark Panel deliberately misrepresented Kennedy's wounds to support the single-bullet theory is the strange coincidence that the next person to look at the photos, and the *very first* member of the private sector to be allowed to inspect the autopsy photos and x-rays, just so happened to be Dr. John K. Lattimer, the aforementioned urologist to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.

This was suspicious for a number of reasons. Not only was Lattimer not a forensic pathologist, and not only had he headed a Federal Government research program from the late 1940's to the mid-1960's, but he'd written extensively on the JFK case already, always at a time when the public's interest was heightened, and always with the conclusion that the Warren Commission had properly addressed the evidence. In mid-1966, just as books critical of the Warren Commission were starting to get wide-spread attention, there was Lattimer, with an article in The New York State Journal of Medicine comparing the deaths of John Wilkes Booth and Lee Harvey Oswald, in which Oswald was described as "*an enemy (communist) sympathizer*" and an "*attention-hungry fanatic*." In late 1966, moreover, as doubts about Oswald's shooting ability were sweeping across the nation, up popped Lattimer with an article in the Journal of the American Medical Association asserting that Kennedy's back brace had

propped him up after he was first hit, and had made him an easy target. Now this would be bad enough, but Lattimer actually made the mistake of asserting that a second coincidence also contributed to Kennedy's death--that the misalignment of Oswald's scope had coincidentally compensated for the curve in the road, so that all Oswald had to do was fire at Kennedy, and the bullet would hit him in this exact location, even though he'd moved several feet down the road, and inches to the right.

Well, this gives up the game, and reveals Lattimer to be more theorist than scientist. This misleading proposition was first offered by FBI agent Robert Frazier during his Warren Commission testimony. Perhaps Frazier was thinking of the tests undertaken AFTER he'd sighted in the scope and brought the scope and rifle in the best alignment possible without adding shims to the scope mount. These tests revealed that the rifle fired 4 inches high and 1 to the right at 100 yards. Such a misalignment would indeed allow someone to fire at JFK when he was on Elm without having to worry about a lead, should he know ahead of time the degree of this misalignment. BUT THIS WAS NOT THE MISALIGNMENT OF THE SCOPE WHEN FIRST TESTED BY THE FBI. Frazier testified that the rifle, when first tested by the FBI, fired 4 inches high and 1 to the right at ONLY 15 YARDS, and that these shots all landed within the size of a dime, and that this indicated the rifle had not recently been adjusted. Well, such a misalignment would be of no help at all to a sniper; it would force a sniper to shoot BEHIND Kennedy in order to hit him as he was moving away. It follows then that Frazier's assertion the misalignment worked to the sniper's advantage was either a total brainfart on his part or a deliberate deception, and that Lattimer's repetition of this nonsense was more of the same, or perhaps a reflection that he took his job as Hoover's urologist a bit more seriously than anyone could reasonably have imagined.

And from there things just get worse. An October 24, 1968 article in the New York Post reflects that Lattimer had started giving talks on the feasibility of the single-bullet theory to his fellow physicians, and that he believed at so early a date, long before the Zapruder film was widely available, that the first shot *"hit a tree branch and never reached the President's car,"* and that the second *"struck the back of President Kennedy's neck, went through his voice box, and 'came out at the knot of his tie,'"* before striking Governor Connally. This marks him once again as more theorist than scientist. The eyewitnesses overwhelmingly claimed the President reacted to the first shot. The autopsy report fails to note damage to the voice box, or larynx. The drawings created by the autopsy doctors for the Warren Commission, moreover, depicted the bullet exiting below Kennedy's voice box or larynx, on his trachea, or windpipe. Lattimer's assertion that the first bullet hit a tree branch and the second bullet went through Kennedy's voice box, then, can only be seen as his ignoring the findings of the Warren Commission and re-interpreting the shooting sequence and bullet's angle of descent within the neck...for reasons all his own.

In any event, following his inspection of the autopsy materials on January 9, 1972, Lattimer told the New York Times that the photographs and x-rays *"eliminate any doubt completely"* about the validity of the Warren Commission's conclusions and that Oswald fired all the shots. He said further that the photos and x-rays demonstrate that the back wound was actually higher than the Commission reported (yes, that's right, even higher *than on the Rydberg drawings*) and that the angle of descent within the neck was far greater. He said the wound was so high in comparison to the throat wound, in fact, that in order for the throat wound to have been an entrance wound as so many believed, someone would have to have been firing from the floor of the limousine in front of Kennedy. Lattimer didn't seem to understand that this comment meant conversely that the bullet exiting the neck should have hit the floor and not Connally, and that this statement was therefore an argument against the single-bullet theory he was so adamantly defending.

Perhaps the man had suffered some sort of meltdown. On January 10, the next day, he was interviewed by John Nebel on WNBC. and admitted that after reading the Warren report he *"still had considerable*

doubts, and uh these doubts revolved about the such items as the trajectory of the bullet that went through President Kennedy's neck" and asserted that the Warren Commission drawing for this trajectory, CE 385, "makes the bullet track look as if it's much parallel with the ground. And that worried me a good deal, and, uh, I know that it's little things like this that combine to worry you about the whole massive text." But that was in the past. Lattimer told Nebel that upon viewing the autopsy photos "I was interested to observe that the rear hole, which is clearly a wound of entrance, is quite far above the front hole, which is presumed to be a wound of exit." As it would later be shown that the bullet entrance on CE 385 was in fact two inches too high, and that the rear wound Lattimer claimed was "far above" the front wound was in reality either below or at the same level as the front wound, it's clear that Lattimer, perhaps overcome with "worry," simply reported what he wanted to see, or felt others should believe he saw.

But this was not the end of Lattimer's trail of "whoa!" For Lattimer's May 1972 Resident and Staff Physician article on his trip to the archives he created a drawing depicting his interpretation of Kennedy's back wound, and the path of the bullet purportedly entering Kennedy's back and exiting his throat. This drawing was staggeringly, and shockingly, inaccurate. While acknowledging in a February 14, 1972 letter to Robert Biecher found in the Weisberg Archives that *"the wound on the back of the neck"* which he'd discussed with the press *"was certainly the one 14 cm. below the right mastoid process,"* and while acknowledging in the text of his article that the back wound was 5 cm below the neck crease *"at the juncture of neck and back,"* Lattimer inexplicably depicts the wound in his drawing about 5 cm below the mastoid process, *at the juncture of neck and back*. Equally strange, in order to explain the bruise on Kennedy's lung, Lattimer depicts the upper dome of the lung adjacent to the bullet path descending Kennedy's neck...and, in the process, lifts the dome of the lung into the neck, above the knot on Kennedy's tie. Even more absurd, to account for the holes in Kennedy's clothing being so much lower on Kennedy's back than Lattimer's proposed location for the back wound, Lattimer bunches up a gigantic fold of clothing on the back of Kennedy's neck in the drawing. No such fold, of course, can be seen on any of the assassination films.

Now that's already way too much, but Lattimer's drawing also has the bullet path descending 27 degrees through Kennedy's body, which, since the limousine was on a downhill slope of 3 degrees, means he believed the bullet was descending 30 degrees from the horizontal plane. Since he eventually claimed the bullet came from the sniper's nest at Z-224, when the angle of descent from the sniper's nest was 21 degrees, this suggests he believed Kennedy was leaning 9 degrees backwards when struck.

From there Lattimer's story gets even more absurd, and disturbing. Not content with the round of extended articles he was able to publish in the aftermath of his visit to the archives, he put together a 24-page article for the November 1974 issue of Medical Times. While he spent much of this article, devoted entirely the *"Kennedy-Connally One Bullet Theory,"* discussing Governor Connally's wounds and the wound ballistics of Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition, he did spend just enough time discussing Kennedy's wounds to slip in one heckuva lie. His *"Reconstruction of What Happened"* entailed: *"The 6.5 mm bullet, fired from above and behind the President, had entered the top of the prominent roll of soft tissue across the back of President Kennedy's neck..."* Yikes. As we have seen, the bullet wound was not on the back of the neck, let alone at the top of a prominent roll of soft tissue across the back of the neck.

Yes, there was apparently no belief too absurd, or no lie too great, for Lattimer to have shied from, should it have suggested Oswald's sole guilt. On May 7, 1975 he was interviewed by the Rockefeller Commission, and repeated much of what he'd told the New York Times. He went even further, however, and told them that inspecting Kennedy's brain would be unnecessary, seeing as Dr. Humes had been *"particularly thorough about finding any foreign material in the brain"* and that *"we have surprisingly good x-rays of it and surprisingly good photographs of it."* He claimed further that this

provided him with a “*reasonable basis for knowing what the situation in the brain was, relative, at least, to the direction of the missiles.*” He ignored that he'd previously concluded that the ever-thorough Humes had incorrectly identified the entrance of the bullet on the back of Kennedy's head, and had been off by four inches.

In November, 1976, moreover, as a response to Congressman Thomas Downing's public declaration that the Zapruder film had convinced him Kennedy was shot from the front, Lattimer popped up yet again. Somehow, somehow, he just so happened to make an appearance before a luncheon of the National Press Club, and show them films of experiments he'd performed by shooting bullets into animal skulls (no doubt, your typical luncheon entertainment). Not surprisingly, these tests (later debunked by Wallace Milam) showed the skulls flying back in the direction of the bullet, and supposedly undercut Downing's claims the rearward movement of Kennedy's head suggested the fatal shot came from the front.

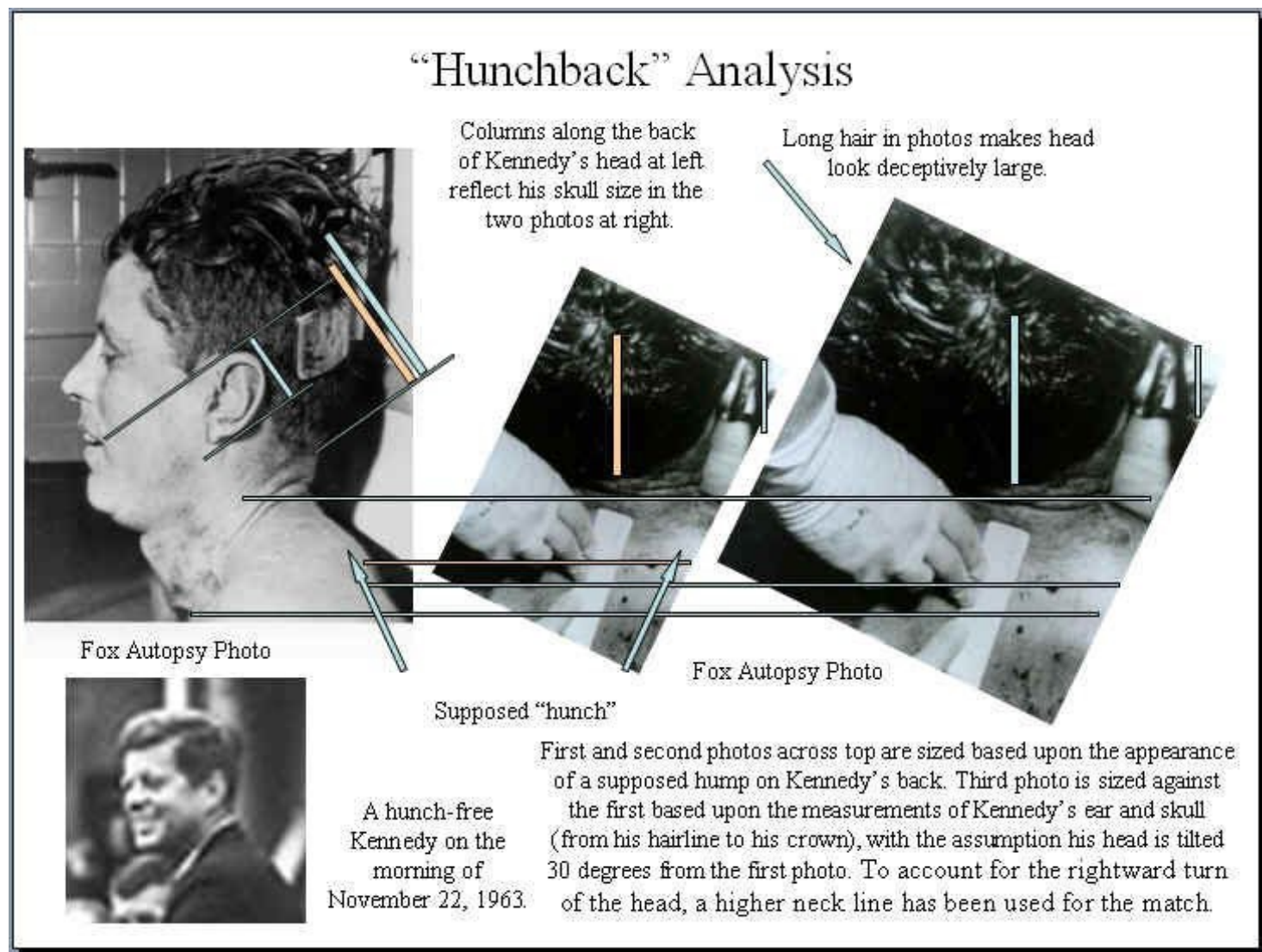
Evidently, these tests convinced Lattimer he'd solved everything and that no further investigation was necessary, because on March 22, 1977, an article carried by the Ridder News Service reported that Lattimer had told some 300 members of the Fayette County Medical Society that “*Reviving the investigation of President Kennedy's death would be expensive and unnecessary.*” Now, why would he do this? Was he concerned that a new investigation would reveal that he had been untruthful when he asserted that the back wound was even higher than in the Rydberg drawings? Or was he really that confident? If he was really that confident, well, then, he had NO reason to be, as other statements attributed to him in this article reveal that he was simply making stuff up in order to justify shutting down the investigation already underway.

According to the article Lattimer described the shots as follows: “*The first shot probably struck the branch of a tree and was deflected to the pavement where it was absorbed...Five seconds later, with the limousine now only 190 feet away from Oswald's position, the second shot was fired. It hit the president in the back of the neck, passed through it, and entered Gov. John Connally's side...Five seconds later, the third shot was fired from a striking distance of about 250 feet, striking Kennedy in the back of the head...*” Well, wait a second! If the first shot was fired five seconds before the single-bullet shot, which was at the latest frame 224, then it was fired around frame 131, TWO seconds before any of the trees in front of the school book depository would interfere with a shot from the sniper's nest. Could Lattimer really be proposing that Oswald led the limousine by 30 feet or more?

Okay. Okay. It seems possible Lattimer misspoke about the five seconds... A 2-27-78 HSCA Contact Report on a conversation with Lattimer, after all, reports that by then he was postulating that “*the first shot occurred at Zapruder frame (Z) 166 and was a miss.*” But it gets worse. The 1977 article quotes Lattimer as discussing Oswald and his motivation as follows: “*After returning to this country, Oswald began a propaganda campaign for Cuban revolutionaries in New Orleans and eventually ended up in Dallas. There, three weeks before he shot the President, he attempted to kill a retired Army general. He learned from having tried to shoot the general that it would take more than one shot to kill Kennedy...If he'd been assigned to shoot Kennedy, he wouldn't have been firing at someone else just three weeks before.*”

The omissions and mistakes in Lattimer's scenario are more revealing than what he gets correct. First of all, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, with whom Oswald was affiliated in New Orleans, was not a violent or revolutionary organization, as implied by Lattimer. Second of all, Lattimer omits that this “*retired general,*” General Edwin Walker, was forced out of the military by Kennedy for his reactionary and racist political activities and that there is reason to doubt that anyone contemplating his assassination would kill Kennedy instead. Third, the attempt on Walker did not take place three weeks before Kennedy's assassination, as asserted by Lattimer, but on April 10, 1963, more than 7 months before! Needless to say, Lattimer's understanding of Oswald and his background was as wildly

inaccurate as his strange belief the back wound was further above the throat wound than depicted in the Rydberg drawings.



"Hunchback" Analysis

To be fair to Dr. Lattimer, I think I've located the source of some of his confusion. I believe this same confusion contributed to the Clark Panel's errors. When one compares the left lateral autopsy photo, which shows the location of the throat wound, with the photographs of the back wound, and focuses on a rounded hump of flesh on Kennedy's shoulder, one can easily imagine that this shape is a "hunch" of some sort and that the bullet entrance is in the middle of this "hunch." Since this "hunch" in the back wound photo is clearly higher on the body than the throat wound in the left lateral photo, moreover, one can take the next step and conclude that this means the bullet traveled downwards in the body, and that the single-bullet theory is supported by the photographs. But when one relies on hunches alone one will often be wrong.

Some of whom have noticed this "hunch," including Drs Lattimer and Baden, have even went so far as to speculate on its origins. Dr. Lattimer, on the day after he'd first viewed the autopsy materials in 1972,

told NBC that Kennedy's body had a *"slight thickening of the tissues over the shoulders, which is typical of people taking cortisone."* In his paper on this inspection, presented in the May 1972 issue of Resident and Staff Physician, moreover, he expanded on this theme, and insisted that *"the tissues at the back of his neck were more prominent than those of most people. This was possibly due partly to his manner of holding his shoulders very high, so that a 'roll' of tissue was produced across the back of his neck and also perhaps because he was taking the cortisone derivative which may have caused a slightly greater than normal thickening of these tissues."*

To Lattimer, this "thickening" seemed somehow significant, and a key to understanding the assassination. By 1975, he was telling those questioning the single bullet theory trajectory, such as researcher Emory Brown, that *"what you do not realize is that he (Kennedy) had an unusual roll of muscle tissue across the back of his neck, possibly related to the adrenal hormones he had been taking for years."* This "possibly," moreover, soon dissolved away. In time, Lattimer began asserting as fact the obvious nonsense that Kennedy had grown a hunch on his back from the steroids he'd taken to combat his Addison's disease, and that this hunch explained how the holes on Kennedy's clothing 5 inches below the top of his collar could overlay a wound at the level of his chin. Lattimer, and those who swallowed his nonsense, like Baden, failed to realize that the left lateral autopsy photo which appears to portray a slight hunch was taken with Kennedy lying flat on his back, with his shoulders rolled outwards, pushing the flesh of his back upwards. They failed to see as well that photos of Kennedy taken on the day of the assassination prove there was no such hunch...

When one starts measuring their whole argument falls to pieces. The ruler in the un-cropped back photo appears to be about 37 mm wide, or 1.46 inches. From this measurement one can see how the Clark Panel came up with their determination that the back wound was 5.5 cm (a little over 2 inches) below the fold along the back of the neck. When one matches the "hunches" one can see that the distance from the fold to the throat wound on the lateral photo approximates the 9 cm that the Clark Panel proposed. Why no one on the Clark Panel decided to measure this distance on their own bodies is another question. I'm 6'4" and when one measures 9 cm below the fold across the back of my neck one reaches the level of my sternum, far below the level of the wound in Kennedy's throat. Experienced doctors should have known better, or at least have been suspicious enough about the measurement to take a second look.

For when one takes a second look, one realizes that in order for this "hunch" to match in each photo, and in order for the neck lines to match, the photo of the back wound must be greatly reduced compared to the lateral photograph. A quick comparison of Kennedy's ears in the two photos proves that this is true. Should one use the ruler in the back wound photo to measure the size of Kennedy's head in the lateral photo (when the hunches are made to match) one can approximate that the vertical height of Kennedy's skull was 11.5 inches. When the ears are made to match, however, this distance is only 9.8 inches. My skull, even with my mouth slightly opened, is only 9 ¼ vertical inches from the level of my slightly opened jaw to the highest point. It's hard to believe that Kennedy's skull would be 24% longer than my own. (Fatter maybe, longer no.) When one takes the time to match the sizes of the ears and body proportions, therefore, one can see that the "hunch" was largely an illusion based on Kennedy's body position, and that the back wound in the photograph was actually 25% closer to the level of Kennedy's throat wound than it appears when the hunches are made to match.


When one takes notice of Kennedy's body position in the back wound photo, and sees that he's laying on his left side with his head turned to his right, moreover, it should be apparent that the back wound is, in fact, at the same level as the throat wound (when the body is in the anatomic position).

Should one refuse to believe that the back wound location is distorted and lifted upwards in both the back wound photo and lateral photo, moreover, one need only re-read the autopsy report. The back wound was reportedly 14 cm below the bottom tip of Kennedy's mastoid--which is approximately at

the level of the bottom of his ear. If the back wound was REALLY 5.5 cm below the transverse fold in Kennedy's neck, when the body was in the anatomic position, as concluded by the Clark Panel, it means the transverse fold was 8.5 cm below the mastoid. And this simply isn't true. There is no way that anyone can honestly believe that the transverse fold on the back of Kennedy's neck in the lateral photo is more than 50% FURTHER away from the bottom tip of the right mastoid than the supposed entrance location in the back hump. This makes it clear that either 1) the autopsists were incorrect, and claimed a wound roughly 8-9 cm below the bottom tip of the mastoid was 14 cm below the bottom tip of the mastoid, or 2) Kennedy's position in the back wound photo and/or the lateral photo make the wound appear to be higher on the body than it would be in the anatomic position.

This second option seems obvious.


Up the Neck



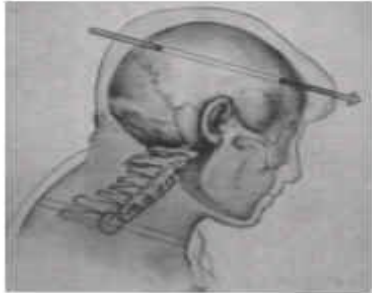
Above: Dr. Michael Baden points out the bullet entrance on the back of Kennedy's jacket to the HSCA, 9-7-78.

Blue line added to demonstrate that the slits on Kennedy's shirt were higher than the bullet entrance on the back of his jacket.

At right: HSCA Exhibit F-65, from the testimony of Dr. Baden, demonstrating the pathology panel's conclusion that the bullet entered at the first thoracic vertebrae and traveled upwards in relation to the vertebrae.



Above: Dr. Michael Baden inspects the slits on Kennedy's shirt before the HSCA, 9-7-78.



Up the Neck

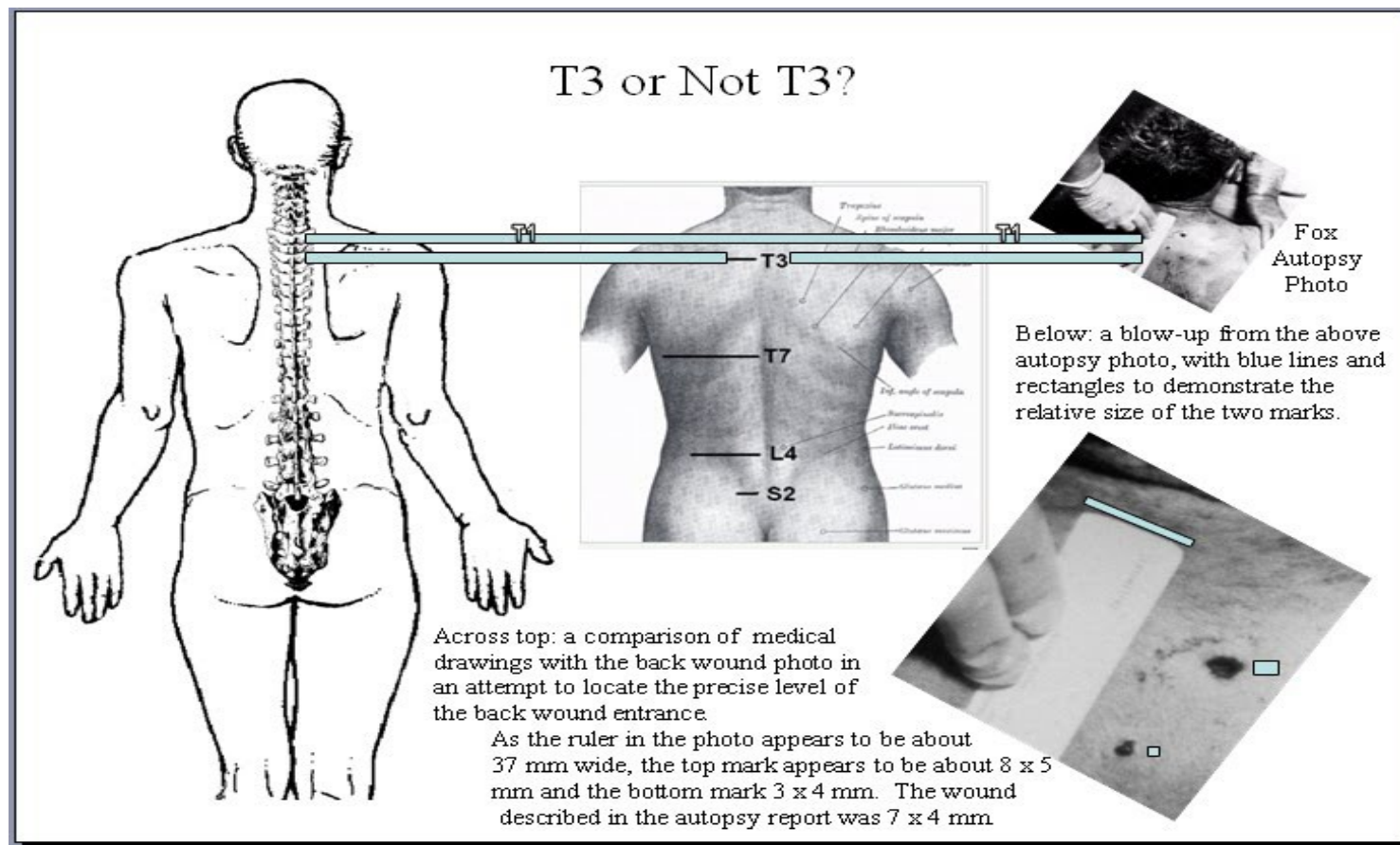
But you don't have to trust me on this. My finding that the back wound was at the same vertical level in Kennedy's body as the throat wound was shared by the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, comprising nine of the top pathologists in the country. No, that's not quite true. The forensic pathology panel's report, released in 1979, actually asserts that the bullet fired from the sniper's nest at least 20 degrees above Kennedy passed through his body in a slightly *upwards* trajectory.

When one looks at the testimony of Dr. Michael Baden before the committee, and compares the bullet entrance on the back of Kennedy's clothing with its purported exit on Kennedy's collar, one can begin to see why they came to this conclusion. The path is clearly upwards. If you're surprised by this it's no wonder. While many TV shows present the single-bullet theories of Dr. Lattimer, Gerald Posner, and Dale Myers as if they are the official government theory, the theories of these men are actually at odds with both the Warren Commission and HSCA interpretations of the wounds, trajectories, and shot

sequences.

That rant having passed, I must admit that I also have problems with the HSCA's conclusions. To begin with, it seems clear to me that the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel (FPP) was indeed mistaken in their analysis of the back wound. Not by much, mind you. While they were correct to note that the abrasion collar in the back wound photo was on the lower half of the entrance wound, and that this indicated the bullet was heading upwards along the skin, they were mistaken to say "the direction of the missile in the body on initial penetration was slightly upward, inasmuch as the lower margin of the skin is abraded in an upward direction. Furthermore, the wound beneath the skin appears to be tunneled from below upward." As the upper back is slanted towards the neck, *any* bullet striking the upper back at a downwards angle less than the angle of the slant would leave a mark along the skin reflecting an upwards trajectory. The abrasion ring noted by the FPP, therefore, could have represented a bullet heading downwards within the body as well as upwards.

Unfortunately, this is not the only point on which we disagree. Not by a long shot.



T-3 or Not T-3?

But before we go on to complain about the horrendous mistakes/deceptions of the HSCA, let me congratulate them for getting at least one thing right. They resolved the location of Kennedy's back wound! In both the testimony of Dr. Baden and in their exhibits they made it clear they believed the bullet entered at the level of the first thoracic vertebra, roughly 2 inches lower than the entrance depicted in the Warren Commission's drawings.

While my acceptance that the bullet entered at T-1 has led to at least one conspiracy theorist trumpeting

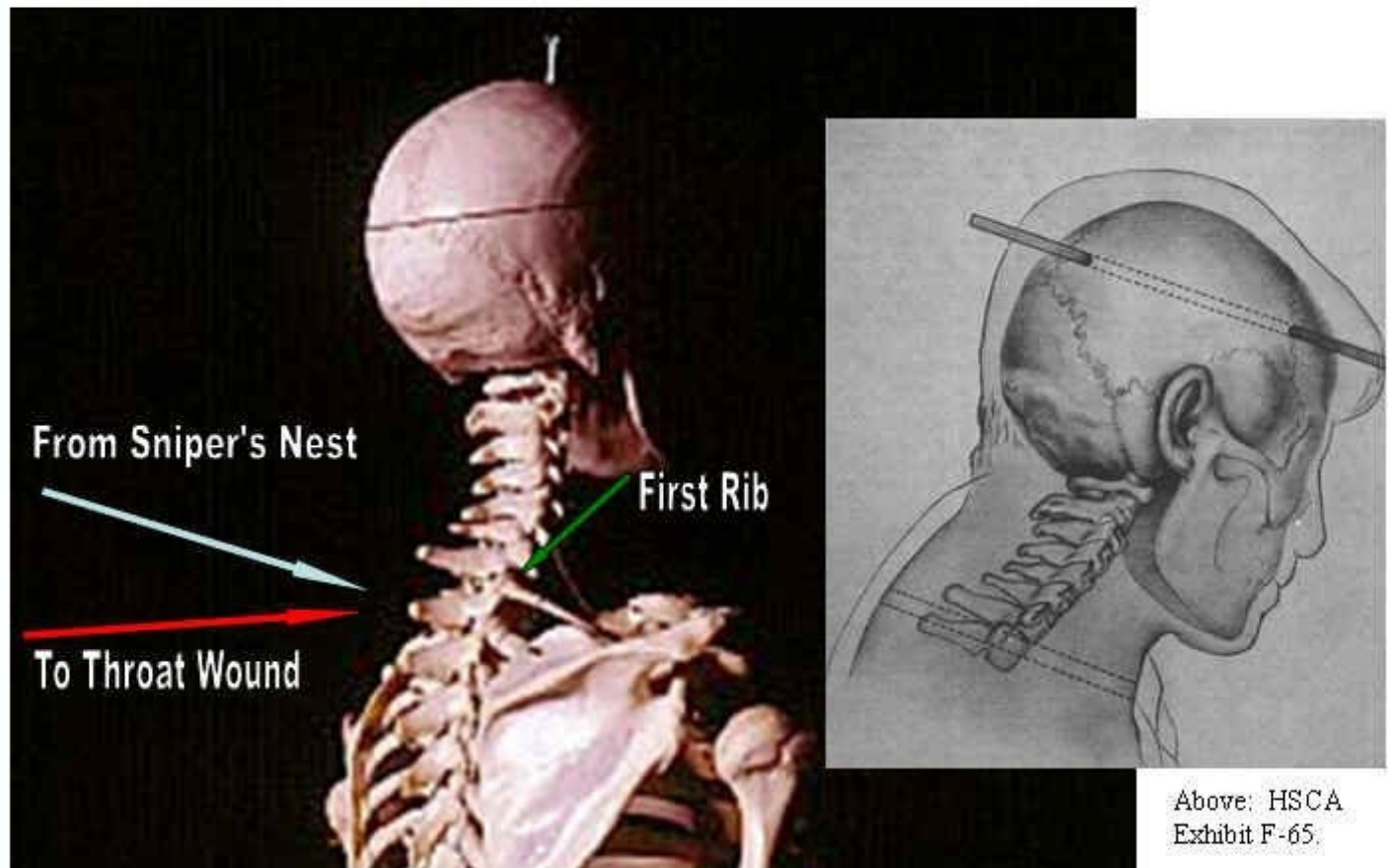
that I'm intellectually dishonest, it would be intellectually dishonest for me to pretend I disagree with the HSCA on this point. I have looked through dozens of anatomy books and measured dozens of medical drawings, and am convinced that T-3, where many conspiracy theorists place the wound, is an inch or two lower than the back wound apparent in the photos. While some point out that Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. George Burkley, placed the wound at T-3 on Kennedy's death certificate, they fail to appreciate that Burkley was far from certain about this and had, in fact, stated "a second wound occurred in the posterior back at *about* the level of the third thoracic vertebra." They also fail to appreciate that there is no indication Burkley did anything more than glimpse at Kennedy's body and did anything to establish the back wound's location beyond glimpsing at the confusing face sheet.

While some note a small mark in the back wound photo near the T-3 level, and propose that this mark was the "real" back wound, I find this also has little foundation, as the size of this mark (roughly 3 mm x 4 mm, or 12 mm) is less than 1/2 the size of the bullet wound measured at autopsy (7 mm x 4 mm, or 28 mm), and the wound at T-1 is, no surprise, a much better fit (roughly 8 mm x 5 mm).

And, FWIW, I am far from alone in my rejection of the claim the back wound on the face sheet and photos was at T-3. While Dr. David Mantik and myself have many disagreements about the Kennedy assassination medical evidence, this isn't one of them. In his 2011 review of Don Thomas' *Hear No Evil*, available on the CTKA website, Mantik made this more than clear, stating that "both the autopsy photo (Galanor 1998, Document 12) and the autopsy diagram (the descriptive sheet—see Galanor 1998, Document 5) place the wound...close to the level of T1 or T2." He thereby adopted the T1 location as the location for the purposes of discussion, a discussion which led him to reject the single-bullet theory even if the wound was at T1.

Sometimes we think alike...

T-1 is Enough



Above: a photo of a skeleton. Note that the bullet trajectory depicted by the HSCA medical panel in Exhibit 65, represented by the blue arrow, leads beneath the first rib. Also note that if Kennedy was leaning forward when struck, as purported, and the bullet traveled along the path of the red arrow, as purported, the first rib would be in its path, and would not be spared.

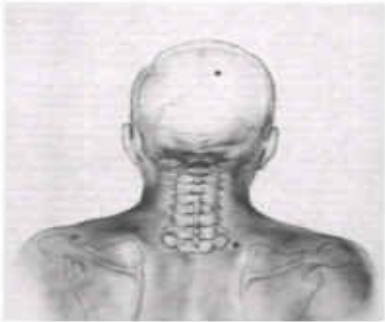
T-1 is Enough

Now, it's not as if I don't understand the sentiments of those wanting to believe the bullet entered at T-3. If the bullet entered as low as the third thoracic vertebra there would be no way it could avoid piercing Kennedy's lung en route to its purported exit in his throat. The single-bullet theory would be so outlandish not even Arlen Specter would lay claim to it. But I feel that an entry at T-1 is nearly as damaging.


You see, from poring through anatomy books, trying to figure out the proper level of the back wound entrance, I came to understand that the T-1 level of the spine corresponds to the level of the first rib. This is extremely problematic for the single-bullet theory in that, if Kennedy was sitting fairly upright, a bullet entering at T-1 as depicted in the HSCA exhibits, including Exhibit F-65, would dive down below T-1, and into Kennedy's lung. According to the autopsy, which held that nothing pierced Kennedy's lung, this did not happen. An entrance at T-1 is also problematic in that, even if Kennedy was bent forward to such an extent that the bullet entering his back would head straight for his throat, the first rib would be right in its way. As the "magic bullet," CE 399, had been avoiding sweets and had a decidedly unblemished nose, this also did not happen.


So how did the HSCA solve this dilemma? Did they accept what would seem obvious? That the lynchpin of the single-assassin conclusion, the single-bullet theory, made little sense

The HSCA Single Bullet Theory




Above: HSCA Figure 24






Above and at left: HSCA Exhibit F-46, Kennedy's supposed inclination at Z-190.



At left: Z-188, 1/9 of a second before Z-190, shows Kennedy to be sitting upright. (Z-190 is too blurred).



Middle, top: Kennedy photo demonstrating that the back wound was at the approximate level of Kennedy's tie. Red star represents the location of the throat wound as per the Clark Panel's measurements.

The HSCA Single Bullet Theory

If one were told in 1976 that the HSCA was going to determine that the Warren Commission and Clark panel were wrong, and that the back wound was at the same level as or even slightly *below* the wound in Kennedy's throat, one would rightly have concluded that the single-bullet theory had been debunked. Instead, when the HSCA published its final report in 1979, the committee concluded that the theory was still valid. To do this, they proposed that Kennedy was leaning a lot further forward than had previously been presumed.

This was doubly surprising since the HSCA had also decided that Kennedy was first hit at Zapruder frame 190, at a point when he is clearly sitting up in his seat. The Warren Commission, we should remember, concluded he was hit somewhere between frames 210-225 of the Zapruder film, when he was behind the Stemmons Freeway sign, and his forward lean could not precisely be determined. Equally troubling, by moving up the proposed moment of impact, the HSCA put Kennedy closer to the Texas School Book Depository at the time he was shot, and made the angle of descent for the "magic bullet" that much sharper. A quick comparison of Kennedy's position in Zapruder frame 188, 1/9 of a second before the supposed impact, to Kennedy's position in HSCA Exhibit F-46, a drawing of Kennedy leaning forward to the degree required for a non-deflected bullet to pass through his back and neck and then hit Governor Connally, demonstrates that Kennedy was not in the proper position to receive his wounds as proposed.

This forces one to wonder if the drawing was simply in error, or if the doctors truly believed the single bullet-theory they were depicting. Some quick measurements show that Kennedy's neck is bent forward 31 degrees in the drawing, and that the arrow descends at 27 degrees. A bullet on such a trajectory would *ascend* 4 degrees through Kennedy's body. As this matches the pathology panel's analysis of the back wound, it seems clear, then, that they expended some effort on the drawing, and were not just guessing. Which makes it hard to explain why the arrow in the drawing descends at 27 degrees. The angle of descent from the sniper's nest at frame 190, when the HSCA proposed Kennedy was first wounded, was only 24 degrees.

A careful reading of the panel's report offers a partial explanation for these errors. It indicates that F-46 was only supposed to demonstrate the relationship between Kennedy's wounds, and that determining the actual position of Kennedy at the moment of the shot and the trajectory of the bullet was the responsibility of the trajectory panel. This sets off my bullshit detector.

The 9-7-78 testimony of Dr. Cyril Wecht only adds to my concern. About the single-bullet theory, Wecht testified: *"How does a bullet that is moving slightly upward in the President proceed then to move downward 25 degrees in John Connally. This is what I cannot understand. My colleagues on the panel are aware of this. We discussed it, and what we keep coming back to is, 'well, don't know how the two men were seated in relationship to each other.' I don't care what happened behind the Stemmons Freeway sign, there is no way in the world that they can put that together, and likewise on the horizontal plane, the bullet, please keep in mind, entered in the President's right back, I agree, exited in the anterior midline of the President's neck, I agree, and was moving thence by definition, by known facts, on a straight line from entrance to exit, from right to left. And so with that bullet moving in a leftward fashion, it then somehow made an acute angular turn, came back almost two feet, stopped, made a second turn, and slammed into Gov. John Connally behind the right armpit, referred to medically as the right posterior axillary area. The vertical and horizontal trajectory of this bullet, 399, under the single bullet theory is absolutely unfathomable, indefensible, and incredible."*

Wecht's testimony indicates that some members of the panel supported the theory under the belief the shot was fired when Kennedy and Connally's positions were unclear. Earlier and subsequent statements by four of the panel's leading lights, Dr. Werner Spitz, Dr. James Weston, Dr. Charles Petty, and Dr. Michael Baden prove this to be true, and prove them to have been a bit, shall we say, clueless.

Shortly after he'd first studied the photos and X-rays on behalf the Rockefeller Commission, in a May 25, 1975 appearance on the Lou Gordon Show, Spitz declared that no one could say Kennedy and Connally were not in position to have a single-bullet create all their non-fatal wounds *"since you don't really know what had happened behind the sign when the President's motorcade was behind the sign which is noted on the Zapruder film. Since you don't really know what happened there, that the Governor may have turned around..."* Well, this is strange. Spitz had elsewhere acknowledged that the back wound was below the throat wound but was so clueless he didn't realize that the issue had then become whether or not Kennedy had leaned forward while behind the sign, not whether Connally had turned around.

By 1988, he at least seemed to know that the imaginary act he needed to propose involved President Kennedy, and not the governor. In a 1988 interview on radio station WXYT, Dr. Spitz insisted that we didn't know the position of Kennedy when he was shot because *"The first shot, when Kennedy is hit, is when he is passing behind a road sign which indicates the upcoming freeway and you really don't know when at exactly the point when Kennedy was hit in the shoulder. You think you know because of the echo, but we know very well that the echo follows the sound."* (What echo? What is he talking about?) Spitz then revealed that he--and by extension the entire pathology panel--had never been told that the photography panel had determined Kennedy to have been hit before he went behind the sign. When told that photographs indicate Kennedy was hit before he went behind the sign, he thundered: *"No,*

that's not true. You see him with a distorted face when he comes out from the sign. When he goes behind the sign, he's smiling and waving to the people on the right." (The photography panel had rejected this argument, and had determined that Kennedy was in fact in distress when he went behind the sign.)

Dr. Weston was equally in the dark. After viewing the autopsy materials in 1975, at the request of CBS News, he emerged with a similar attitude as Spitz. According to a November 28, 1975 AP article, published nationwide, Weston claimed that while a better autopsy and a photo of Kennedy when the bullets struck could have helped *"determine the bullet's point of origin,"* the *"president's car is hidden by a roadside sign in the only films of the crucial seconds when he was hit."*

Dr. Petty apparently concurred. While he never said anything, from what I have found, about the shot's impacting while Kennedy was hidden behind the sign in the Zapruder film, he did make some statements suggesting that he believed Kennedy's appearance in the frames when he was not behind the sign incompatible with the single-bullet theory. In his 1978 HSCA testimony, taken right after Dr. Wecht's testimony (perhaps to dull its impact), he defended the single-bullet theory's viability. After acknowledging that he believed the bullet trajectory to have been upward in Kennedy's body, he asserted, *"But the President was not upright at the time he was shot, he was certainly not in the anatomic position."* Shrewdly, he failed to mention when this was. If there had been a frame in which Kennedy had been leaning forward enough to support Petty's claim, one can only assume, Petty would have mentioned it.

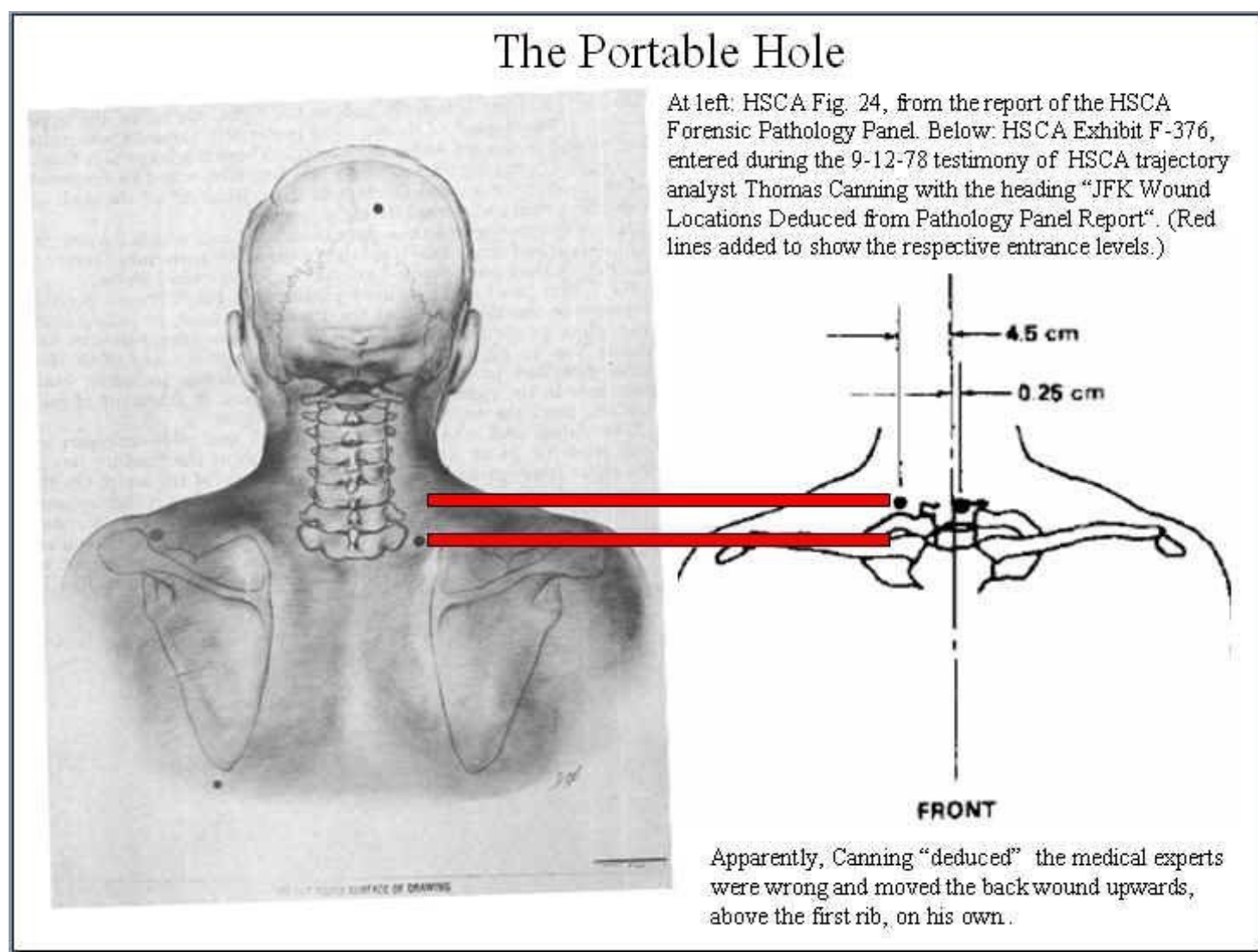
That Petty had problems locating a frame in which Kennedy and Connally's wounds were in alignment is supported, moreover, by his statements a few moments later. When discussing the horizontal trajectory, and Dr. Wecht's claim Kennedy's throat wound was not aligned with Connally's back wound for a shot from the sniper's nest, Petty asserted *"the apparent relative positions of the President and the Governor are somewhat misleading, that is, that one cannot determine by looking at a flat two dimensional view of one side of the limousine and the contained individuals precisely what relationship they had one to another."* By saying the apparent relative positions of the two men in the film were somewhat misleading, of course, Petty was as much as admitting that the film suggested, even to him, that Kennedy and Connally were never aligned in a manner supporting that they were struck by one bullet as proposed. One can only assume, then, that he, as his colleagues, felt comfortable with the assumption they were hit when their exact positions could not be observed.

In 2003, at a conference sponsored by Dr. Wecht, Dr. Baden, the pathology panel's spokesman, revealed himself to be yet another more comfortable with the blinders on. When asked to point out the moment in the Zapruder film that Kennedy is first hit, he asserted: *"My impression is that he (Kennedy) is shot behind the Stemmons Freeway sign; that's why we don't see it."* When Wecht correctly pointed out that Kennedy was only behind the sign for .9 seconds, hardly enough to lean forward and then back, Baden then explained: *"I think Kennedy's neck has to be leaning forward a little bit, waving to somebody as you do, and that would put him in position."*

Spitz, Weston, Petty, and Baden's supposition that Kennedy was hit while behind the sign in the film, and/or unscientific belief one couldn't accurately determine the relative positions of Kennedy and Connally in the limo, is inconsistent with the HSCA's findings. This, then, raises the possibility that someone (perhaps Robert Blakey) knew the Zapruder film never showed Kennedy to be in a position to receive his wounds as proposed, and had sought out someone less concerned with his reputation to claim just the opposite. That way, when confronted with the fact that Kennedy never was in such position, the doctors could always raise their hands and do their best Freddie Prinze impression, protesting, "It's not my job, mang!"

Well, then whose job was it? As the job was virtually impossible, they gave it to another 70's television

icon, a man who regularly did the impossible: Mr. Phelps.



The Portable Hole

No, not quite Mr. Phelps of Mission Impossible fame, but close. They called NASA, and NASA sent them a trajectory expert named Thomas Canning. To their eternal shame, the HSCA then gave Canning the ability to move the wounds as he saw fit, in order to better align the trajectories and, one can only assume, make sure they all pointed back to the sniper's nest.

Since this last assertion is really hard to swallow, let me quote the part of the HSCA report that makes this clear. On page 33 of HSCA Appendix Vol. 6, in the report on the trajectory analysis, when describing the procedures used to establish the bullet trajectories, it declares "The Forensic Pathology Panel was responsible for providing, to the extent possible, the precise locations of the wounds sustained by Kennedy and Connally." But there is an asterisk after this. At the bottom of the page, in an explanation of this asterisk, the report acknowledges "While the Forensic Pathology Panel did provide this information, *the actual measurements related to wound locations were determined by the NASA scientist who was responsible for supervising the trajectory project.* He was in frequent consultation with members of the Forensic Pathology Panel and with forensic anthropologists from both the FAA's Civil Aeromedical Institute, and the Smithsonian Institute." How frequent he consulted with these

unidentified panel members isn't stated. But if any of the members disagreed with Baden's testimony regarding the back wound location, and disagreed with the exhibits he presented to the committee, they were free to testify and voice their dissent. None did.

In any case, under the encouragement of others or not, when Canning testified on 9-12-78, it became clear he'd taken liberties with the wound locations. Despite the fact that Dr. Baden had testified but 5 days before, and had presented a number of exhibits, including exhibits 46, 58, and 65, depicting the bullet entering at the T-1 level, Canning boldly dragged Exhibit 376, which showed this same bullet entering considerably above the T-1 level and the problematic first rib, before the committee.

Much as a character on the old Mission: Impossible TV series, or a cartoon character, or a decent Dungeons and Dragons player, he had availed himself of a portable hole.

Apparently, his conscience had fallen down that hole. Although the wound locations in his exhibits were undoubtedly at odds with the wound locations described in the pathology panel's report, he had the cojones to entitle Exhibit 376 "JFK Wound Locations Deduced from Pathology Panel Report."

Now, in the House of Representatives they might call this creative interpretation., but in my house, we call it LYING.

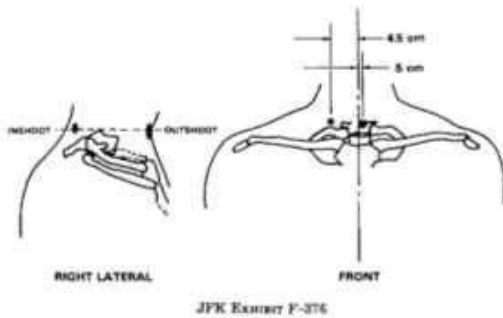
And there's reason, moreover, to think others put Canning up to it. Not doctors, but the HSCA staff... HSCA Deputy Chief Counsel Gary Cornwell, in his 1998 book Real Answers, makes a bizarre claim that shows that Canning was far from alone in misrepresenting the back wound location as interpreted by the pathology panel. Here it is: *"In the end, when the errors committed by the original clinical pathologists as set out in the Warren Commission Report are corrected, and the Warren Commission's alleged 'precision' of wound location and bullet trajectories are recognized as actually being quite imprecise, there is nothing necessarily 'magical' about the path of the single bullet."*

Feel free to read that again... Yep, Cornwell was claiming that the HSCA's being more 'precise' than the Warren Commission in its determination of the wound locations made the single-bullet theory less magical, and therefore more probable. What a crock! There isn't a soul alive--outside perhaps Cornwell--who thinks the HSCA pathology panel's re-interpreting the back wound location at a point 2 inches lower on Kennedy's back--at a point actually below the throat wound--made it more believable these wounds were connected by the path of a bullet sharply descending from above, and entering from behind.

Real Answers? Get real!

Cunning Canning and Bad Bad Baden

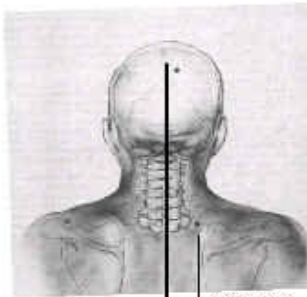
J.F.K. WOUND LOCATIONS DEDUCED FROM PATHOLOGY PANEL REPORT (AUTOPSY POSITION)



JFK EXHIBIT F-376
HSCA Exhibit F-376, 9-12-78



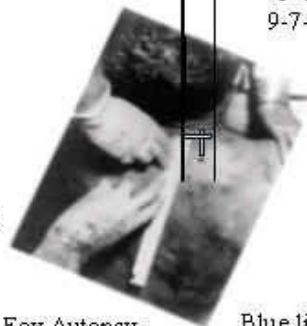
HSCA Exhibit F-47,
Warren Commission Exhibit
CE 385 presented in the
testimony of Dr. Michael
Baden, 9-7-78.



HSCA Exhibit
F-58
9-7-78



HSCA Exhibit F-46
9-7-78



Fox Autopsy
Photo

Blue lines in the photo added to help
measure the distance from the spine. Each
line equals 2 inches or 5 cm on the ruler.

Why did Thomas Canning present
evidence On 9-12-78 that
had been discredited 5 days earlier?

Why is the back wound in F-58
50% further from the spine than in
the autopsy photo at left?

Cunning Canning and Bad Bad Baden

But the incorrect placement of the back wound in F-376 is just the tip of the iceberg. For its lateral depiction of the single-bullet theory in Exhibit F-376, the trajectory panel placed the back wound on the back of the neck in nearly the exact location used in Warren Commission Exhibit CE 385. F-376, it bears repeating, was presented to the committee by Thomas Canning five days after Dr. Baden testified that the back wound in CE 385 was two inches higher than its actual location. Not stated previously, however, is that Dr. Baden presented CE 385 into evidence as HSCA Exhibit F-47. Canning had thereby presented an exhibit to the commission that confirmed the wound location in an exhibit already presented to the committee as an example of an inaccurate exhibit. Even worse, Canning claimed the wound locations in his own exhibit had come from the panel claiming the wound locations in F-47 were inaccurate! Now, I don't know which is more shocking--that Canning would misrepresent the evidence in so brazen a manner or that no one on the committee noticed that his exhibits directly contradicted the more credible testimony of the forensic pathology panel.

The forensic pathology panel's exhibits, unfortunately, weren't much better. On Exhibit F-58, for instance, the back wound was shifted slightly further from the spine than was indicated by the autopsy photos or by the measurements. The entrance was measured as being 4.5 cm from the mid-line of Kennedy's spine. If the entrance on this drawing is 4.5 cm from his midline, however, then Kennedy measured only 13.6 cm to his shoulder. The Clark Panel measured 16 cm to his shoulder, which is as one should expect for a man of his size. If he was indeed 16 cm to his shoulder, the wound in exhibit F-58 is 5.4 cm from his spine, not 4.5. In addition, if one uses the width of the ruler in the photo (which appears to be a centimeter ruler), 37 mm or 1.46 inches, to measure the distance from Kennedy's spine to the bullet entrance, one finds the entrance is approximately 3.9 cm. from his spine, not 4.5. If the

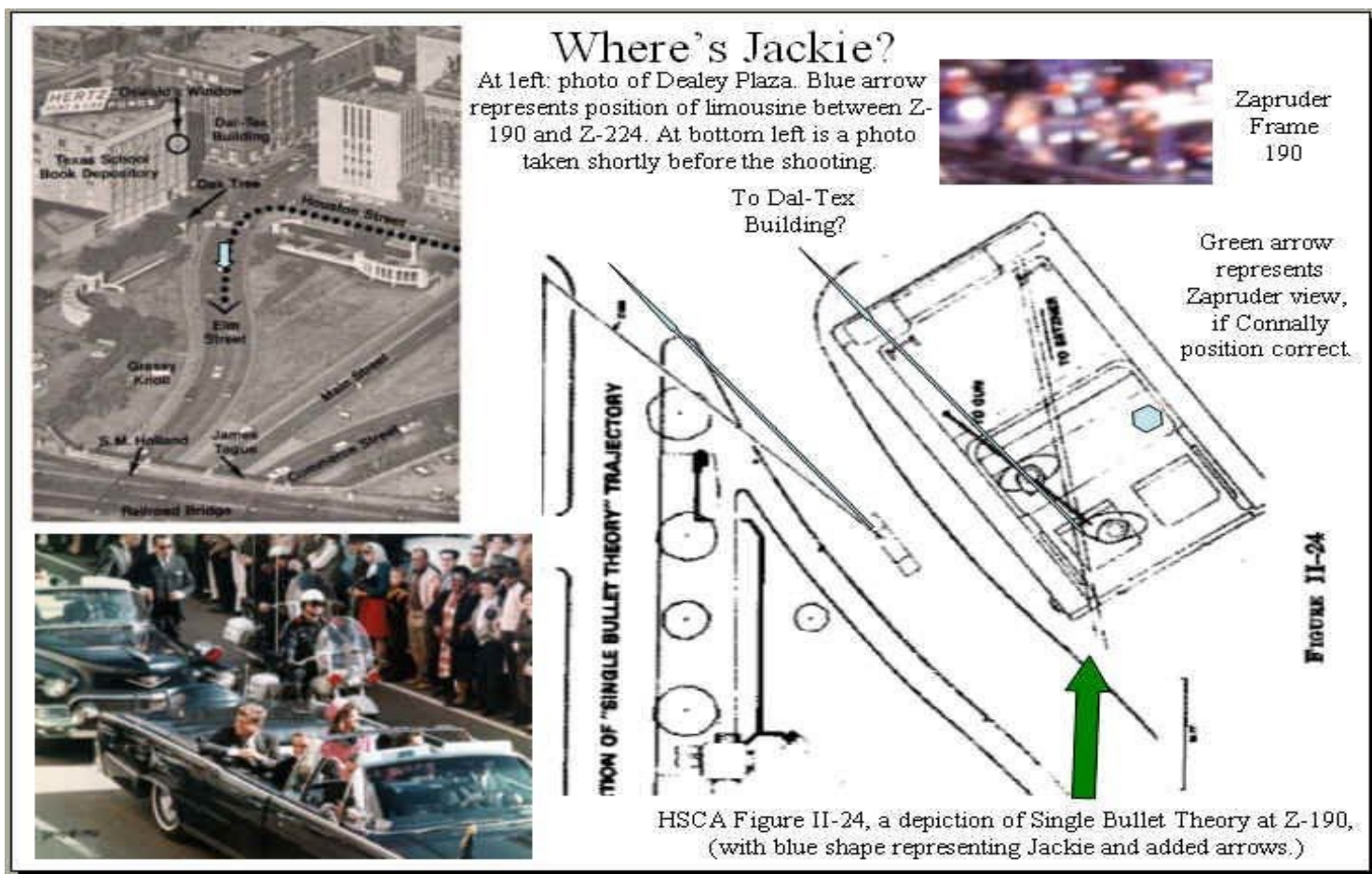
entrance was really 3.9 cm from the spine but presented in F-58 as 5.4 cm from the spine, it follows that the wound was moved almost 40% further from the spine.

This convenient movement of the back wound, courtesy Dr. Baden, who worked on the drawings with medical illustrator Ida Dox, allowed the bullet path to seem outside the width of Kennedy's spine. That this entrance was at the level of the first rib, and the first rib was not depicted, on this or on any other of the exhibits created for the medical panel, is also suspicious.

But Canning was not to be outdone. Canning held that Kennedy was leaning forward 14 degrees compared to the street when he received the back wound and that a proper analysis of his wounds and a proper analysis of his body position at frame 190 of the Zapruder film indicated the bullet was *descending* 4 degrees as it passed through his body. This, of course, directly contradicted the professional opinions of the doctors, who said the bullet passed upwards in his body. Canning held, furthermore, that when one added in the 3 degree slope of the street to the 14 of the forward lean and the 4 of the descent within the body one could project back 21 degrees from the point of impact to establish the location of the shooter. Not surprisingly, he said this was just below the sniper's nest. By deciding that Kennedy was leaning forward 14 degrees from the street and then adding the slope of the street on top of it, of course, Canning had testified that Kennedy was leaning forward 17 degrees from vertical at frame Z-190. This was far less than the 31 degrees offered by the forensic pathology panel but was still far more than was evident in the Zapruder film.

If you're having trouble grasping this, it's no wonder. There were two interpretations of Kennedy's wounds and body position put forth in major disagreement with each other. One interpretation came from nine prominent doctors and presented Kennedy leaning forward 31 degrees *before* he was shot, and the other interpretation came from a man with *no medico-legal background whatsoever*, who re-arranged the wounds and re-positioned the body to come up with something more acceptable to the committee.

That Canning's report was a confusing mess is easily demonstrated. When depicting Kennedy's wound locations he presents Figure II-13, which is the same as the anterior view of Exhibit F-376 above. This depicts a bullet entrance above Kennedy's first rib, and an exit slightly below it just above the level of the first rib. Amazingly, however, in the text of the report he tells a different story. When discussing the back wound, he writes "the back wound was located at a point 4.4 cm to the right of and 1.1 cm above Kennedy's neck wound at the time of the shot. The bullet was moving from right to left by 18 degrees and downward by 4 degrees relative to Kennedy if he were sitting erect". When discussing the single-bullet theory, he explains further "Kennedy's neck wound was 1.1 cm below the first thoracic vertebra." What? Is it really possible that Canning didn't know that the first rib was at the level of the first thoracic vertebra? Why else would he depict the bullet entrance above the rib on the drawing, and then admit it was actually at the same level as the rib in the text? And why else would he depict the exit just above the level of this rib in the drawing, and then claim it was 1.1 cm below this level in the text? Someone was pulling a fast one, or simply screwing up big time.



Where's Jackie?

When one compares Canning's depiction of the single-bullet theory to the Zapruder film one discovers another reason to doubt not only the single-bullet theory as proposed, but his commitment to the truth. As stated, by moving the single-bullet theory to Z-190 from the Warren Commission's estimation of Z-210—Z-225, the HSCA had not only increased the vertical trajectory from the sniper's nest, but the right to left trajectory of the bullet entering the limo. This forced them to re-assess Connally's position in the limousine. In order to explain how he could be hit in the armpit by a bullet exiting Kennedy's throat, Canning decided Connally was sitting near the middle of the limousine, turned to his right. This contradicted Connally's testimony that after the first shot, he *tried* to turn to his right but couldn't see the President, and was starting to turn to his left when hit. A man in the position Canning proposed for Connally could see the President quite easily when turned to his right, and would never have turned to his left in hopes of a better view.

Upon close inspection, it seems clear that Canning paid little attention to the Zapruder film when preparing this drawing. In the film, not only is Connally closer to the door than depicted in the trajectory drawing, but his torso is turned further to its right. A bullet hitting Connally at the angle determined by Canning, it follows, would probably have pierced his heart, and exited his left side. If Canning had studiously compared the Z-frames to the drawing he would also have noticed that Jacqueline Kennedy is in the film at Connally's left, but that the only way she could be at his left in the drawing would be if she were hanging over the left side of the car. Since a viewing of this sequence reveals she was sitting against the back of her seat, the only logical conclusion to be made is that Connally was closer to the door than depicted.

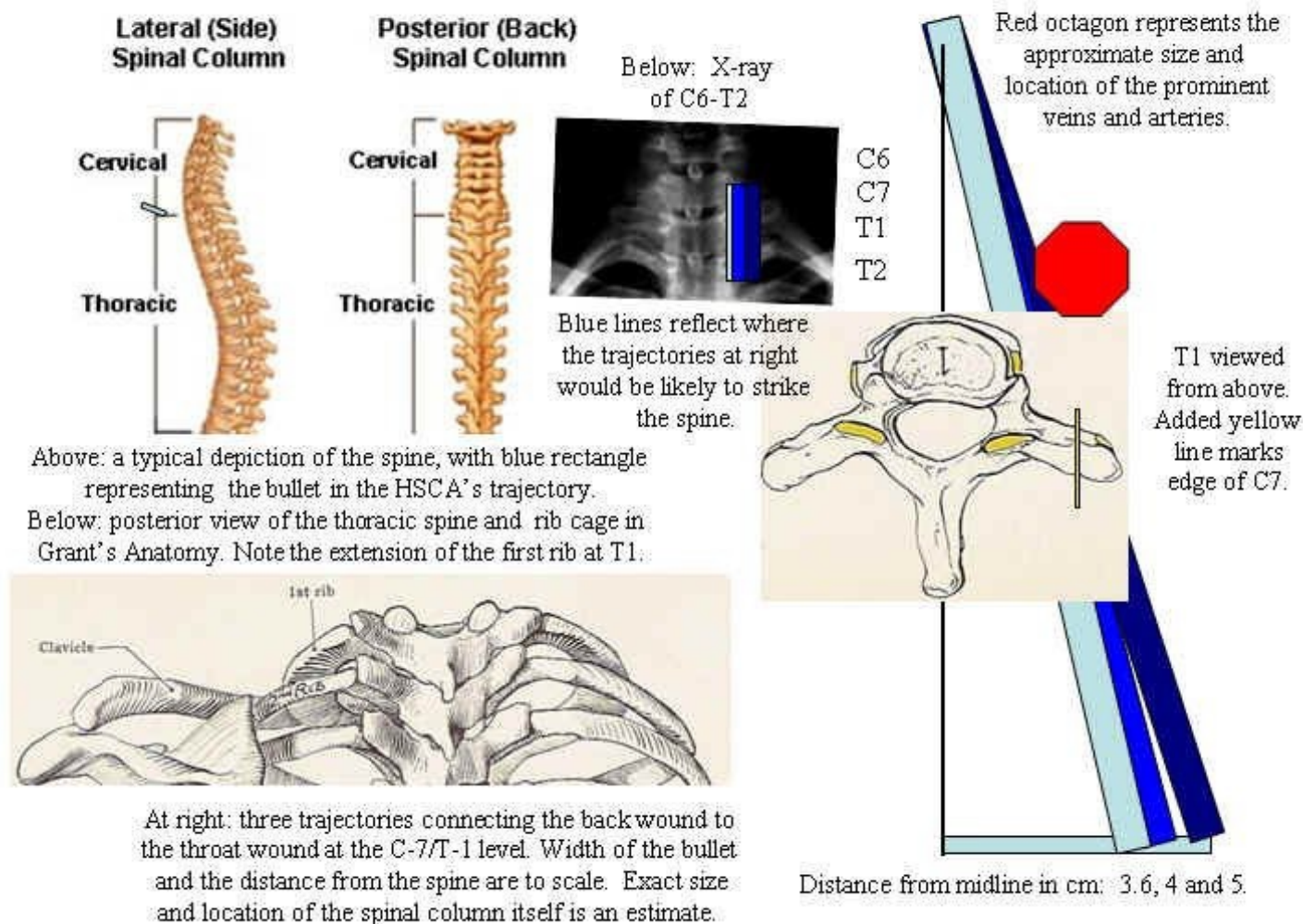
A photo taken a few minutes before Z-190, but from a similar angle, supports this conclusion. As it

depicts Jackie Kennedy sitting considerably inward from her side of the car, but still outside of Connally, it suggests that Connally was sitting in a similar position in Z-190. If one can look at Canning's exhibit and visualize Connally sliding back to the position depicted in this photo, moreover, then one can see how the backwards trajectory through Kennedy's neck on to the sniper's nest would pivot to his left, right off the face of the school book depository and right onto the face of the Dal-Tex Building.

It gets worse. When one looks closer at the drawing, which was entered into evidence as Exhibit F-144 and re-printed in the final report the next year as Figure II-24, one can see that the line supposedly leading to the sniper's nest actually leads back to the far east corner of the school book depository, approximately 5 feet from the sniper's nest. This means that if Connally was even one inch closer to the door than depicted in the drawing then the rearward projection of his wounds through Kennedy would miss the school book depository altogether and point accusingly back towards the Dal-Tex Building. Although the wound locations and their relative positions within the limousine were purportedly determined independently, and then projected back towards the sniper's location, the incredible coincidence that this trajectory just so happened to point to the corner makes me suspect that the original trajectories did in fact point towards the Dal-Tex Building, and that Canning subsequently moved Connally further and further inwards from the door until the trajectory from his back wound location through Kennedy's neck reached the school book depository. Call me paranoid if you like. But there's nothing about Canning's work for the HSCA that remotely inspires trust.

In fact, it inspires mucho mistrust. Canning's drawing reminds me of an earlier drawing used to support the single-bullet theory. In his 1966 book, *Our Murdered Presidents*, a book supporting the Warren Report and its single-bullet theory, writer Stewart M. Brooks reprinted an early cartoon depiction of the shooting. This Boston Globe cartoon inaccurately depicted the Texas School Book Depository, on the northwest corner of Houston and Elm, in the actual location of the Dal-Tex Building, on the northeast corner of Houston and Elm. Brooks thus misled his readers into believing the Warren Commission's purported single-bullet shot came from directly behind Kennedy and Connally. Now, was this just a dumb mistake?? Or was Brooks deliberately deceiving his readers, knowing full well that the Dal-Tex location was the more "logical" source for a shot striking both men on the right sides of their bodies? Call me paranoid if you like. But I'm not so sure these innocent mistakes are "innocent."

The Smoking Spine?



The Smoking Spine?

The realization that Baden's Exhibit F-58 misrepresented the location of Kennedy's back wound, and moved it further from the spine, led me to wonder just how a bullet entering a back within two inches of the middle of a grown man's spine can exit from the middle of his throat without striking his spine. Since there was NO damage to the nose of the purported magic bullet, the slightest tick of a transverse process destroys the single-bullet theory. Someone needs to show us then how the proposed magic bullet made its way through Kennedy's body without striking any bone. Every time a single-bullet theorist such as Arlen Specter makes an appearance the audience should start chanting "spine... spine..." until he deals with this problem. I'm almost serious.

Now it's not as if Specter, when developing his theory, was unaware of this problem. Pathologists consulted for an 11-24-63 article for the Associated Press had claimed that any bullet entering or exiting near the Adam's Apple would "probably" have "struck the spinal cord." When taking the testimony of Dr. Malcolm Perry in March 1964, moreover, Specter asked Perry about his initial speculation Kennedy's throat wound and head wound were caused by one bullet. To this, Perry replied "Since I observed only two wounds in my cursory examination, it would have necessitated the missile striking probably a bony structure and being deviated in its course in order to account for these two wounds...It required striking the spine." Well, if Dr. Perry thought a bullet entering the middle of Kennedy's throat and exiting the right side of his head might very well have hit his spine, shouldn't

Specter have considered the likelihood a bullet on the opposite right to left trajectory would similarly strike his spine?

So, why didn't he? Was he afraid of what he'd find? Both Dr. John Nichols in the seventies, and Dr. David Mantik in the nineties, studied the anatomy of the neck, and the trajectory of the bullet through Kennedy's neck, and concluded that the bullet, should it have entered the entrance described in the autopsy report, and exited the exit described in the autopsy report, would have struck his spine. This is so readily apparent, in fact, that one of the first articles on the president's wounds, by Frank Carey for the Associated Press, noted: "Pathologists here speculated that President Kennedy's spinal cord and some vital nerve tracts near the base of his brain may have been badly damaged by the bullet that killed him on Friday...the Washington pathologists said that if the neck wound was near the Adam's Apple, which is on the mid-line of the neck, the bullet probably struck the spinal cord, which runs up to the brain via the back of the neck, also at the mid-line. They said a bullet entering the body near the Adam's Apple--or leaving it at that point--could also plow into vital nerve channels at the base of the brain."

When I looked at this issue myself, I just couldn't find a way for the bullet to squeak through. Although some single-assassin theorist trajectories begin above T1, they nevertheless entail that the bullet passed the spine at T1, a level where the spine is considerably wider than it is higher up on the neck (even when one ignores the problematic first rib). From photos and x-rays and from the HSCA's Exhibit F-58, I was able to estimate that the spine at T1 is 60% the width of the neck above it. As my neck is approximately 5 inches wide, I estimated that Kennedy's spine was 3 inches wide at T1. This means that it extended 1.5 inches across the midline. Since the spine is slightly more than halfway between the back wound and the throat wound, however, this means that, even if the middle of the bullet entrance (which was $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide) was 2 inches to the right of the midline the bullet would strike the spine at just less than one inch from the midline, a half inch or so in from the tip of T1. If the bullet entered closer to the spine—by my analysis the entrance was roughly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the midline of the spine--then the bullet would have struck the spine at a point more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in from the tip. The width of the spine at T1 alone, therefore, even without the problematic first rib, necessitates that the bullet passed either above or below this level. But if the bullet entered at T-1 and passed above this level, the bullet would not be likely to exit at the T1 level of Kennedy's throat, as described by the doctors and demonstrated by the autopsy photos.

Which means the only way to make the single-bullet theory work is to bend it like Canning and disregard the medical experts and assert that the bullet entered above T1 and passed slightly above T1 and the first rib en route to an exit at approximately the T1 level. This has its own set of problems, however. A bullet passing just over T1 would pass at C7. In 2012, at a shopping mall, I noticed that within a series of booths set up to welcome runners returning from a 10k race for charity there were two chiropractors, and that each of them had a model spine set up to advertise his wares. I inspected these spines and spoke to these chiropractors, and they both confirmed without any hesitation whatsoever that there was "no way" a bullet could pass between the transverse processes of C7 and T1 without striking bone. (This confirmed a point I'd made years before with single-assassin theorist John McAdams, who'd repeatedly claimed a bullet could have passed on such a trajectory, and that he'd demonstrated this many times with a dowel.) In any event, this suggests that, for the bullet to pass over T1 without incident, it would have to pass the spine at C6 or higher--inches above the level of the trajectory proposed by the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel.

If there's some reason to believe Kennedy's spine at T1 is not as wide as I've ventured, however, or if there is some reason to believe that the bullet entered higher than C7 and just missed striking bone, I'd appreciate someone demonstrating just how this occurred. Similarly, if someone can come up with a reason to believe Kennedy was bent over at the moment of impact, as depicted in HSCA Exhibit F-46 (only with a higher back wound), then maybe the single-bullet theory can be defended.

Even then, however, there will still be significant problems with this fantastic theory, reviled the world over, that some nevertheless claim as a "fact."

The Speed Trap

The testimony of the HSCA's wound ballistics expert, Larry Sturdivan, is that the first bullet to strike Kennedy was traveling over 1700 feet/second as it passed through his neck. Later, in his 2005 book, *The JFK Myths*, he increased this "probable velocity" to somewhere between 2045 feet/second and 1780 feet/second. This bullet was purported to have struck only soft tissue, and done little damage to the neck. And yet, Dr. Gary Ordog, in his book *Management of Gunshot Wounds*, notes that the mortality rate for high-velocity gunshot wounds to the neck is over 50%. He explains: "*Vascular injury caused by missile wounds from bullets moving faster than 1,000 feet/second has been shown to occur by neat shearing of the vessel without stretching it first, as occurs with low-velocity missiles. This is followed by cavitation that damages a more extensive area of the blood vessel, possibly extending for at least 20 mm on each side of the bullet's path.*" He further explains that "*Cavitation stretches the smaller blood vessels, shearing and rupturing them as well as nerves and even bone.*" He later concludes: "*In the author's experience, up to 100% of patients with high-velocity bullet wounds of the neck have major structural damage requiring surgery.*"

Should one think that Ordog was some ill-informed civilian spouting his personal impressions, one should know that in support of his statements he cited a study performed by Sturdivan's employer, Edgewood Arsenal, and published in the *Archives of Surgery* in August 1970. This study concludes "*The high velocity missile neatly shears the arterial wall, but the apparent explosive effect of the temporary cavity causes 'blunt' trauma in a crushing manner.*" A chart prepared for this study, moreover, shows that a high-velocity bullet just missing an artery will nevertheless cause breaks in the artery, even when traveling as slow as 1,000 fps.

Now compare those descriptions of the damage one might expect to find with what Kennedy's autopsist, Dr. James J. Humes, told the Warren Commission he actually found. From his March 16, 1964 testimony: "*We examined in the region of this incised surgical wound which was the tracheotomy wound and we saw that there was some bruising of the muscles of the neck in the depths of this wound as well as laceration or defect in the trachea...it is our opinion that the missile traversed the neck and slid between these muscles and other vital structures with a course in the neck such as the carotid artery, the jugular vein and other structures because there was no massive hemorrhage or other massive injury in this portion of the neck.*"

While high-velocity bullets "shear" and "rupture" blood vessels in the neck, the bullet traversing Kennedy's neck was reported to have only "slid between" these vessels. While Dr. Ordog noted that up to 100% of those receiving a high-velocity gunshot wound to the neck have "major structural damage requiring surgery" Dr. Humes claimed there was "no massive hemorrhage or other massive injury" to Kennedy's neck. Hmmm...

Okay, you might be thinking, this was just the opinion of one of the autopsists, Dr. Humes. Perhaps Dr. Humes had missed something, and the other doctors disagreed and hadn't bothered to correct him. But this wasn't just Humes' speaking for the others... In 1965, Dr. Finck wrote his superior, General Blumberg, and told him not only that "*I examined the tracheotomy skin wound and the trachea and did not find evidence of a bullet wound,*" but that all three autopsists had examined the tracheotomy wound and that "*None of us noticed a bullet wound along its course.*" Double hmmm...

And to close the circle, when discussing the throat wound with the HSCA's Andy Purdy on August 17, 1977, Dr. Boswell is reported to have claimed he was "*certain...no major blood vessel (was) damaged*

by the path of the missile." Triple hmmm...

When one considers that Dr. Charles Carrico, the emergency room doctor who first examined Kennedy, also noted only minor damage to his throat, telling the HSCA that he'd observed *"some modest amount of hematoma in the recesses to the endo right of the trachea"* and that Malcolm Perry, the Parkland surgeon who performed Kennedy's tracheotomy, not only confirmed Carrico's conclusion there was little damage to the neck, but initially described the exit wound as being only 3-5 mm wide--smaller than the bullets fired by Oswald's rifle--well, then it becomes pretty darned clear that something is just wrong with the supposed single-bullet "fact". It just doesn't add up. The bullet creating Kennedy's throat wound--if it was a bullet--was almost certainly not traveling at a high velocity.

The more one digs, the clearer this becomes. Beyond testifying to his observing a small hole in the throat, and a lack of damage to the blood vessels, Dr. Perry told the Warren Commission that, before it was obscured by a tracheotomy incision, he had observed a *"small ragged laceration of the trachea on the anterior lateral right side."* A small laceration.

He later specified just how small. In 1978, when contacted by the HSCA and interviewed by its counsel Andy Purdy, he claimed that the laceration *"was on the right side of the trachea, and that it was incomplete, and I don't remember whether it was a third or a quarter of the circumference..."*

As you might have guessed, this makes little sense should Kennedy have actually been hit by a high-velocity bullet. According to Dr. D.F.N. Dixon in *Management of Gunshot Wounds*, *"Direct impact on larynx or trachea from bullets fired from high velocity military rifles or carbines will produce severe damage from their high kinetic energy, tumbling, or cavitation effect."* Furthermore, Drs. Kenneth and Roy Swan in their book *Gunshot Wounds: Pathophysiology and Management* note that *"Gunshot injuries of the larynx and trachea are infrequently seen in emergency rooms"* due to such injuries usually being associated with *"fatal exsanguination (bleeding) from injured common carotid arteries and internal jugular veins."*

Surgery in World War II, a book released by the Surgeon General of the U.S. Army in 1962, confirms this harsh assessment. A chapter written by a former surgeon of the Fifth Army, which fought Italian forces in Sicily, reports that when treating neck wounds he needed to effect *"Debridement (the removal of dead and damaged tissue) of all structures"* as *"Multiple involvement was the rule because of the anatomy of the area."* And it's not as if this understanding was restricted to military surgeons; Earl Ubell, Science Editor of the New York Herald-Tribune, described Kennedy's wounds on 11-23-63 in a manner suggesting he knew something of the destruction brought by a high-velocity bullet's slicing through a neck. He wrote *"The bullet that crashed through President Kennedy's neck and head probably took with it blood vessels and nerves leaving his entire body stunned and helpless."*

From this it seems likely that, in 1964, when the Warren Commission first released the medical reports and testimony regarding President Kennedy, there were many military and emergency room doctors, and even science editors for daily newspapers, who were aware of the single-bullet theory's speeding problem, who opted to say nothing.

It seems possible, however, that there are many other doctors, including experienced forensic pathologists such as Michael Baden, who are currently unaware of this problem. In 1980, during a seminar on forensic pathology and homicide investigation in Toronto, Ontario, Dr. Baden admitted that *"less than a tenth of 1%"* of the gunshot wounds studied by his New York coroner's office were by *"military rifles,"* and that almost all the rest came from handguns or shotguns. He admitted further that Kennedy was killed *"by rifle type ammunition which we know very little about."*

While one might assume that thousands of doctors with WW II experience would know more than Baden, and would have been able to assist the HSCA, this is not necessarily true. *Surgery in World War*

II confirms the rarity of Kennedy's wounds. Among its graphs and charts it reveals that intra-cranial head and neck wounds each accounted for but 2% of the wounds seen at the hospital level, and that rifle fire accounted for but 5% of the wounds studied. From this one can estimate that during WW II a U.S. doctor would see someone with a head wound created in the same manner as Kennedy's was purportedly created, oh, once every thousand patients or so, and someone with a neck wound created in the same manner as Kennedy's was purportedly created, also about once every thousand patients or so. This brings up the additional question of why neither the Warren Commission nor the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel consulted with doctors who'd seen the effects of Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition on soldiers, and instead used doctors affiliated with the U.S. military and/or large research facilities dependent on government grants.

Should one think it unlikely that a layman as myself should recognize this problem with the single-bullet theory bullet's velocity, when so many supposed experts, including those on the HSCA's Forensic Pathology Panel, have looked the other way, one can take comfort that one of Kennedy's emergency room doctors, Dr. Ronald Jones, mentioned this problem long before I. When asked by Arlen Specter if the throat wound could have been an exit of an M/C rifle bullet, he told the Warren Commission: *"If this were an exit wound, you would think that it exited at a very low velocity...to the point that you might think that this bullet barely made it through the soft tissues and just enough to drop out of the skin on the opposite side."*

And should one assume that Jones was a bit of an oddball, and that his fellow physicians at Parkland Hospital couldn't possibly have shared his impression that the bullet creating Kennedy's throat wound was not traveling at a high-velocity, one should know that Dr. Baxter also told Specter that the small throat wound was not in keeping with what he would expect from a high-velocity bullet. When asked by Specter why he thought such a small wound was unlikely, he replied: *"It would be unlikely because the damage that the bullet would create would be---first its speed would create a shock wave which would damage a larger number of tissues, as in its path, it would tend to strike, or usually would strike, tissues of greater density than this particular missile did and would then begin to tumble and would create larger jagged--the further it went, the more jagged would be the damage that it created; so that ordinarily there would have been a rather large wound of exit."*

Now, to be clear, Dr. Baxter accepted that the small exit, under the circumstances described by Specter, was *"perfectly understandable."* But the circumstances described by Specter were not the actual circumstances. Here is Specter's question: *"Dr. Baxter, what would your opinion be if these additional facts were present: First, the President had a bullet wound of entry on the right posterior thorax just above the upper border of the Scapula with the wound measuring 7 by 4 mm. in oval shape, being 14 cm. from the tip of the right acromion process and 14 cm. below the tip of the right mastoid process--assume this is the set of facts, that the wound Just described was caused by a 6.5 mm bullet shot from approximately 160 to 250 feet away from the President, from a weapon having a muzzle velocity of approximately 2,000 feet per second, assuming as a third factor that the bullet passed through the President's body, **going in between the strap muscles of the shoulder** without violating the pleura space and exited at a point in the midline of the neck, would the hole which you saw on the President's throat be consistent with an exit point, assuming the factors which I have just given to you?"*

Well, as we've seen, there was no evidence the bullet passed between the strap muscles of the shoulder. This is something Specter invented, as a consequence of either his lack of integrity or his lack of competence. Yes, Dr. Humes testified that there was a bruising of the strap muscles, and that in hindsight this suggested the passage of a bullet exiting the throat, but the strap muscles HE was describing were on the front of the neck, and not the back of the shoulder.

And no, Baxter was not the only Parkland doctor asked to concur with the throat wound being an exit for a high velocity bullet under the blatantly false circumstances described by Specter. Specter played

the same trick (or made the same stupid mistake, take your pick) with Dr.s McClelland, Carrico, Perry, and Jenkins. Dr. McClelland even agreed the wound could be an exit for a high velocity bullet under the incorrect assumption a Carcano bullet would lose much of its velocity in soft tissue. He had thereby supported Jones' belief the throat wound was inconsistent with a wound made by a bullet still traveling at a high velocity.

While Carrico, Perry and Jenkins agreed with Specter's make-believe scenario without reservations, furthermore, we have reason to believe at least two of them were either just playing along, or later came to realize their mistake.

Operative Trauma Management: an Atlas, a medical text book published in 1998, instructs that with high velocity gunshot wounds to the neck, *"damage may be remote from the missile tract as a result of blast injury, and the incidence of major associated injuries is high."* As discussed, there was no such damage in Kennedy's neck. This makes clear, then, that the wound to Kennedy's throat did not give the appearance of a high-velocity gunshot wound to those inspecting Kennedy's wounds. And guess what? The editor of Operative Trauma Management was none other than Dr. C. J. Carrico, the first doctor to examine Kennedy's throat wound. And guess what? The author of the cited passage was none other than Dr. Malcolm Perry, who performed a tracheotomy on Kennedy expecting to find damage to the underlying vessels, only to note no such damage beyond a small ragged wound to Kennedy's trachea.

And should one think I'm quoting Dr. Perry out of context, there's this... In 2011, an 11-17-81 letter from Dr. Perry to a student named Stephen Munson was auctioned off over the internet. A link to this letter was sent my way by David Butler. In this letter, Dr. Perry tried to explain his error in calling Kennedy's throat wound an entrance wound. He wrote *"I initially thought that the neck wound was an entrance wound only because it was small, as entrance wounds tend to be, but this is not invariably the case. Full-jacketed bullets and small missiles may produce small wounds on exiting, especially if their velocity has decreased appreciably..."*

And should that not be enough to convince one that this problem deserves our attention, one should also be aware that at least one of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel's members refused to let themselves believe that the damage to Kennedy's throat was as minor as reported, and presumed instead that the impressions of Dr.s Carrico, Perry, Humes, Boswell, and Finck were grossly in error. While the Panel kept no publicly-available notes of their discussions, Dr. Baden testified to this dispute, telling the HSCA committee, *"The panel could not unanimously agree as to whether or not the gunshot wound through the back and neck would necessarily be fatal because of the failure to examine the bullet track at the time of the autopsy--dissect the track. As a result we do not know whether there was injury to the spine of the President or to major blood vessels."* The fact that this was even questioned, after Dr. Humes and Dr. Perry testified before the Warren Commission that there was no damage to the spine or major blood vessels, indicates that there was at least one member of the panel who realized that it didn't make a lot of sense for a high-velocity bullet to create so little damage.

This member, if it was but one member, may have been Baden himself. On 8-15-78, barely three weeks before he testified on Kennedy's wounds, Baden testified before the HSCA on Dr. Martin Luther King's fatal wound. Dr. King had also been killed by a high-velocity rifle bullet; it entered his right cheek, smashed through his jaw bone, re-entered his neck, smashed through his spine and was found beneath the skin on the left side of his back. During his questioning, Dr. Baden was asked by Congressman Sawyer if a high-velocity bullet would cause *"extensive damage and severe damage to tissue out beyond its track because of the lines of force it creates within the body."* Dr. Baden's answer is most informative; after discussing the bones actually hit by the bullet, he added *"If the bullet continued through the spine, it would have severed the spinal cord. If it didn't continue through the spinal canal and sever the spinal cord, the lines of force from the impact would have severely damaged the spinal*

cord without even touching it; and much of the extensive hemorrhaging and destruction of the tissues in the face and neck area of Dr. King were due to the lines of force that you allude to, sir."

The wound as reported by Carrico, Perry and the autopsy doctors was just not severe enough to have been created by a high-velocity rifle bullet. A WW II-era report on the Bougainville Campaign, found online, describes a dozen or so chest wounds caused by 6.5 mm ammunition. The average wound of exit was many times that of the average wound of entrance, with several more than 10 times as large. While the entrance wound in Kennedy's back is believed to have been larger than the exit in his throat, I found no instances of thoracic wound entrances being larger than their exits, and only one instance where the entrance was more than one third the size of its exit. While these shots were virtually all at closer range than the shots striking Kennedy, and while all these shots were fatal, and therefore automatically more severe than the one striking Kennedy, the small size of the exit in Kennedy's throat still seems curiously disproportionate. By way of example, one man shot by a sniper from 150 yards, more than twice the length of the shot from the sniper's nest to Kennedy at Z-224, was found to have a 3 cm by 1.5 cm exit wound on his chest, more than ten times the size of the small wound observed in Kennedy's throat.

Yes, the wound was just too small. While some, including Dr. Lattimer, have noted that bullets exiting from skin covered by tight clothing will often create an exit smaller than the width of the bullet, they fail to comprehend or acknowledge that such an exit, often referred to as a "shored" or "supported" exit, leaves behind a tell-tale sign. According to Dr. Vincent J. M. Di Maio, in his 1992 book *Gunshot Wounds*, and as demonstrated online in Milicent Cranor's article *Trajectory of a Lie*, shored exit wounds are *"characterized by a broad irregular band of abrasion of the skin around the exit. In such wounds the skin is reinforced, or "shored," by a firm surface at the instant the bullet exits...Shored wounds have very wide, irregular abrasion collars and when dry may simulate contact wounds."*

Now this is nothing new. In 1976, Abdullah Fatteh, in his book *Medicolegal Investigation of Gunshot Wounds*, noted: *"If a bullet exits the skin without any resistance other than the tissue resistance, an exit hole with subsidiary tears results...If, however, the bullet exits from the skin against pressure from a firm or hard object in contact with the skin, the appearances of the exit wounds are different...If the object in contact with the skin is hard and the bullet exits against considerable resistance from it, the exit wound may not only be round but it may show a rim of abrasion in its margins. Such exit wounds could easily be mistaken for entrance wounds. Exit wounds of this nature may be seen when the victim is lying on the ground or standing against a wall when and the exited bullet is stopped by the ground or the wall. They may also be caused when the exited bullet hits a belt, buckle, tough clothing or a similar object in tight contact with the skin."* Notice that Fatteh says such a wound "may" show a rim of abrasion, not that one can expect it to show such a rim.

A 1981 article by Dr. Douglas Dixon in the *Journal of Forensic Sciences* entitled *The Characteristics of Shored Exit Wounds*, however, proclaimed: *"If the exit wound is "shored" or abutted by a firm support such as clothing, furniture, or building materials, then the exit wound may take on appearances of an entrance wound, such as a circular defect with an abraded margin. This can occur with contact, close range, or distant shots. 92% of shored exit wounds in one study had a round or ovoid defect, and all had some degree of abrasion. The degree of shoring abrasion increased directly with the KE of the projectile and the rigidity of the shoring material."* Notice that Dixon concludes that all such wounds have some degree of abrasion and that the abrasion is related to the amount of energy released in the tissue and the rigidity of the shoring material.

A September 1983 article by Dr. Josephino Aguilar in the *Journal of Forensic Medical Pathology*, moreover, shared this conclusion. Aguilar concluded that one could distinguish shored wounds of exit from entrance wounds by the *"scalloped or punched-out abrasion collar and sharply contoured skin in between the radiating skin lacerations marginating the abrasion."*

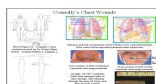
These studies then support Di Maio's subsequent claim that abrasion rings are "characteristic" of such wounds, and would most certainly be expected at the shored exit of a military rifle bullet.

This appears to be the modern consensus. The "abrasion ring problem" discussed by Cranor is reinforced by numerous other textbooks and articles, which refer to "supported" wounds--Lattimer's term for the small exit created by the tie--and "shored wounds", the more commonly used term, interchangeably. The chapter on gunshot wounds in the Encyclopedia of Forensic Sciences (2000) by Stefan Pollak and Pekka J Sauko, for example, claims: *"Occasionally, the margins of the exit wound are abraded (shored) when a firm object (e.g., tight-fitting clothes, floor, wall or back of a chair) is pressed against the body at the site of the exiting projectile (Figures 3c and 5c). Under such circumstances, the skin around the exit is abraded by the supporting surface. In contrast to the "original" abrasion ring around the entry wound, in "shored" or "supported" exits the area of abrasion is not concentric, but irregular or lopsided and often disproportionately large [17]."* Notice that the "rim of abrasion" Fatteh once said "may" be seen is now to be expected.

The doctors describing Kennedy's throat wound at Parkland described a small hole, with no noticeable abrasion ring. The autopsy doctors also failed to observe this abrasion ring. And there is no abrasion ring apparent in the autopsy photos. Even the HSCA pathology panel, which took Lattimer's cue and believed the throat wound to be a shored wound of exit, noted that the margins of what they took to be the exit wound along the bottom of the tracheotomy incision in the photos were only *"slightly denuded and reddish-brown."* They failed to note an abrasion ring. It follows then that there is no evidence the small hole in Kennedy's throat was a shored or supported (Lattimer's term) exit, and that the evidence, in fact, suggests it was not. The report of the HSCA pathology panel noted: *"Several panel members are also of the opinion that an unshored exit wound of a missile of comparable size and velocity might be similar if the missile were not misshapen by striking a substantial bone within the body."* This means the bulk of the panel was not of this opinion, and believed the shoring of the throat wound to be the only logical excuse for the small size of this exit, should the exit have been for the bullet recovered at the hospital, and fired from Oswald's rifle. This suggests that the small size of the throat wound is, in the eyes of modern forensic science, an unsolved mystery.

When I pored through forensics journals looking for any record of a bullet traveling a trajectory like that purported for the so-called "magic bullet," I found further reason to doubt. The October 1975 Journal of Forensic Sciences, for example, describes the death of a woman after she was struck in the throat, in the same location as Kennedy's throat wound, with a .25 caliber jacketed slug similar in width to the bullets fired from Oswald's rifle. This bullet traveled on a similar trajectory as the purported trajectory through Kennedy, albeit in the opposite direction. This bullet was recovered from the right transverse process of the 7th cervical spine, the area of the spine purportedly damaged by the passage of the bullet through Kennedy. However, even though this bullet was accidentally discharged from a pen gun and was traveling at a much slower speed than the bullet purportedly traversing Kennedy, it severed the woman's right common carotid artery in passage, and brought about her death.

Intriguingly, the article was co-written by Dr. Werner Spitz, a defender of the single-bullet theory, who served on both the Rockefeller Commission's medical panel and the HSCA's forensic pathology panel. Dr. Spitz needs to explain then how the supposedly high-velocity bullet striking Kennedy could traverse his neck and do so little damage, while a much slower bullet traveling on the same trajectory was so lethal. Until that time, there's no reason we should take the single-bullet theory seriously as a theory, let alone accept it as a "fact".



Connally's Chest Wounds

When one looks at the presumed trajectory of the bullet striking Connally, one finds yet another reason to doubt the single-bullet theory. (I know. I know. This is reason number umpteen. But I'm trying to put this garbage of a theory where garbage belongs, in a trash heap, NEVER to be recycled.) While a bullet traveling a flat trajectory from the entrance on Connally's back might indeed have caused a glancing blow to his fifth rib, and have exited without penetrating his lung, the fact is that the bullet exited from just below Connally's nipple at a much wider part of his chest, and that it, to quote Dr. Robert Shaw's testimony before the Warren Commission, "stripped away" "about 10 centimeters of the fifth rib starting at the, about the mid-axillary line and going to the anterior axillary line." While the HSCA's Dr. Charles Petty shared Dr. Shaw's impression of the wound and theorized that the bullet destroyed all this rib without ever piercing Connally's lung, this is extremely hard to believe when one looks at cross-sections of the chest and notes the entrance and exit locations on Connally. As Connally was turned to his right when struck, moreover, and as the bullet doing the striking was believed to have come from his right, he was simply not in the proper alignment to have the bullet slide along his right rib, whether on the outside or the inside of the rib. Of course, it also makes little sense for 10 cm of rib to be "stripped away" (as opposed to "fractured") by a bullet striking just a glancing blow. From this we can see why the rest of the HSCA panel rejected Petty's proposal. But this raises a dilemma for single-bullet theorists, far and wide. Unless one is to believe that the initial impact of the bullet in the armpit broke the rib into multiple pieces clear up to the point where the bullet made its exit, one is forced to concede that the bullet, having already passed through Kennedy, hit Connally's rib *upon entrance, hit it again upon exit*, blasted through his wrist and then penetrated his thigh, all the while suffering no more damage than one fired into cotton.

The Warren Commission hired Dr. Alfred Olivier to see if this could be. Olivier and the staff at Edgewood Arsenal, fired Mannlicher-Carcano bullets through simulated necks, simulated chests, and actual cadavers' wrists. He concluded the single-bullet theory was viable. He failed to simulate the wounds all at once, however. In 1967, CBS hired him to conduct a more thorough test. On the CBS program *The Warren Report* a bullet was shown passing through a simulated neck, a simulated chest, and a simulated wrist only to bounce off a simulated thigh. In a televised interview, Olivier admitted that, in Connally's "case, the bullet passed along the rib, fractured the rib, throwing fragments into the lung. Of course, *we have no rib here*, but it still simulates passing through the flesh." He went on to state that even without simulating the damage to Connally's rib, which would have greatly slowed the bullet prior to its even striking the wrist, "In some cases, it passed through the wrist; *in other cases it lodged in the wrist*." Amazingly, CBS declared the tests a success anyhow, insisting that the bullet would only have needed a little more velocity to penetrate the thigh. In 2003, the Discovery Channel created a similar simulation, with similar results. Once again the bullet, without being asked to strike any simulated ribs at the exit point of a simulated chest, bounced off a simulated thigh and the program declared its simulation a success.

In 1967, in the book *Where Death Delights*, Dr. Milton Helpert, a man who had supervised 10,000 autopsies on gun shot victims, explained why these tests failed. He said: "The single-bullet theory requires us to believe that this bullet went through seven layers of skin—tough, elastic, resistant skin....In addition to these seven layers of tough, human skin, this bullet passed through other layers of soft tissue, and then these shattered bones!...I just can't believe that this bullet had the force to do what Mr. Specter and the Commission have demanded of it."

But this wasn't the only test performed by Olivier to be misrepresented. In order to "simulate" Connally's chest wounds and the proposed glancing blow off his rib for the Warren Commission, Olivier arranged for thirteen sedated goats to be shot. In only one of these attempts did the bullet glance off the bone as proposed. The recovered bullet from this attempt, furthermore, was far more

damaged than the magic bullet, even though it had struck a smaller bone. After Dr. Cyril Wecht brought this up before the HSCA, HSCA special counsel I. Charles Mathews asked their ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan for an explanation. Sturdivan testified: "Exhibit 853 was a bullet that has ricocheted from the rib of a goat carcass, as Dr. Wecht indicated. However, let's remember that the goat, which is roughly 100 pounds, is much, much smaller than Governor Connally and, therefore, the bullet passed through a relatively small amount of tissue before it hit the bone, and therefore, lost correspondingly less velocity. So we would have to say that the striking velocity on that bullet, CE 853, was *much in excess* of the striking velocity on Governor Connally, *even if the bullet had passed through nothing before it hit Governor Connally.*" That Sturdivan was spinning in order to shut down speculation was made clear by his statements moments later. After being asked for the difference in velocity between a bullet striking Kennedy and then Connally versus one directly striking Connally, he replied: "this bullet if only encountering a few inches of soft tissue would go through losing *almost no* velocity, 100 feet per second or thereabouts." Thus, in Sturdivan's expert opinion, the inch or less of flesh in Connally's armpit overlying his rib would do more to slow a bullet's velocity than the 5 ½ inches of muscle and tissue in Kennedy's back and throat! The wounds are seemingly from different worlds. And at war with one another.

The absurdity of this war was reinforced by Sturdivan in his 2005 book *The JFK Myths*. In Table III he relates the probable speed of the magic bullet at seven steps of its voyage. Sturdivan proposes that the bullet was traveling at 2160 fps (plus or minus 30 fps) when fired, 2015 fps (plus or minus 30 fps) upon impact with Kennedy's neck (and yes, he writes "neck"), 1830 fps (plus or minus 50 fps) upon impact with Connally's back, 1450-800 fps (plus or minus 100 fps) while penetrating Connally's rib, 500 fps (plus or minus 100 fps) upon impact with Connally's wrist, and 135 fps (plus or minus 20 fps) upon impact with Connally's thigh. This is PREPOSTEROUS. Amazingly, he actually proposes the bullet lost more velocity in Connally's back before penetrating his rib (380 fps plus or minus 100 fps) than from passing through 5 1/2 inches of Kennedy's neck (185 fps plus or minus 50 fps) or shattering Connally's wrist (365 fps plus or minus 20 fps).

If you're wondering how a supposed expert could dream up anything so ludicrous, well, you need to look at Table II in Sturdivan's book. In Table II, he notes the speeds at which bullets like those used in the assassination rifle will deform. Here, Sturdivan relates that such a bullet traveling point first will deform on bone (such as Connally's rib) at 1700 fps and that such a bullet traveling sideways will deform on bone at 1400 fps. As the magic bullet was purportedly traveling sideways as it impacted Connally's rib, and emerged almost unscathed, Sturdivan had to find a way to lower its velocity from the 1830 fps or so it would be traveling upon exit from Kennedy's neck. So he simply decided that Connally's back flesh substantially slowed the bullet before it impacted on Connally's rib around 1450 fps. There were no tests to support this conjecture, at least none mentioned in his book. He simply decided.

No, that's not quite fair. In Appendix B of his book, Sturdivan offers an explanation for his conclusion. It's an extremely weak explanation, but an explanation nonetheless. You see, Sturdivan realized that the bullet traveled approximately 25-30 cm through Connally's back and chest, and was purported to have destroyed 10 cm of Connally's rib. He then assumed from this, on no apparent basis, that this 10 cm represented the middle third of the bullet trajectory, and that, therefore, the bullet traveled as much as 10 cm or 4 inches through Connally's body before striking his rib. Apparently, it never occurred to him to look at the entrance location near Connally's armpit, and project 4 inches forward along the trajectory from this entrance. If he had he would have seen that a bullet traveling sideways, as proposed, was on a direct course for the rib, and would have impacted the rib within the first inch or so of its journey.

If you're thinking that Sturdivan is a scientist, and his writings above reproach, you should consider

that wound ballistics expert Dr. Martin Fackler, in his testimony in the 1992 ABA mock trial of Oswald, testified that, in his estimation, the bullet exited Connally's rib and struck Connally's wrist at 900 fps. This is almost twice the speed of the bullet traveling 500 fps (plus or minus 100 fps) proposed by Sturdivan, and makes little sense if one considers Sturdivan's approximation that the bullet traversing Connally's chest lost 1200 fps or more in velocity accurate. This not only demonstrates the speculative nature of this "science," but suggests that Sturdivan stealthily cut the velocity of the bullet before it hit the rib, as here proposed. I mean, let's think about it: if the bullet had struck Connally's back at 1830 fps, as proposed by Sturdivan, and struck Connally's wrist still traveling 900 fps, as proposed by Fackler, it would most certainly have struck and penetrated Connally's rib at a speed well over 1400 fps, at a speed at which the rib would have grossly deformed the bullet.

And should one still think my suspicion of Sturdivan unfair, and that he would not have changed his findings to support that the bullet striking Connally could have been as undamaged and as nearly pristine as CE 399, one should consider the testimony of one of the HSCA's experts that "the bullet would begin to deform, if it strikes say, soft tissue, at something--remember, the density of soft tissue is around one, the density of water, and it will begin to deform at something in excess of 2,000 feet per second. In other words, at the muzzle velocity of the Mannlicher-Carcano. If it strikes bone, which is twice as dense, then it would begin to deform nose on at approximately 1,400 feet per second. If the bullet turns sideways, which is a weaker orientation, *it will deform down to around 1,000 feet feet per second.*"

Now, this expert's testimony was clearly at odds with Sturdivan's later assertion that the bullet would not deform if traveling below 1400 fps. And this expert's testimony, if accurate, clearly supports the testimony of Dr. Cyril Wecht that CE 399 would have to have been far more damaged for the single-bullet theory to be credible. And this expert was, furthermore, someone with whom Sturdivan would most certainly have compared notes before deciding the bullet wouldn't deform at 1400 fps. So who was this expert, you ask? Yeah--you guessed it--Larry Sturdivan himself...

The Upside-Down Pyramid

The bruise on the President's lung also raises some questions. When one considers that Dr. Humes told the Warren Commission that the magic bullet did not pierce the President's lung but that it nevertheless left a 5 cm wide "pyramid-shaped" bruise at the lung's tip, it should seem obvious that the damage stretched an inch and a half or more below the presumed bullet path. This is a wider bullet path than one would expect. Single-bullet theorists will explain this by insisting that the bruised lung was caused by the temporary cavity created by the supersonic passage of the bullet. They'll claim this same cavity caused the damage to the transverse process of the first thoracic vertebrae apparent on the x-rays.

But there are severe problems with this. For one, the ballistics experts of the Warren Commission and HSCA testified that the bullets fired by Mannlicher-Carcano rifles were among the most stable they ever tested, and, as a result, could pass through one man and hit another with relative ease. Unspoken but implicit in their testimony, however, is that these bullets transmit less energy into the surrounding tissue than other bullets of their class and leave a narrower wound track. (This characteristic of Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition was not exactly unnoticed by those who make it their business to notice such things. As far back as 1897, The Columbus Medical Journal noted that "In the Abyssinian campaign of the Italians, the disabling effect of the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle of 6.5 millimeters, with which they were armed, was so slight that it was thought that the ammunition had been tampered with: for the natives overcame them with frightful slaughter.")

A second problem is that, even if a Mannlicher-Carcano bullet was able to create such a cavity, since the bullet would presumably be at the center of this cavity, the temporary cavity would be around 3

inches wide. A study by the Biophysics Division of the Army's Chemical Warfare Laboratory published in Military Medicine in 1957 correlates the size of temporary cavities to permanent cavities and demonstrates that a bullet creating a 3 inch wide temporary cavity would be likely to leave a permanent cavity 15mm wide or better. When one considers that the passage of this particular bullet was impossible to probe at autopsy, left the major vessels of the neck unharmed, and left only a 3-5 mm round hole upon exit, it seems highly unlikely such a large cavity was created.

An even bigger problem is that lung is, according to the dozens of articles I've read on wound ballistics, among the least dense tissues in the body, and, as a result, "little energy transfer occurs, and temporary cavities are small." Michael S. Owen Smith made this lack of lung density and how it relates to the Kennedy assassination breathtakingly clear in the 1988 book Management of Gunshot Wounds. He said "The thorax behaves differently from the abdomen because it is largely filled with air owing to the large volume of the chest that is occupied by the lungs. Therefore, since the tissues are not mainly liquid-like, the conditions for the formation of the temporary cavity are not met. The heart and great vessels, which are filled with fluid, are extremely susceptible to damage from cavitation, and such injuries from a rifle bullet are fatal. The lung itself is remarkably resistant to damage from high-velocity bullets. Indeed, it is true to say that the lung and the skin are the two tissues that are most resistant to damage from cavitation." Hmmm.

There is still another problem with the argument Kennedy's lungs were bruised by a temporary cavity and it is that, if one is to assume there was a 3" temporary cavity around the bullet as it passed through Kennedy, one should assume there was an equally large or greater cavity around the bullet as it passed through Connally.

Let me explain. Connally's doctor testified that the bullet passed within an inch of Connally's heart. While my study of the trajectories indicates this wasn't so, that it was more like 3 inches, it also shows that for the bullet to have exited where it did from Connally's lung, it would have to have passed within an inch or so of Connally's liver. (The lower lung where the bullet made its exit sits atop the upper dome of the liver like a sailor's cap sits atop your head.) This bullet is also purported to have struck Connally's back and fifth rib at an angle, and to have traveled sideways through his body along his rib until it exploded outwards, leaving a gaping hole in his chest.

There's a problem with this. According to a June 1990 article in the British Journal of Surgery by Dr.s G. J. Cooper and J. M. Ryan, bullets traveling sideways impart more than three times the energy into the surrounding tissue as bullets traveling straight ahead. The reasons for this are explained in 1997's Ballistic Trauma, by Dr.s Jeanine Vellema and Hendrik Johannes Scholtz.

"The greater the angle of yaw when a bullet strikes a body, the greater the retardation of the bullet and consequently the greater the amount of kinetic energy transfer. This explains why unstable projectiles in flight cause larger entrance wounds on impact with the body. Once the bullet enters the denser medium of tissue, its yaw angle increases progressively until the bullet becomes completely unstable, tumbles and rotates by 180 degrees, and ends up traveling base forward. Tumbling of the bullet in tissue increases the presented cross-sectional area of the bullet, resulting in more direct tissue destruction and increased retarding (drag) forces, with consequently greater kinetic energy transfer and larger temporary cavity formation. The sudden increase of the drag force also puts strain on the bullet, which may lead to the break up of the bullet and more tissue destruction."

Now plug this in to the official story. According to the HSCA ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan, the bullet struck Kennedy in the back at 1800 feet per second, met minimal resistance, struck Connally at 1700 feet per second, and blasted out his rib at 1,100 to 1,300 feet per second. This indicates the bullet passed nearest the liver between 1300 and 1500 feet per second, traveling sideways, creating a temporary cavity much larger than the temporary cavity created in Kennedy's neck.

Now consider the damage this would do to Connally's liver.

Once again, Michael S. Owen-Smith in the book *Management of Gunshot Wounds*: "Direct damage from a high velocity missile is catastrophic, because the liver is extremely susceptible to cavitation damage and the resultant pulping of liver tissue is so extensive that most cases are fatal...Liver and spleen are so sensitive to cavitation and shock effects that they may be damaged even when the rifle bullet passes through the chest...Lesser degree of damage from bullets passing close to the liver would result in damage similar to that from low-velocity bullets or blunt injury." No such damage was reported. The *Textbook of Military Medicine*, put out by the Surgeon General of the U.S. Army, moreover, confirms: "Liver, spleen, and kidney are highly vascular, friable organs (that is, the tissues lack elasticity, they tear when they are stretched). Temporary cavitation causes severe tissue disruption...Such injuries are rapidly fatal."

Ironically, the fact that Connally survived raises grave doubts about the manner in which Kennedy died.

Ovoid? Oy Vey!

Despite the problems presented by Connally's wounds discussed above, the Warren Commission, in its report, cited the size of Connally's back wound as possible evidence the bullet had first struck Kennedy. This was clearly spin, however. On page 92, the report claims "Because of the *small* size and clean-cut edges of the wound on the Governor's back, Dr. Robert Shaw concluded that it was an entry wound." Then, on page 109 it claimed "the *large* wound on the Governor's back would be explained by a bullet which was yawing, although that type of wound might also be accounted for by a tangential striking." The report failed to note that the expert stating that the back wound was large and that the bullet may have been yawing, Dr. Olivier, did so under the impression the back wound was 3 cm in its largest dimension, and that the doctor claiming the back wound was small and a tangential strike, Dr. Shaw, testified that this 3 cm measure was not the actual measurement of the wound, but the measurement made after he'd cut away the damaged skin along its edge.

By the time of the HSCA, unfortunately, the Warren Commission's use of the back wound size as possible evidence had ballooned into its use as conclusive evidence. The HSCA's Dr. Baden, almost certainly under the influence of a November 1974 article by Dr. Lattimer in *Medical Times*, cited the shape of Connally's back wound as clear-cut evidence for the single-bullet theory. In his testimony before the committee, Dr. Baden testified that "*the panel concluded, based on the enlarged nature of the entrance perforation in the Governor's back, that the bullet was wobbling when it struck him and had to have struck something before striking the Governor.*"

It seems evident, however, that not everyone on his panel concurred. The report of Baden's Forensic Pathology Panel, published the next year, claimed instead that "*The panel believes that the ovoid characterization of this wound requires interpretation...One possible interpretation is that the avoid entrance wound, as described, could have resulted from the missile striking the skin surface on a tangential plane...Another possible interpretation of this ovoid wound is that the missile itself, just, prior to striking the body, was out of alignment with its trajectory (due to striking an intervening object). That is to say, it had tumbled slightly before entering the body, thereby creating an elongated defect...The panel, in its evaluation, also considers it important that the shape of the defect in the clothing would have been a more uniformly round hole if the bullet had struck on a tangential plane with the missile aligned with its trajectory. The panel (except for Dr. Wecht) concludes, therefore, that the wound in Governor Connally was probably inflicted by a missile which was not aligned with its trajectory but had yawed or tumbled prior to entry into the Governor.*"

Baden testified that the panel had concluded that the bullet creating Connally's back wound *"had to have struck something before striking the Governor"* when the panel, with one exception, had actually concluded that the back wound was *"probably"* inflicted by a missile which was out of alignment. The panel's report said nothing about this bullet having to have hit something before striking the Governor. Dr. Baden had ballooned this possibility into a fact during his testimony, but his colleagues had failed to back him up on it.

Not that anyone noticed. The HSCA's Final Assassinations Report claimed that Kennedy's and Connally's wounds were *"consistent with the possibility that one bullet entered the upper right back of President Kennedy, and, after emerging from the front of the neck, caused all the Governor's wounds...A factor that influenced the panel significantly was the ovoid shape of the wound in the Governor's back, indicating that the bullet had begun to tumble or yaw before entering"* because *"An ovoid wound is characteristic of one caused by a bullet that has passed through or glanced off an intervening object."*

It seems clear, then, that Dr. Baden had misled the Committee about the significance of this ovoid wound. As previously mentioned, and as discussed in Milicent Cranor's excellent online article, Trajectory of a Lie, Dr. Robert Shaw, Governor Connally's doctor, testified before the Warren Commission in 1964 that Connally's back wound was about 1.5 x 5/8 centimeters (4H104), but that he later removed the damaged skin around this entrance and enlarged it to about 3 cm (6H188). By 1974, however, Dr. Lattimer, noticing that 3 cm was the same size as a 6.5 mm Mannlicher/Carcano bullet traveling sideways, seized upon this second measurement and started claiming in his articles that this was the actual size of the wound. Not surprisingly, he asserted that the size of Connally's wound demonstrated the bullet was traveling sideways and not merely at an angle to Connally's back, as testified to by Shaw. As demonstrated by Cranor, Lattimer let out a big smelly lie in the process.

This, of course, would have been the word of but one sloppy researcher/zealot had Baden and others not fallen under Lattimer's smell/spell. Although Dr. Shaw repeated his claim the wound was really 1.5 x 5/8 cm to an HSCA investigator, and was even quoted on this in the report of Baden's Panel, Dr. Baden oversold the significance of this ovoid shape in his testimony before the committee and produced a smelly lie of his own in his 1989 book Unnatural Death. While an HSCA report written by Baden records the length of Connally's back scar as 1 1/8 inches (or 2.9 cm), Baden told Unnatural Death's readers the back wound scar was 2 inches long (or 5 cm).

The impact of Lattimer's and Baden's lies has been palpable. In 1992, in the mock trial of Oswald put on by the American Bar Association and televised on Court TV, Dr. Martin Fackler, testifying for the prosecution, repeated the 3 cm lie, and made matters worse by incorrectly testifying, when it was pointed out to him that Dr. Shaw had told the HSCA that the wound was really 1.5 cm, that Dr. Shaw had only changed his recollection "later on." (Dr. Shaw had, in fact, insisted since first asked that the bullet hole was 1.5 cm long, and that the 3 cm measurement on his report reflected not the size of the bullet hole, but the size of the wound after skin had been removed.) Since then, "researchers" (more like single-bullet theory aficionados or Lattimerites) such as Gus Russo and Dale Myers have also misrepresented the back wound as 3 cm or more in their work. Myers, on his website, actually links to an HSCA report to support that the wound was 3 cm, failing to tell his readers that just below the statement by Shaw in this report is another statement, in which Shaw clarifies his earlier statements, and insists the 3 cm measurement was the measurement of the wound after he'd cut away some of Connally's skin.

Not only do these theorists misrepresent the size of Connally's back wound to sell their theory, they miss that the hole on Connally's jacket and shirt were, according to the HSCA, 1.7 x 1.2 cm and 1.3 x .8 cm, respectively, an impossibility if the wound was truly 3 cm wide, as they propose.

While acknowledging this 1.7 cm tear, HSCA ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan, in his 2005 book *The JFK Myths*, argues that a 1.5-1.7 cm entrance is still ovoid and is therefore still an indication that the bullet struck something--such as a President--before striking Connally. He, as Baden before him, fails to acknowledge that the HSCA determined the defect in *Kennedy's jacket* was even more ovoid (1 by 1.5 cm) than Connally's jacket (1.7 x 1.2 cm) and that the defect in Kennedy's shirt was also an ovoid .8 x 1.2 cm (to Connally's 1.3 x .8 cm). He also overlooks that the entrance on Kennedy's back was originally measured at an ovoid .7 x .4 cm and that the entrance on the back of Kennedy's head was measured at an absolutely ovoid 1.5 x .6 cm. While the ovoid nature of these entrances could indicate that the bullets were tumbling, they more probably indicate that the bullets entered at an angle, exactly as proposed by Dr. Shaw way back in 1964.

Still, there's another possibility. Papers by Ronchi and Ugolini (Zacchia, 1980) and Menzies et al (Journal of Forensic Sciences, 1981) found that a bullet wound of abnormal length or width can be taken as an indication that the weapon firing the projectile was equipped with a silencer. This assertion has been repeated, furthermore, in books such as 1997's *Ballistic Trauma*, by South African forensic pathologists Jeanine Vellema and Hendrik Johannes Scholtz.

Just a little something to think about.

As is this... When the Discovery Channel attempted to replicate Kennedy's and Connally's wounds for their 2004 program *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, the wound on the Connally torso's back created by the tumbling bullet in the program was not ovoid at all, but "keyhole" shaped, and measured 50 x 45 mm.

Ovoid? Oy Vey!

NAA Results for 3 Key Elements in Parts Per Million					
Sample	Antimony	Sample	Silver	Sample	Copper
6001c2	1235	141oswald	22.4	6002d	4518
6001c	1218	573 walker	20.8	6001a	2766
6001c3	1156	6001b2	18.6	842 wrist	994
6001c rt	1139	6003a	15.9	6001c1	391
6001c1	1062	6003a rt	15.9	6000a	372
6002b2	*1007	6001b	15.3	6003a2	257
6002b1	*990	6001b1	15.3	6000b	167
6002a1	*983	6001b4	15	6001d	147
6002b	*949	6001b3	13.9	6002c	120
6002b4	946	6000b	13.5	573 walker	100
6002b3	942	6001a	12.2	6001c rt	67
6002a3	882	6000a	11.8	6003b	62
6002a2	*869	6001d	11.6	399 magic	58
399 magic	**833	6002b4	10.7	6002a2	58
842 wrist	**797	6002a1	10.3	6001c	48
6001b4	*791	6002a3	10.2	6002a rt	45
6001b	*732	6002b2	10.1	840a floor	44
6003a	*730	6001c2	10.1	840b floor	42
6003a rt	***687	6002a2	9.9	567 seat	40
840b floor	**647	6002b3	9.8	843 brain	40
6001b2	****646	6003a3	9.8	6003c	36
6001b3	****646	842 wrist	9.8	6002a1	34
840a floor	****638	6002b	9.7	6002a	30
843 brain	****621	6002b1	9.7	6002a3	30
6001b1	****621	6003a1	9.6	6003a1	28
567 seat	***602	6001c1	9.5	6003a rt	27
6003c	*464	6001c3	9.2	6002b	25
6003a3	*441	6002a	9.1	6002b3	24
6003a1	*395	6002a rt	9.1	6002b4	24
6002a	*385	6003c	8.8	6001b	23
6003a2	*363	6003d	8.7	6001c3	23
6002a rt	*358	840a floor	8.6	141oswald	22
6000b	*261	6001c	8.5	6003a	21
6003d	*240	6001c rt	8.5	6001b4	20
6000a	**173	6003a2	8.3	6001c2	20
6001d	**161	6002d	8.3	6001b2	19
6001a	**158	567 seat	8.1	6001b1	19
6002d	121	843 brain	7.9	6001b3	18
6003b	80	6003b	7.9	6003d	17
6002c	**24	840b floor	7.9	6003a3	16
573 walker	**17	399 magic	7.9	6002b1	16
141oswald	**15	6002c	6	6002b2	10

Neutron Activation Analysis Analysis



Above: CE 567, the nose of a bullet, found on the front seat of the limousine, with organic material removed in 1998.



Above: CE 569, the copper base of a bullet, found next to the front seat of the limousine



Above: CE 840, two of the three fragments found on the carpet of the limousine. The third is now missing.



Above: CE 399, the "magic bullet," found on a stretcher in Parkland Hospital.

* denotes within 36 ppm of one other sample
 ** denotes within 36 ppm of two other samples
 *** denotes within 36 ppm of three other samples
 **** denotes within 36 ppm of four other samples
 ***** denotes within 36 ppm of five other samples

Samples from identical bullets are color-coded

Neutron Activation Analysis Analysis

Another strong argument against the single-bullet theory can be found in the words and works of Dr. Vincent Guinn. While single-assassin theorists cite Guinn as an expert on bullet-lead analysis, and endlessly tout that he testified both before the HSCA and in subsequent televised appearances (such as 1988's PBS program *Who Shot President Kennedy?*) that his test results indicated only two bullets struck Kennedy and Connally, and that the bullet fragment removed from Connally's wrist "matched" and most probably came from the bullet purportedly found on Connally's stretcher, few have actually studied Guinn's results or read his numerous articles.

If they had, they wouldn't be so supportive.

And that's not just me talking. In his book *Every Contact Leaves a Trace* (2000), noted forensic scientist Dr. Zakaria Erzinclioglu reported that, when one actually studies Guinn's results, *"it is clear that the trace element evidence shows that more than two bullets were fired."*

Still, on what basis can a layman as myself question the findings of a nuclear physicist?

Well, without even going into the substantial circumstantial evidence indicating that the bullet supposedly found on Connally's stretcher after falling from his leg was, in fact, found on someone else's stretcher (as per the hospital employees who discovered it—Darrell Tomlinson and Nathan Pool), was never seen until at least an hour after Connally had been rushed into the hospital (as per the nurses and orderlies who removed Connally's clothes and wheeled away his stretcher—Doris Nelson, Ruth Standridge, Jane Wester, and R. J. Jimison) and never lodged in his leg (as per Connally's doctor, Dr. George Shires), there is reason to doubt Guinn's results proved what so many believe. (An alternative explanation for the bullet's presence on the stretcher appears at the end of this chapter.)

If one looks at Guinn's results, one realizes there is a surprising lack of uniformity in the make-up of Mannlicher-Carcano bullets, both from bullet to bullet and box to box. This is because the type of ammunition used in the gun believed to be Oswald's was made from the melted-down lead of other bullets. When one looks even closer at Guinn's analysis, one finds that his interpretation of his test results leaves even more to be desired. Since Guinn believed that similar counts in parts per million of certain elements could leave an identifiable fingerprint of exact bullets, and that antimony, silver, and copper were the most reliable of these elements, let's make a comparison between three sets of bullets on these elements, and Guinn's subsequent conclusions.

Numbers reflect the counts of the two samples in parts per million.

A vs. B. 647-602 antimony, 8.6-7.9 silver, and 44-40 copper.

C vs. D, 833-797 antimony, 9.8-7.9 silver, and 994-58 copper.

E vs. F, 732-730 antimony, 15.9-15.3 silver, and 23-21 copper.

So which two samples were described by Guinn as being from the same bullet?

Well, that's actually a trick question, as A vs. B actually represents FOUR samples, a fragment found in Kennedy's brain, two fragments found on the floor of the limousine, and the nose of the bullet found on the front seat. And yet notice how uniform they seem to be. One might actually conclude they are probably from the same bullet. And Guinn did. Well, since they were so uniform and since Guinn also concluded the wrist fragments came from the magic bullet, then E vs. F must be the comparison between the magic bullet and the wrist fragment, right?

WRONG. E vs. F is a comparison between 6001B and 6003A, test bullets taken from separate batches of ammunition from separate years. Subsequent tests showed them to be quite dissimilar.

Which leaves C vs. D as the wrist/magic comparison. Since the silver and copper ranges are substantial, it's safe to say Guinn's conclusion came purely from the similarity on antimony. He ignored everything else and focused on those two numbers...833-797. And yet, when one looks at the test results, one finds that 6002 A2 was at 869, and 6001 B4 was at 791, within 36 ppm of the magic bullet and the wrist fragment, respectively, and this out of only 40 tests beyond the magic bullet and wrist fragment. This translates to there being a 5% chance for the wrist and magic fragments to fall within 36 ppm randomly. Of the 14 different bullets tested from assorted boxes of Western Cartridge ammunition, in fact, 3, 6000a, 6001d, and 6001A, were within 15 ppm on antimony, even though they were from different years and different batches. This reduces the 833-797 numbers to nothing near the relevance Guinn and such disciples as Kenneth Rahn attach to it. When one takes into account the other six elements tested, in fact, the logical deduction is amazingly the opposite of Guinn's ...that it's highly probable the magic bullet and the wrist fragment ARE NOT related.

A comparison of ranges of the 4 fragments found in the limousine vs. the magic bullet/wrist fragment on the 7 elements tested by Guinn:

Antimony: 4 fragments 647-602, magic/wrist 833-797

Silver: 4 fragments 8.6-7.9, magic/wrist 9.8-7.9

Copper: 4 fragments 44-40, magic/wrist 994-58

Aluminum: 4 fragments 5.5-1.1, magic/wrist 8.1-0

Manganese: 4 fragments 0.1-0.01, magic/wrist 0.09-0.07

Sodium: 4 fragments 134-9, magic/wrist 120-5

Chlorine: 4 fragments 59-22, magic/wrist 257-19

Since the range of 2 related samples should be smaller than the range of 4 related samples (7 out of 8 times), and since the range difference should usually be significant, it's clear that manganese is the only element that suggests the magic bullet and wrist fragment are related, and that antimony and sodium are also consistent with that analysis. It's equally obvious that the other 4 elements tested are strongly suggestive there was NO relation at all between the two, as the range of the 2 samples is many times that of the 4. The proper conclusion then should be that the magic bullet and the wrist fragment are most probably not related. This conclusion is supported by the additional fact that CE 399, while missing some lead, is not believed to have lost any size-able amount of copper. As both Connally's coat by his exit wound and the wrist fragments themselves were found to contain inordinate amounts of copper, one should conclude he was struck by a separate bullet whose jacket had been badly damaged. In short, anyone whose argument for the single bullet theory relies on Guinn's analysis has clearly never studied Guinn's results with an open mind. His conclusion was wrong; whether he sincerely believed his testimony or was asked to lie is open to conjecture.

The FBI v Guinn

While I had not planned on engaging in such conjecture, recent developments in bullet lead analysis have alerted me to much that is suspicious with Guinn's analysis...beyond his incorrect conclusions. On September 1, 2005, the FBI announced they would no longer analyze bullet lead. Their decision was spurred on by a February 2004 report by the National Academy of Sciences questioning the value of bullet lead analysis, particularly in light that it had never been tested by scientists outside those whose careers depended on its presumed worth, including Vincent Guinn. Surprisingly, this study was

performed by the Academy on behalf of the FBI itself, after a former FBI metallurgist named William Tobin began writing articles critical of the probative value of bullet lead analysis. Shockingly, this study even spurred one-time HSCA Chief Counsel Robert Blakey, the man who'd pushed Guinn's findings on the House Committee, to reverse himself and publicly denounce Guinn's findings as "junk science."

Among the reports written by Mr. Tobin and members of the Academy, I found at least three good reasons to suspect that Guinn knew his HSCA testimony was questionable.

1. Although bullet lead analysis was conducted by the FBI for over 30 years, the FBI would not allow its employees to testify beyond that a bullet (usually found within a body) was likely to have come from the same box as bullets found somewhere else (usually in the home of a suspect). The FBI's Cortlandt Cunningham, then Chief of the Firearms section of the FBI Crime Lab, testified in court on February 24, 1977, only months before Guinn's tests, that his agents could only testify that a bullet "could have come from that source or another source with that same composition" and could not identify a fragment as having come from a particular bullet. Guinn's testimony that it was "highly probable" the wrist fragments and the magic bullet were parts of the same bullet is therefore perhaps the only time in history someone has testified to such a degree. Since the National Academy has now found that "The available data do not support any statement that a crime bullet came from, or is likely to have come from, a particular box of ammunition," and that the possible existence of coincidentally indistinguishable bullets "should be acknowledged in the laboratory report and by the expert witness" it would seem apparent that Guinn's expert opinion went well beyond what was warranted.

2. While Guinn said his opinion was based on the results of three elements, antimony, silver, and copper, the FBI at that time was using antimony, copper, and arsenic. Even when Guinn expanded his test to seven elements, arsenic was not included. This forces one to consider the possibility that Guinn tested arsenic, found it did not match, and excluded it from his results. Since silver, which the FBI started using as one of its seven elements in 1990, is reported to have little value, as most bullets are within a small range in parts per million, and are considered to match, its propping up by Guinn as the second most valuable element is also intriguing. Guinn's own results, where more than half of the test bullets matched the wrist fragment in silver, with many of them closer in parts per million than the "magic" bullet determined by Guinn to be identical, support that such a match is not really much of a match.

3. It seems Guinn himself was skeptical of any conclusions based on only three elements. In 1970, Forensic Neutron Activation Analysis of Bullet Lead Specimens, a report prepared by Guinn and three other scientists for the Atomic Energy Commission, concluded "two bullets with the same pattern of only three identification points are not usually definitively identified as having a common source, Matching concentrations of all three elements does not indicate that two bullets came from the same lot." Since the FBI began using seven elements 20 years later, and since it was necessary for a bullet to match on all three elements tested up until that time, and all seven elements afterwards, before the FBI would even find that a bullet *was likely to have come from the same box* as another bullet, it seems clear that, due to the problems with copper, at no time in its history would the FBI have testified that the wrist fragments and the magic bullet matched. In fact, when given the opportunity to do so, in 1964, without even testing copper, the FBI ruled their tests inconclusive and kept them from the public. The question then is not only why Guinn testified in the manner he testified, in contradiction to his previous reports and the accepted standards of the FBI, but whether the FBI was deliberately removed from the process.

Should one suspect I'm exaggerating the vast divide between Guinn's methodology and that of the FBI's crime lab, one need but read The Basis for Compositional Lead Comparisons, an article by Charles Peters of the FBI's Materials Analysis Unit, published in the July, 2002 issue of Forensic

Science Communications, and available on the FBI's website. Peters explains: *"Years of analysis in the FBI Laboratory have demonstrated that the distinctiveness of a melt is defined not only by the number of elements measured but also by the relative scarcity of other alloys in that melt. Not all measured elements are equally effective at discriminating among lead sources, however. In general, for most lead products, the relative source discrimination power of the measured elements decreases in the following order: copper, arsenic, antimony, bismuth, and silver (Peele et al. 1991). Tin is not included in this list because in many lead sources it is not present at detectable levels. However, when tin is present, it provides excellent discrimination among melts of lead. Antimony, specified by the ammunition manufacturers, is alloyed with lead in order to harden the bullets. The other elements are present in trace amounts and can vary from one product to another."* Note that Peters considers both copper, which Guinn found did not match, and arsenic, which Guinn inexplicably failed to test, more reliable indicators than antimony, which Guinn upheld as the only element that mattered. From this it seems clear that, should they have been forced to testify, and encouraged to tell the truth, the FBI's crime lab employees would have told the HSCA that the stretcher bullet and wrist fragments did not match, and that the single-bullet theory, which their former Director J. Edgar Hoover never believed anyhow, was bunkum. This brings us back to the question of why Guinn and Guinn alone was called.

Arsenic Poisoning

Should one think I'm being a nit-picker, and assume that Guinn had found his own reasons not to trust arsenic as an indicator, and his own reasons to think a single true match was sufficient to pronounce that two fragments were highly probable to have come from the same bullet, let alone the same source, one should read the words of Guinn himself. The bulk of the tests described in Guinn's 1970 report to the AEC were for antimony, copper, and arsenic. Although antimony and copper were found in much more consistent numbers from lot to lot, and box to box, of the same type bullets tested, than arsenic, making arsenic the least reliable, there was no call that arsenic be dropped. In *Chemistry and Crime*, an anthology published by the American Chemical Society in 1983, moreover, Guinn claimed that *"small samples of bullet lead can be analyzed rapidly, quantitatively, and non-destructively for their concentrations of antimony, silver, copper, arsenic, and sometimes tin."* He then explained that antimony, silver, and copper can be tested via a rapid screening method, but that the test for tin takes slightly longer, and the test for arsenic even longer. He then declared *"if the rapid screening procedure reveals marked differences in the elemental composition (antimony, silver, and copper concentrations) of two bullet lead samples (e.g. a sample from a fatal bullet, and one from a cartridge found in the possession of a suspect) it is apparent they were not produced from the same homogeneous melt of lead, and hence, no further analysis is necessary. If, however, the two samples being compared are analytically indistinguishable from one another in their antimony, silver, and copper concentrations, it is desirable to also compare them via their **arsenic** concentrations by using the longer procedure to provide four points of comparison instead of just three. In crucial cases, it is even worthwhile to use a third (intermediate) INAA procedure, in an effort to detect and measure a fifth element, tin."*

Well, hell, seeing as neither arsenic nor tin were (at least officially) tested, are we to assume that Guinn didn't consider the murder of a president a crucial case?

And it's not as if this was the only time Guinn touted the benefits of arsenic...

In *Activation Analysis Vol.2*, published 1990, the arsenic poisoning of Guinn's credibility approaches a lethal dose. While discussing the best way to test bullet lead, he proposed that one first test his three favorites (antimony, silver, and copper). He then declared: *"If this fast method clearly shows that none of the victim specimens match any of the specimens associated with a suspect, in elemental composition, no further analyses are needed. However, if one or more of the victim specimens appears*

to match one or more of the suspect samples, an additional analysis is called for...to add a fourth element (AS-arsenic) to the comparison." He then discussed other elements that can be tested, including tin. Later, in this chapter, Guinn trumpeted that his bullet lead testing procedures had *"been used to advantage in many hundreds of criminal cases...including some very well known cases (e.g. the President John F. Kennedy assassination)."*

Sorry, but I have to ask--to whose advantage, exactly?

In Nuclear Analytical Methods in the Life Sciences, published 1991, moreover, Guinn once again pushed arsenic and tin. There, he asserted: *"Applications of the NAA method in the field of forensic chemistry--such as the detection of primer gunshot residue (detecting barium and antimony), and the analysis of evidence specimens of bullet lead and shotshell pellets (for antimony, arsenic, silver, copper, and tin)--are special to the author and used on a large scale in the investigation of gunshot homicide criminal cases, especially by the FBI Laboratory. In 1977, as part of the reinvestigation of the President Kennedy assassination, the author's reanalysis of all the bullet-lead evidence specimens, by INAA, produced decisive results."*

So, should we assume that in 1978, when Guinn testified before the HSCA, he just didn't have the appreciation for the importance of arsenic and tin he would later develop?

When asked if there were other elements found in bullets beyond antimony, silver, and copper, after all, he'd testified: *"Well, many times in bullets, under the conditions that we normally use, you will just see those three. Very often, unless you very carefully clean them, you will find a little bit of sodium and a little bit of chlorine, coming from salt, which may be from perspiration if anybody has handled the specimens, or salt spray in the air if it is anywhere near the ocean, for example. Often you will find a little trace of manganese... The main reason for using the activation analysis method is that it is an extremely sensitive method. it will detect very small concentrations, but it doesn't have the same sensitivity for all elements. Some are far more sensitive than others. So we sometimes see a little manganese, occasionally a little aluminum, once in a while some arsenic or tin. That about covers all of the elements that we have ever seen in all bullet leads."*

"Once in a while some arsenic or tin..." Was Guinn deliberately downplaying the importance of arsenic? Or did he simply not see it as important?

If so, it's hard to see how. Guinn had tested arsenic as far back as the 1960's. An article in the May 2004 issue of Analytical Chemistry credits him with pioneering its use. Forensic Neutron Activation Analysis of Bullet Lead Specimens, the 1970 report co-written by Guinn describing his tests for antimony, arsenic, and copper in bullet lead, had suggested that more elements be added into the mix, not that arsenic be dropped. In Application for Nuclear Science in Crime Investigation, a paper written for the Annual Review of Nuclear Science in 1974, moreover, Guinn was still presenting tests for antimony, arsenic, and copper as the usual procedure.

So what happened?

Well, in Chemistry and Crime, 1983, Guinn explained that while the FBI still used the longer procedure he'd helped pioneer, and tested antimony, arsenic, and copper, he now preferred a rapid-screening procedure for antimony, silver and copper. He then explained why he dropped arsenic from the big three. He declared *"many samples are too low in arsenic for very precise measurement."* But he didn't stop there. He then admitted *"that bullet fragments and samples taken from mashed bullets often have bits of copper jacket imbedded or buried in them (if the bullet was a copper jacketed bullet), thus resulting in spuriously high copper concentrations. Of course, such jacket contamination of the sample also produces erroneously high copper values in the rapid-screening INAA procedure. Whenever such useless copper values are encountered, the longer INAA procedure reduces to just two elements*

(antimony and arsenic, if the arsenic concentration is high enough) and the rapid-screening INAA procedure also reduces to just two useful elements (antimony and silver). In such cases of copper contamination, it is especially desirable to use both INAA procedures to determine a possible total of three useful comparison elements (antimony, silver, and arsenic)."

Well, that's as good as a confession, don't you think? Guinn knew full well he based his conclusions regarding the assassination on two elements, and yet here he is admitting to his colleagues that he really needed to test another element--arsenic--before coming to such a conclusion.

So why didn't he test it?

Hmmm. In Guinn's chapter in Activation Analysis Vol. 2, he spelled out that the content of bullet lead impurities normally ranges from 1 to 100 ppm for silver, 1 to 1500 ppm for copper, 1 to 2000 ppm for tin, and 1 to 2500 ppm for arsenic. This suggests that the likelihood of random matches for arsenic and tin was much less than the likelihood of random matches for silver, and slightly less than copper. (The levels of copper in the stretcher bullet and wrist fragment, of course, didn't match). This, of course, but strengthens my suspicion Guinn tested arsenic and perhaps even tin, but didn't like his results, and flushed them down the memory hole. While ultimately bragging that his tests produced "decisive results," Guinn didn't, after all, tell us what decision these results helped produce.

Of Alchemists and Liars

But that's being snotty. While I'd like to have left it at that, I have discovered a number of other reasons to distrust Guinn, which I would be remiss not to mention. In Chemistry and Crime, for starters, he not only discussed his testing of the fatal fragments, he provided his readers some background on the assassination and his role in solving the crime...and was totally deceptive in doing so...

For example, after stating that Oswald killed Kennedy and Tippit as a fact, Guinn further revealed his bias by claiming "The consensus of opinion among witnesses was that three rifle shots emanated from that room (NOTE: he means the 6th floor of the depository) when the President and Texas Governor John Connally were hit." This, of course, was nonsense. While some thought some shots came from the general direction of the depository, very few could identify what room the shots came from, let alone form an opinion as to whether all three shots came from there.

He then discussed the Warren Commission, and his work with the HSCA. While doing so, however, he overstated the case by claiming that his testing of the bullet fragments clearly revealed the presence of two and only two bullets. He based this on the fact that the mean or average values of the brain and limo fragments tested were "markedly lower" in antimony than the average values of the magic bullet and wrist fragment (622 vs. 815), and "somewhat lower" in silver (8.07 vs. 9.3).

This last point caught me by surprise. Guinn's HSCA testimony and report reflect that the magic bullet and wrist fragment were measured at 7.9 ppm and 9.8 ppm silver, respectively. That's a mean of 8.85, not 9.3. This led me to take another look at the April 1979 article in Analytical Chemistry in which Guinn first reported his results to the public. Here he claimed the magic bullet was measured at 8.8 ppm silver (plus or minus 0.5 ppm). Well, that explained the 9.3. But how in the heck did 7.9 (plus or minus 1.4) ppm silver in September 1978 become 8.8 (plus or minus 0.5) ppm silver in April 1979? I then noticed a footnote in Guinn's 1978 report at the bottom of Appendix B, where he presented his findings. It explained that silver and aluminum were measured twice for each sample, and that the uncertainty measurements for the test of these elements--which were more than twice as large for the magic bullet (plus or minus 1.4 ppm) than any other sample--reflected either the standard deviation taken from the counting statistics (a number obtained from a formula estimating the accuracy of the test) or "the spread of the two values," whichever was larger. Well, hell, this suggested that one of the

two measurements for silver on the magic bullet was even lower than the 7.9 ppm Guinn reported, possibly much lower.

Heck... if I'm understanding this correctly Guinn's measurement of 7.9 ppm silver (plus or minus 1.4 ppm) for the magic bullet meant that his actual measurements were 9.3 ppm and 6.5 ppm, and that he'd averaged them out, and assumed the distance to his actual results was the range. If so, well then it seems likely that his measurement of 9.8 ppm silver (plus or minus 0.5 ppm) for the wrist fragment means that his actual results were 10.3 and 9.3. If this is true, however, it means that Guinn knew that the silver value for the magic bullet may actually have been a bit smaller than 6.5 ppm (when one subtracted the standard deviation taken from the counting statistics) and that the silver value for the wrist fragment may actually have been a bit larger than 10.3 ppm. Well, then, no wonder he ignored the counting statistics! No wonder he measured his samples twice and averaged them out! As shown on the slide above, there is no way anyone can consider a silver value of 10.3 ppm a match for a silver value of 6.5 ppm. As more than half the Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition samples tested fell within this range, it is at best inconclusive. If the test for silver was inconclusive, of course, Guinn had little choice beyond admitting that there was insufficient evidence to claim the magic bullet and wrist fragments matched. Perhaps then this was why Guinn reconfigured this number months later, and changed a 7.9 into an 8.8... Perhaps he'd realized that if he'd presented the measurement for silver as 7.9 (plus or minus 1.4 ppm), questions might arise in the minds of his fellow scientists. A wrist fragment measurement of 7.9 ppm silver, after all, would suggest that the wrist fragment and magic bullet were closer in composition to the brain and limo fragments than they actually were to each other. And this, in turn, would pretty much sink Guinn's claim that his tests revealed two readily distinguishable bullets.

So why not just change a number or two? I mean, if you're gonna fudge your numbers you might as well make it a good fudge.

Guinn's treatment of the copper test in Chemistry and Crime was even more curious. While acknowledging that the wrist fragment had far more copper than the other fragments, he claimed this indicated it was *"probably contaminated with imbedded copper jacket material,"* and that this invalidated the test. He discusses this on pages 74-75. Well, on pages 70-71, he claims that in the FBI Laboratory specimens *"are examined under magnification to ascertain whether there is any visible evidence of adhering jacket material. If there is, one attempts to remove the jacket material with a surgical scalpel."* He then proceeds *"In our laboratory, such samples are then further processed by immersing each sample in concentrated nitric acid for 10 minutes at room temperature. This procedure will dissolve away any specks of adhering jacket material without dissolving any measurable amount of the lead material. However, even this acid treatment procedure fails if there are jacket particles completely imbedded in the lead and inaccessible to attack by the nitric acid."* Now, the largest wrist fragment, the only one tested, was tiny, only 16.4 mg. (It would take 632 fragments of this size to make a 160 grain bullet like the one purportedly killing Kennedy.) This tiny fragment, moreover, supposedly fell from the bullet as it traversed Connally's wrist. There was no copper missing, at least that anyone described, from the tail end of the bullet. So how, presuming Guinn actually performed the inspection described both above and in his September 1978 report to the HSCA, did copper get "imbedded" within the lead of this tiny fragment?

Well, on page 76 he offers up a theory. Sort of. Basically, he throws out a little fact (which turns out not to be a fact) which those reading his chapter can then use to make sense of the copper mystery. He writes that the so-called magic bullet *"left no particles along the wound track in either the President or the Governor, and hence was not damaged (even though it broke one of the Governor's ribs with a glancing blow) until it struck the Governor's right wrist. Here, it suffered a dent in its nose and lost about 1% of its lead."* Yep, he proposed, albeit in a roundabout way, that the copper imbedded in the wrist fragment came from the nose of the so-called magic bullet. Well, there's two problems with this:

1) the dent on the bullet nose was created by the FBI subsequent to the shooting, and 2) he knew the lead in the wrist fragment came from the back of the bullet. Yes, when asked in his HSCA testimony if it was his testimony that the magic bullet and wrist fragments came from the same bullet, he testified *"Yes. One, of course, is almost a complete bullet so it means that the (wrist) fragments came from, in this case, the base of the bullet."*

SO...my gosh, it appears from this that Guinn was trying to sell that a nearly pristine bullet hit Connally's wrist, and lost some copper from its nose, and that this copper then somehow got imbedded within a tiny speck of lead squeezed from the base of the bullet upon impact, so much so that the copper was imperceptible to the human eye... even under magnification. Yeah, okay... We have a magic bullet and now we have a magic fragment from this bullet.

Let's note here that in Chemistry and Crime Guinn admitted that he'd studied Mannlicher-Carcano bullet lead even before being hired by the HSCA, and that he'd found the range of copper among this lead to be from 10 to 370 ppm. Let's note as well that in Activation Analysis Vol. 2, he admitted that he'd studied the lead of other bullets as well, and had found the range for copper to be between 1 and 1500 ppm. Now, let's recall that the wrist fragment was 994 ppm copper. This means that Guinn knew, as soon as he'd performed his test, that he'd PROVED the wrist fragment did not derive from the magic bullet, or any other bullet fired from Oswald's rifle, and that the single-bullet and single-assassin theories he'd clearly subscribed to were thereby kaput...UNLESS he could find some reason--any reason--to invalidate his own test.

Well, the quickest way to do that was to claim jacket material had thrown off his count for copper. So far, so good. But there was no copper missing, as far as could be determined, from the base of the bullet. Well, that's okay, there was a dent on the bullet nose; perhaps it came from there. Only the FBI admitted they'd made the mark on the nose while performing spectrographic tests in the FBI Crime Lab...

Now, is it reasonable to assume Guinn didn't know this? I don't think so. It seems hard to believe that in his many discussions with the HSCA he would never have inquired about the nick on the bullet nose, and have been informed it had been created by the FBI.

Well, then, is it possible he just...lied? Yes, I now think so. The final paragraph of Guinn's chapter in Chemistry and Crime reads not like the conclusions of a serious scientist, but the bragging of a politician. He writes: *"My findings, of course, neither prove nor disprove the various conspiracy speculations, such as someone, in addition to Oswald, firing from some other location such as the 'grassy knoll.' They do show that if any other persons were firing, they did not hit anyone or anything in the President's limousine."*

Now, this, of course, is nonsense. Even if one accepts Guinn's analysis of the bullet fragments, his findings "showed" no such thing. But he didn't stop there. In 1986, in sworn testimony taken as part of a televised mock trial, Guinn actually repeated this nonsense. When asked by his fellow Vincent, Bugliosi, *"What you're saying is that from your neutron activation analysis, there may have been fifty people firing at President Kennedy that day--is that correct--but if there were, they all missed--ONLY bullets from Oswald's Carcano rifle hit the President--is that correct?"* Guinn eagerly responded *"That's a correct statement, yes!"*

Well, I'll be! Could he really have forgotten he'd found no evidence suggesting the magic bullet had created Kennedy's back wound? Or throat wound? Could he really have forgotten that at least one of the bullets was never found? Well, then, how could he claim that tests never performed on this bullet *proved* it hadn't hit Kennedy, or anything else in the limo for that matter?

He couldn't, and what's worse, he *knew* he couldn't. Here is how he summed up his findings in

Analytical Chemistry, written but 4 years before Guinn wrote his chapter in Chemistry and Crime, and 7 years before he testified in the mock trial: *"The new results can not prove the Warren Commission's theory that the stretcher bullet is the one that caused the President's back wound and all of the Governor's wounds, but the results are indeed consistent with this theory."*

And here is how Guinn testified before the HSCA, only 8 years before he testified in the mock trial: *"These results only show that the CE 399 'pristine' bullet, or so-called stretcher bullet, matches the fragments in his wrist. They give you no information whatsoever about whether that bullet first went through President Kennedy's body, since it left no track of fragments and, for that matter, it doesn't even say that it went through Governor Connally--through his back, that is--because it left no track of fragments there. At least I have never seen or heard of any recovered lead fragments from either of those wounds. The results merely say that the stretcher bullet matches the fragments in the wrist, and that indicates indeed that that particular bullet did fracture the wrist. It unfortunately can't tell you anything else because there were no other bits and pieces along the other wounds."*

Guinn had completely reversed himself for the mock trial!

And this wasn't the only point on which Guinn's mock trial testimony was suspect. Upon cross-examination, Oswald's defense attorney Gerry Spence pointed out that there were at least thirty bullet fragments in Kennedy's head, and that Guinn had examined but two. He thereby raised the possibility that, in opposition to what Guinn had just told Bugliosi, another bullet was involved. When then asked by Spence if he knew the composition of the fragments he'd never examined, Guinn testily replied "Yes!" When then asked if he'd actually tested these fragments, Guinn fought back, showing what one assumes were his true colors. He snapped *"No, but I know what they are!"*

Well, how could he know that? And, what's more, what kind of scientist would claim, in a court of law, (even a mock court of law) that he knows the results of tests he'd never conducted?

This suggests to me that Guinn knowingly misrepresented his test results to the HSCA, knew it was only a matter of time before his fellow scientists caught on, and attempted to obfuscate the issue by further misrepresenting the case for a single-assassin in articles like the one in Analytical Chemistry, in books such as Chemistry and Crime, and in public appearances like his testimony in the 1986 mock trial.

Guinn v Guinn

But that's just me. Now, has any expert on bullet lead analysis supported this conclusion? No, not directly. There is one expert on the subject, however, whose writings demonstrate beyond any doubt that Dr. Guinn's conclusions were inappropriate, and far beyond what was warranted. And that expert, as you no doubt have figured out, is Dr. Guinn himself.

When asked during his 9-8-78 HSCA testimony the degree of certainty he'd attached to his conclusion the Connally wrist fragment derived from the magic bullet, that is, whether he felt it was merely more probable than not or highly probable, after all, Dr. Guinn testified: *"I would say **highly probable**, yes. I would not want to say how high, whether it was 99 percent or 90 percent or 99.9 percent. I can't make a calculation like that."*

Hmmm... Well, what are we to make of this? He wouldn't give a number, but said it was "**highly probable**." Was this a deliberate use of the term?

Yes, sure enough, in the final paragraph of his final report on the fragments, entered into evidence

during his testimony, and published on page 533 of HSCA Appendix Vol. 1, Guinn uses the term again. Here, he asserts: *"It is **highly probable** that the specimen tested from Q1 (the stretcher bullet) and the specimen tested from Q9 (the wrist fragment) came from the same bullet."*

So, make no mistake about it, here was a man of science throwing the full weight of his expertise behind his conclusion the stretcher (or magic) bullet and wrist fragment were one.

Now look at how he handled this issue in Chemistry and Crime five years later. He admits: *"Because of an inadequate background file of bullet-lead compositions and for other reasons, it is not possible to make an accurate calculation of the mathematical probability that two scientifically indistinguishable bullet-lead samples were produced from the same homogenous melt of lead. Instead one must resort to more qualitative expressions, such as 'probably' (if only three elements were measured), 'very probably' (if four elements were measured), or '**highly probable**' (if five elements were measured). Depending in individual cases on how relatively common or uncommon the observed concentrations are (among the whole population of bullet leads) and on how accurately and precisely each concentration was measured, these three qualitative expressions of probability of a common melt origin may correspond, respectively, to probabilities to the order of 99, 99.9, and 99.99%."*

Yes, you got it. While Guinn used the term "**highly probable**" in his HSCA testimony, and implied that this term could be used to describe a 90% probability that two samples having two matches, antimony and silver, came from the same bullet, he later reserved the term "**highly probable**" for the 99.99% probability that two samples having five matches came from the same melt.

Now look at how he backs this up in Activation Analysis, Vol. 2, published 1991. He now claimed: *"If one is to conclude that two BL (bullet lead) or SSP specimens "match" one another to the extent that, to a high degree of probability, they had a common lead-melt origin, they must "match" one another in their concentrations of each of a number of elements measured to a respectable precision, and not exhibit any significant mismatches... For a variety of reasons, it is presently not possible to calculate a numerical probability that any two specimens had a common lead-melt origin. Instead, assuming that they do not mismatch in any element, but only match one another in one or two measured elements, one usually merely states that they might have had a common origin; with three matching elements, that they probably had a common origin; and with four, five, or six matching elements, that there is a **very high probability** (approaching "certainty") that they had a common origin."*

So, ask yourself, is it a coincidence that Guinn testified that the apparent match between the wrist fragment and magic bullet on two elements made it "**highly probable**" they came from the same bullet, when he later claimed such a match meant merely that they "might" have come from the same melt, and reserved the term "**highly probable**" for samples matching on four or more elements?

I think not. In Neutron Activation Analysis in Scientific Crime Investigation, a 1990 paper by Guinn found on the International Atomic Energy Agency website, he noted that a one ton melt of lead can be made into 1,870 boxes of 50 bullets each, or 93,400 bullets. And this was chicken-feed. A May 2004 article by Wilder Smith in Analytical Chemistry notes further that a compositionally indistinguishable volume of lead can be used to make 12 thousand bullets, on the low end, and 35 million, on the high. How can Guinn have claimed, then, that it's "**highly probable**" two samples matching on two elements in the Kennedy case are the exact same bullet, when he elsewhere said the most one can say about two samples matching on two elements is that they "might" be from the same batch of 93,400 bullets, or more? I mean, who was he trying to fool?

Apparently everyone. Not only had Guinn become far more conservative in his use of the term "**highly probable**" after his HSCA testimony, he'd become much more liberal with its use for his testimony. After conducting his first series of tests in 1970, using antimony, copper, and arsenic, Guinn claimed that although *"matching concentrations of all three elements does not indicate that two bullets came*

from the same lot" "a significant difference in concentration in any one of the three elements...indicates that they came from different lots."

Yes, Guinn was, at least initially, convinced his tests were far better at showing two specimens did not match, than match. Here is how he summed it up in the Annual Review of Nuclear Science in 1974, just three years before he conducted his tests for the HSCA: *"the antimony concentration itself proves to be a fairly effective means of deciding whether two specimens of bullet lead do not have a common origin. Measurements of the levels of a few additional elements that can be detected, e.g. aluminum, copper, arsenic, silver, tin, can lead to at best only a moderately strong probability of common origin...The purely instrumental NAA approach can readily indicate two specimens do not have a common origin, but it cannot yet establish **very high probabilities** of common origin."*

So what changed? Did Guinn make some major break-through just prior to his HSCA testimony?

Not that I've discovered... No, it appears instead that *Guinn* changed. Had Guinn's 1977-era methodology have been far superior to previously methodology, after all, he wouldn't have said the FBI had been mistaken when they claimed their 1964 test results were inconclusive, and he wouldn't have presented their results as support for his conclusions. But he did...

This leads me to conclude, then, that it's **highly probable** Dr. Vincent Guinn deliberately skewed his conclusions to support the single-bullet theory during his 1978 HSCA testimony, and that he deliberately lied about it afterward.

And it's not as if his misuse of the term "highly probable" was just an unfortunate turn-of-phrase, with no repercussions. Dozens if not hundreds of books, starting with the HSCA's 1979 report, were tainted by it--some to near comical effect... In 1998's *Live By The Sword*, for example, Oswald-did-it-for-Castro theorist Gus Russo relates *"Using a technique known as neutron activation analysis, the HSCA received supporting testimony from Dr. Vincent Guinn, one of the country's top experts in the field of neutron activation. Although at the time Guinn would use only the words "highly probable," he later published two articles in which he makes it clear that by "highly probable" he meant a "99.99% probable."*

Yes, you read that right. Russo got it backward. He realized that Guinn claimed "highly probable" in his testimony, and later specified that "highly probable" meant 99.9%, but failed to realize, or at least acknowledge, that Guinn's definition of "highly probable" changed along the way, and that the match for antimony described in his testimony could no longer be taken to mean it was "highly probable" these samples came from the same source.

Of course, I'm skeptical Guinn ever *honestly* believed these odds were "highly probable"...

But that's me. Should the reader wish to think better of this learned man of letters, (Guinn, not Russo) and give him the benefit of the doubt, well, then, let us conjure up an explanation for at least some of his mistakes -- one that moves him from the category of deliberate liar to mere screw-up. In their early tests of bullet lead, Guinn and others discovered there was an apparent conformity between bullets in the same box, and sought to find practical applications for their discovery. Over time, the courts came to accept the value of bullet lead analysis and the FBI began testifying that one bullet most probably came from the same box as another. This allowed prosecutors to convict suspects even when no gun was found. The problem, as outlined by William Tobin and the National Academy of Sciences, was that little research was done on how bullets were actually made and distributed, and that, when one studied these things, one could only conclude that virtually indistinguishable bullets were likely to end up in boxes of ammunition on opposite sides of the country. In his research on Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition, however, Guinn found that the bullets within the same box had *no apparent conformity*. This led him to believe that the slight conformity between the wrist fragment and the magic bullet had

significance, as other bullets from its box would be unlikely to match on antimony. The problem was that there was NO REASON to assume the wrist fragment bullet came from the same box as the magic bullet. Quite literally, then, Guinn was thinking inside the box when he should have been thinking outside the box!

Or maybe he was lying. All I know for sure is that his testimony regarding the magic bullet and wrist fragment was inaccurate. In July, 2006, Drs Erik Randich and Patrick Grant published an article in the Journal of Forensic Sciences, describing a study they'd conducted with the help of Tom Pinkston. They used cross-sections of bullets to demonstrate that antimony concentrations were not standard throughout bullet lead, even within the same bullet, and that one would have to have used samples far larger than those used by Guinn before coming to any conclusions whether or not a fragment could have come from the same bullet as another fragment. They also found that other full-metal jacketed ammunition contained similar levels of antimony as the ammunition fired in Oswald's rifle. Their conclusion reads: *"We therefore assert that, from our perspectives of standard metallurgical practice and statistical assessment of the fundamental NAA measurements a conclusion of material evidence for only two bullets in the questioned JFK assassination specimens has no forensic basis. Although collateral information from the overall investigation might very well narrow the choices, as stand-alone primary evidence, the recovered bullet fragments could be reflective of anywhere between two and five different rounds fired in Dealey Plaza on that day. Only the near-complete mass of CE-399, the stretcher bullet, precludes the conclusion of one to five rounds. Moreover, the fragments need not necessarily have originated from MC ammunition. Indeed, the antimony compositions of the evidentiary specimens are consistent with any number of jacketed ammunitions containing hardened lead."*

In May, 2007, a similar article by Spiegleman, Tobin et al in the Annals of Applied Statistics confirmed Randich and Grant's conclusions, and disclosed that they had repeated Guinn's tests on random Mannlicher-Carcano bullets. Not surprisingly, given Guinn's results, they'd found that one of the thirty random bullets used in their study was a close match to one of the assassination fragments. This news even made the Washington Post.

And SO... in my estimation, one has a choice: the tests on the fragments performed by Guinn were either: 1) incorrectly interpreted, (as they actually showed the likelihood of more than one shooter); 2) of little scientific value; or 3) BOTH incorrectly interpreted and of little scientific value. No matter what, however, one thing is clear: the tests did not do what single-bullet theorists claim they did (prove the magic bullet passed through Connally's wrist).

The Clean-up Crew



Above: two photos of the limousine at Parkland, with the never-officially explained clean-up bucket by the left rear tire. Back-up car driver Sam Kinney is bent into the back seat in the photo at left. George Hickey is at his right.



At left and at right: Warren Commission Exhibits CE 352 and CE 353, respectively. These photos were taken the day after the assassination by the FBI. Note that there were NO bullet fragments of any kind discovered on the back seat.



The Clean-up Crew

Should one doubt the “magic” bullet could have come from anywhere but Connally’s leg, moreover, one should consider that the bullet, had it fallen from Kennedy’s back as originally believed, would most likely have fallen out in the limousine, and that the limousine was cleaned up while sitting outside Parkland Hospital in Dallas by two Secret Service Agents, Sam Kinney and George Hickey.

Although William Manchester, in his book *The Death of a President*, disputed that such a clean-up occurred, citing a nurse who says she was asked to bring the agents a bucket of water but failed to deliver it, Manchester overlooked the statement of an orderly, Joe Lewis Richards, admitting that he did indeed bring them the bucket.

And we know this bucket was used because...

- An 11-22-63 UPI article, most likely reflecting the words of UPI’s man-on-the-scene Merriman Smith, reported on this clean-up, stating: “*Outside the hospital, blood was cleaned from the limousine.*”
- An 11-23-63 New York Times story by Tom Wicker similarly reported, “*A bucket of water stood by the car, suggesting that the back seat had been scrubbed out.*” (In his 1978 book *On Press*, Wicker would specify that it was “*a bucket of bloody water.*”)
- An article on the assassination by Hugh Sidey in the 12-20-63 issue of Time Magazine confirmed these accounts, and described his witnessing “*A young man, I assume he was a Secret Service man, with a sponge and a bucket of red water, and he was trying to wipe up the blood and what looked like flakes of flesh and brains in the back seat.*”
- And as if that weren’t enough, Newsweek’s Charles Roberts also confirmed these accounts. In

his 1967 defense of the Warren Report, modestly entitled "The Truth About The Assassination," Roberts said simply that on 11-22-63 he saw two Secret Service men *"starting to put the fabric top"* on the President's limo, and thought *"Why now?"* He would later expand on this, however. In an interview conducted for Robert MacNeil's 1988 book *The Way we Were*, Roberts admitted that he'd actually seen these agents *"mop up the back seat"* before putting on the fabric top, and that he'd thought it *"ironic"* that one of the Secret Service agents waved him aside and told him *"you can't look,"* when *"this wall of protection...of course could do no good."*

Thus, four respected newsmen, all verified to have been at Parkland Hospital on 11-22-63, claimed they saw either someone cleaning blood from the limo, or the bloody bucket used in this clean-up.

And they weren't alone. In the decades following the assassination, White House photographer Cecil Stoughton, Associated Press photographer Henry Burroughs, and ambulance driver Aubrey Rike added their names to the list of those witnessing this clean-up. In 1983, *Life Magazine*--not exactly a propagator of conspiracy theories--published a photo taken by Stoughton of a bucket beside the limo with the caption *"Outside Parkland, agents clean the bloody limousine."* In Richard Trask's 1994 book *Pictures of the Pain*, moreover, a number of similar photographs were published, all taken by Stoughton, and all showing a bucket by the limousine.

The evidence for the Secret Service clean-up of the limo is so convincing, in fact, that in 2003 the Fox News Channel asserted that a clean-up had occurred and broadcast footage of a Secret Service Agent, possibly George Hickey, walking away from the limousine with the bucket. That same week, a former member of the President's Secret Service detail in Dallas, Gerald O'Rourke, came forward, telling the *Rocky Mountain News* *"that on the day of the assassination, one agent was ordered to clean out the cars used in the motorcade, getting rid of blood and other evidence."* (He implied this was Sam Kinney.) By 2008, the once-disputed clean-up of the limo had become so widely accepted that even the Discovery Channel, in a program pushing that Oswald acted alone, by gosh, discussed the clean-up as an established fact.

Yes, it's conclusive, accepted even by defenders of the Warren Commission: the Secret Service, if only briefly, cleaned-up the limo while it was sitting outside Parkland.

Should one doubt that this clean-up destroyed or removed evidence, moreover, one should reflect that Warren Commission Exhibit CE 840 consists of all the bullet fragments found in the car beyond the two large fragments found in the front seat, and comprises but three small fragments found in the carpet *beneath Nellie Connally's seat, several feet to the left of the presumed trajectory of the bullet.* That there were no bullet fragments found on the floor by Kennedy's or John Connally's seats or on the seats themselves is undoubtedly suspicious. Also suspicious is that one of the three fragments found beneath Nellie's seat disappeared from the archives at some point in the sixties. Adding to the likelihood that a Secret Service agent planted the bullet on the stretcher, perhaps simply to avoid admitting that he'd screwed up and cleaned-up important evidence (neither Kinney nor Hickey ever admitted that a clean-up occurred), is that one of the two men to find the stretcher bullet, Nathan Pool, told an HSCA investigator he saw a Secret Service agent standing near the stretcher just before the bullet was discovered.

While any theory explaining the appearance of this bullet on the stretcher is broad speculation, and any theory on the disappearance of an additional bullet (or bullets) during the movement of Connally onto the stretcher or the clean-up of the limousine is even broader speculation, I believe it is reasonable speculation, given the alternative. One of the truly laughable arguments made by the single-assassin theorist community is that since only two bullets were recovered, it is illogical to assume that more than two bullets inflicted the wounds. "Where's the third bullet?" they will ask. They forget that their theory holds that a bullet lodged in Connally's leg, became dislodged as his clothes were removed,

went unnoticed when he was moved to the operating table, stayed unnoticed when the sheets were folded up, stayed unnoticed when the stretcher was moved downstairs, and re-appeared an hour later when two stretchers collided, on a stretcher not fitting the description of Connally's stretcher, and a stretcher that the man "discovering" the bullet, Darrell Tomlinson, suspected was, in fact, *not* Connally's stretcher.

Even worse for those disputing the bullet was planted, researcher Josiah Thompson, building upon Darrell Tomlinson's suspicions, read through Parkland Hospital's records for 11-22-63, and found that the stretcher on which the bullet was found was almost certainly the stretcher of a young boy named Ronnie Fuller, who was admitted to the emergency room after suffering a cut. Thompson's research on this issue has never been countered.

In fact, he's continued to build upon it. At the 2003 Wecht Conference held at Duquesne University, Thompson showed how the only Parkland employees to see the bullet found by Tomlinson on 11-22 believed the bullet had a pointed tip. CE 399 has a rounded tip. Thompson also discussed the strange fact that both Governor Connally and Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade were of the impression a bullet was found in Connally's operating room. While these differing recollections could have come from the passage of time, and the resulting confusion, he related another tale that's much harder to explain. This tale sprang from an interview of Parkland's Director of Nursing, Elizabeth Wright. In this interview, conducted by researcher Wallace Milam in 1993, the former Mrs. Wright related that there was more than one bullet found on stretchers in the days after the assassination, and that this led one of the nursing supervisors, Doris Nelson, to complain: *"I wish they would stop putting bullets on these stretchers."* If the bullet found by Tomlinson did not look like CE 399, and other bullets were found afterwards, of course, it is entirely possible CE 399 was found at Parkland sometime later in the evening, after Oswald's rifle had been retrieved by the Dallas Police.

If this, in fact, occurred, then it only follows that the bullet found by Tomlinson was made to disappear. And if the bullet found by Tomlinson was made to disappear, then it only follows that any other bullets or fragments found at Parkland were made to disappear.

Fortunately, we need not drive down this particular conspiracy road, as a less-conspiracy-oriented answer to the "Where's the third bullet" question is also available. It goes like this...IT...GOT...LOST. The FBI and Secret Service certainly believed as much. Their official reports on the shooting concluded that all three shots hit Kennedy and Connally, even though only one and a half bullets had been retrieved; the FBI's report even specified that CE 399 fell from Kennedy's back. Apparently, neither agency had any problem believing that the bullet striking Connally, the third bullet, had gotten lost in the Parkland shuffle.

For this conclusion, they had plenty of support. In his 1970 book, *Legal Medicine*, the Clark Panel's Dr. Alan Moritz offered that *"Often a bullet that has had sufficient velocity to pass through the body will be so nearly spent that it will fail to penetrate the head covering or clothing at the site of exit. Unless the doctor, nurse, or accident ward attendant is alert to this possibility, such a bullet may be lost."* Elsewhere, Dr. Moritz explained that *"Years of medicolegal experience in the investigation of firearm injuries confirm the truth of the generalization that the only things likely to be seen and remembered are those that are looked for with knowledge of their potential significance."* Those arguing that CE 399 created Connally's wounds and was found on his stretcher, and thus that the bullet had been overlooked by at least five nurses and hospital employees prior to its discovery, thereby inadvertently confirm that other bullets, potentially including the bullet that ACTUALLY created Connally's wounds, could have been lost in the madhouse that was Parkland Hospital on November 22, 1963.

Another top pathologist believed that it was just that simple--that the bullet had been lost. Dr. Milton Helpert, who'd supervised over 10,000 autopsies of gunshot victims in his long career, explained that,

clean-up or no clean-up, one can not always find the bullets involved in a homicide. Specific to the Kennedy assassination, in an interview for the book, *Where Death Delights*, he told former FBI man Marshall Houts: *"It is not unusual at all for spent bullets that have passed through a human body to become lost...If I had to venture a guess as to what happened to the bullet that wounded Governor Connally, I would suggest that it fell out of his pants leg while he was being removed from the car and placed on the stretcher; or it could have fallen out at any stage of his hospital experience."* He said it.

And the FBI's Robert Frazier, the man tasked with inspecting the limousine on the night of the assassination, apparently shared his belief this was possible. In 1995, undoubtedly as a response to the then-widespread criticism of the FBI crime lab, a book entitled *Hard Evidence* was published to help promote the FBI crime lab. This book, written by David Fisher, featured an interview with Frazier. When musing on the whereabouts of the still missing remnants of the bullet found in pieces on the front seat of the limousine, the carpet beneath Nellie Connally's seat, and in the President's skull, Frazier declared *"What happened, I think probably in the confusion when they got to the hospital, everybody jumped out of the car, and if there were lead fragments on their clothes or in their pockets or anywhere else, they fell on the ground and were just trampled on and that was the end of it."* While some might say that the likelihood of losing fragments in the chaos was significantly greater than that of losing a nearly-intact bullet, the bullet may have been in pieces and a nearly-intact bullet could easily have been picked up in the treads of a car tire. Sometimes things get lost.

But even if one should refuse to believe it got lost, there is the possibility that it simply was overlooked. On May 13, 1964, in testimony before the Warren Commission, Robert Frazier described his search of the limousine for bullet fragments late on the night of the shooting. Two bullet fragments had already been retrieved from the front seat by the Secret Service. First, Frazier described the car: "There were blood and particles of flesh scattered all over the hood, the windshield, in the front seat and all over the rear floor rugs, the jump seats, and over the rear seat, and down both sides of the side rails or tops of the doors of the car." Then Frazier described his search: "I examined the car to determine whether or not there were any bullet fragments present in it, embedded in the upholstery of the back of the front seat, or whether there were any impact areas which indicated that bullets or bullet fragments struck the inside of the car." At this point he found three small bullet fragments on the carpet under Nellie Connally's jump seat. By his finding these three fragments, and by his using the word "examine" to describe his search, Frazier gave the clear implication that he was extremely thorough in his search for bullet fragments.

When asked if he felt his search was indeed a "thorough examination of all aspects of the interior of the automobile," however, Frazier's response was not without its qualifications. He replied: "Yes, sir; *for our purpose*. However, we did not tear out all of the rugs on the floor, for instance. We examined the rugs carefully for holes, for bullet furroughs, for fragments. We examined the nap of the rug, in the actual nap of the rug, for fragments and bullet holes. We pulled the rug back as far as we could turn it back and even tore the glue or adhesive material loose around the cracks at the edges of the rug so we could observe the cracks to see whether they had been enlarged, and we examined all of the upholstery covering, on the back of the front seat, on the doors, and in the rear seat compartment, the jump seats, the actual rear seat, the back of the rear seat, and we examined the front seat in a similar manner, and we found no bullet holes or other bullet impact areas, other than the one on the inside of the windshield and the dent inside the windshield chrome." (5H58-74).

An 11-27-63 Secret Service report on this inspection, included in the Secret Service's report on the limo to the Warren Commission, CD80, confirms "a meticulous examination was made of the back seat of the car and the floor rug." But this wasn't exactly true.

In *Hard Evidence*, Frazier was more forthcoming about this examination. He revealed "The President's limousine arrived back in Washington about six o'clock. Around one o'clock the next morning, Cort

(Cortland Cunningham) and I started sifting through the blood looking for lead fragments. It was tough; it was very tough... We'd just reach down into the clots of blood and scoop it up in our hands and let it dribble through. Whenever we felt something gritty, we'd clean it up and if it was lead, we'd save it in a pillbox. We didn't really recover a lot of lead." Evidently, they never thought of sponging off the blood and inspecting the carpet with a metal detector and a magnifying glass.

In any event, according to the Secret Service's own report on the limo, CD80, by the afternoon of the 23rd a Secret Service agent was requesting permission to clean the rest of the blood from the back seat and floor of the limo. At this time, he was told to wait for FBI approval. The very next day he made a second request, this time noting "that the odor from the car was becoming offensive." This request, almost certainly made after the announcement of Oswald's death, was granted "after clearance from the FBI." Late that evening, the limousine was cleaned up. No FBI agent was present. According to the Secret Service's own records, "there were still fragments of bone and hair in the debris of the car which had not been removed by the FBI search team." There's no record of what became of this "bone and hair." There's no indication that this clean-up crew looked for small fragments of lead hidden amongst this bone and hair. A Ford Motor Company memo first obtained and reported by researcher Pamela McElwain-Brown, moreover, demonstrates that within 10 days of the shooting, the carpet of the limousine had been removed by "*the White House upholstery man*" and had been replaced by the writer of the memo, Ford Motor company employee Vaughn Ferguson. There's no record of what this "upholsterer" did with this carpet. There's no reason to believe that a thorough inspection of this carpet was ever undertaken.

And should one still have any doubts, and still cling to the notion that the bullet hitting Connally must have remained on his person or in the limousine, and could not possibly have been cleaned-up, stolen, lost or overlooked, there is this: there is at least one fragment that disappeared after the shooting. Yes, in 2010, with the release of *The Kennedy Detail*, Secret Service Agent Paul Landis related that after Kennedy and his wife were pulled from the limousine, he noticed a bullet fragment sitting on the back of the car by the headrest. He claimed he then put it on the seat. Well, you guessed it, no fragment was found on this seat. This, then, suggests this fragment was "cleaned up" in some manner, for one reason or another.

And should one STILL find the urge to claim "yeah but that was just a fragment," well, there's this: a piece of metal the size of a bullet also disappeared. Yes, Nellie Connally, in her 2003 memoir *From Love Field*, reported that a Mexican peso worn by her husband as a cuff link was shot off his wrist during the shooting and was never recovered. She reported that she had a bracelet made from the remaining cuff link, and wore it thereafter as a memento of her husband's close brush with death. It follows then that any explanation for what happened to this cuff link could apply to a bullet as well.

Chapter 12: The Single Bullet "Fact"

A look at more recent versions of the theory, and the misrepresentations used to support them

As Simple As 1-2-3



At left, Zapruder frame 188. Kennedy is waving to the crowd at his right.

Below, in middle, Zapruder frame 206. This is less than one second after frame 188. As Kennedy disappears behind the Stemmons Freeway sign he has suddenly stopped waving, has turned his head to his left, and has jerked his hand across his face. Notice the white cuff of his shirt.



At right, Zapruder frame 225, barely one second after frame 206. As Kennedy emerges from behind the sign, his right hand has dropped down from his face. It's clear he's been hit.

Now which makes more sense? That he was hit 1/18 of a second before this frame and had experienced a freakishly rapid reaction? Or that he was originally hit 2 seconds before, around frame 190? The HSCA concluded he was hit around 190.



For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

As Simple As 1-2-3

While many believe the HSCA identified frame 190 of the Zapruder film as the first moment of impact based on a faulty understanding of a dictabelt recording, few realize that the HSCA's photographic panel studied the Zapruder film, and confirmed this conclusion.

A spokesman for the panel, Calvin S. McCamy, a former chairman of the American Society of Photogrammetry, testified before the committee on 9-12-78. His words make it more than clear the panel believed Kennedy turned to the left in reaction to a shot *before* Kennedy went behind the sign around frame 210 of the Zapruder film. When describing the film as Kennedy went behind the sign, he testified: *"There is considerable blurring at this point. The President's arm is up in a waving position. His head is still toward the right. At this point there is considerable blur, and by here, it appears as though his head is beginning to turn quite rapidly to the left. His head is now to the left. That is only one-eighteenth of a second from one frame to the next. He continues to look toward the left. One barely sees his right ear toward the camera. It is quite clear he is here now looking directly at his wife. He and his wife can be seen looking at one another in this sequence. He now goes behind the sign, and only a fraction of a second later we see his hands moving upward. He has a gasping expression. His*

hands are in a classic position of a person who has been startled. He now begins to raise his arms into what I would call a defensive position. He may be clutching at the throat wound."

The Panel's report was published in Volume 6 of the HSCA's 12 volumes. It reads, in part:

"(61) The Zapruder film was studied with care at each of the Panel's conferences..At the final conference, which took place in July 1978, the film was closely scrutinized by 20 photographic scientists who were either members of the Panel or contractors responsible for much of the committee's laboratory work (i.e. photographic enhancement, restoration, etc.)."

"(64) By a vote of 12 to 5, the Panel determined that President Kennedy first showed a reaction to some severe external stimulus by Zapruder frame 207, as he is seen going behind a sign that obstructed Zapruder's view."

(65) By a vote of 11 to 3, the Panel determined that Governor Connally first showed a reaction to some severe external stimulus by Zapruder frame 224, virtually immediately after he is seen emerging from behind the sign that obstructed Zapruder's view."

(70) At approximately Zapruder frame 200 , Kennedy's movements suddenly freeze; his right hand abruptly stops in the midst of a waving motion and his head moves rapidly from right to his left in the direction of his wife. Based on these movements, it appears that by the time the President goes behind the sign at frame 207 he is evidencing some kind of reaction to a severe external stimulus.

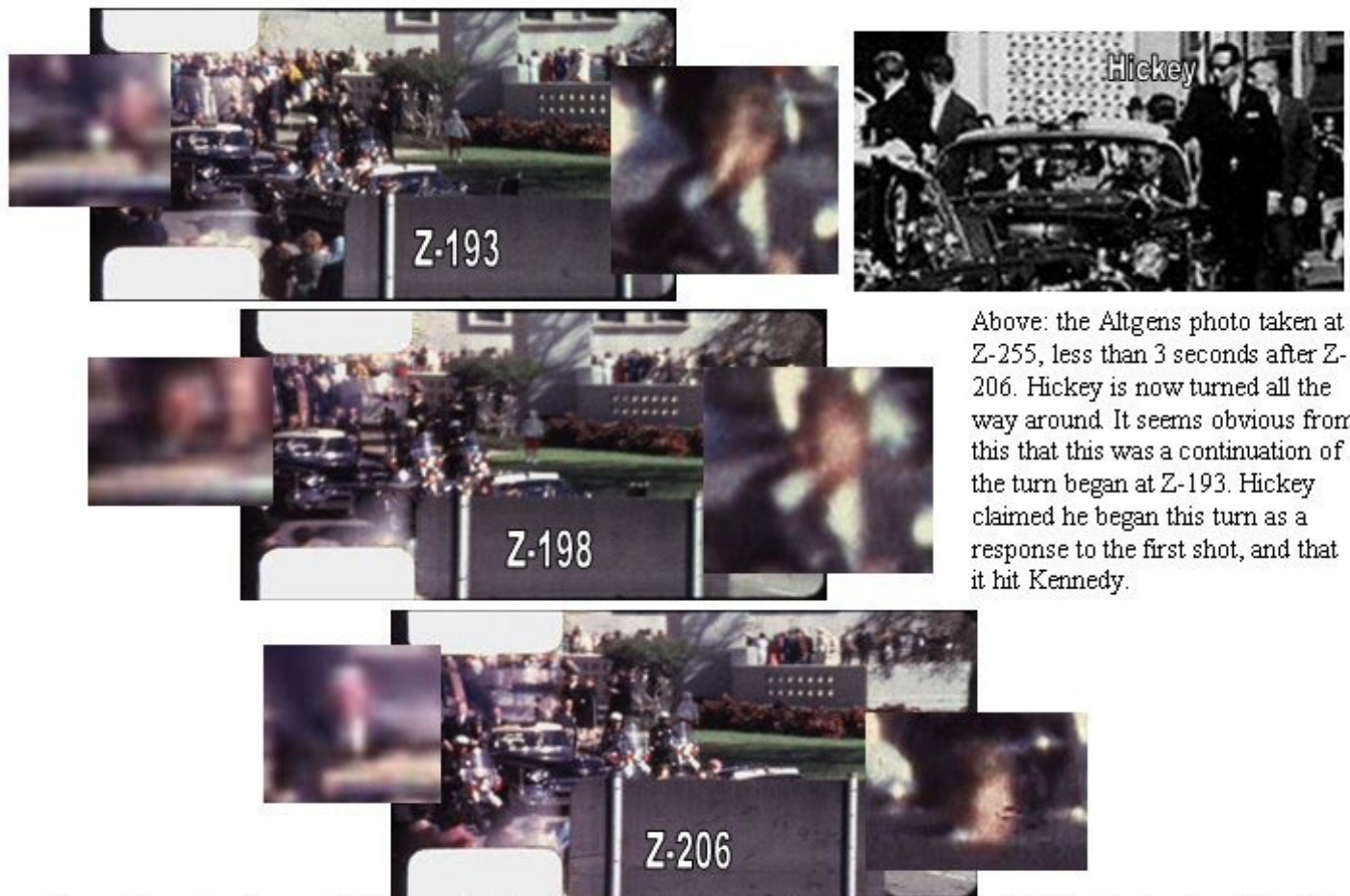
The acknowledgment by the panel that Connally showed no reaction to a bullet purportedly striking himself and Kennedy until at least a second after Kennedy was, of course, a problem. The reaction of many single-assassin theorists, raised on the belief that Kennedy was hit while behind the sign in the Zapruder film, was to dismiss this new and improved time for their beloved theory out of hand.

When one looks at the Zapruder film in slow-motion, however, one can see the photographic panel was almost certainly right. Kennedy DOES appear to be hit before he heads behind the sign. In a paper delivered to the American Academy of Forensic Sciences in February 1971, and published in the Journal of Forensic Sciences in October 1971, Physicist Don Olson and Criminalist Ralph Turner pre-cursed the HSCA photography panel and observed that "Beginning as early as frame 194, the President's body seems to undergo a motion forward and to the left. This motion, which can be visually approximated to be on the order of six or seven inches, seems to begin in frame 194 and continues through about frame 200. The President seems to move away from the seat back and tilt to to the left, away from the window ledge...On the interval 194-200 the President's body is seen to narrow somewhat to the view, indicating that he not only leans to the left front, but also is rotated to the left. The rotation of the shoulders begins as early as frame 195. His head comes around at 200-202. By frame 204 the President is facing almost directly forward."

During this visible jerk by Kennedy to his left, his wife turns to look in his direction (as depicted in frame 206 on the slide up above). They then go behind the sign. When he emerges he has clearly been hit. When one reads the testimony of Abraham Zapruder and the statements of his secretary Marilyn Sitzman, who stood beside him, one finds, moreover, that both of them believed they saw him hit. Neither of them mentioned his appearing to be hit as he came out from behind the sign. When one recalls that Hugh Betzner stated he heard the first shot just after he took a photograph (shown to be taken at 186), and that Phil Willis said he heard the shot and it startled him into taking a photograph (shown to be taken at 202) and that the Willis photo shows Kennedy already starting to lean over, furthermore, it seems clear Kennedy was first hit in the back around frame 190, before he went behind the sign.

Yes, I agree with the HSCA that Kennedy was hit by a shot at frame 190.

The Simultaneous Head-Snaps



Above: the Altgens photo taken at Z-255, less than 3 seconds after Z-206. Hickey is now turned all the way around. It seems obvious from this that this was a continuation of the turn began at Z-193. Hickey claimed he began this turn as a response to the first shot, and that it hit Kennedy.

Above: Zapruder frames 193, 198, and 206, with George Hickey isolated on the left, and JFK isolated on the right. Note that Hickey turns his head to his right at the same time that JFK jerks his head to his left.

The Simultaneous Head-Snaps

Yet another argument supporting that Kennedy was first hit around frame 190 of the Zapruder film comes from reading the Secret Service reports of George Hickey, one of the President's body-guards, who was riding in the back seat of the car behind the President on 11-22-63.

In his 11-22-63 report (18H765) Hickey states "As 100-X made the turn and proceeded a short distance, I heard what seemed to me that a firecracker exploded to the right and rear. I stood partially up and turned to the rear to see if I could observe anything. Nothing was observed and I turned around and looked at the President's car." His 11-30-63 report (18H761-764) clarifies a few things: "After a very short distance I heard a loud report which sounded like a firecracker...I stood up and looked to my right and rear in an attempt to identify it. Nothing caught my attention except people shouting and cheering. A disturbance in 679X caused me to look forward to the President's car."

Hickey's statements are most informative regarding the timing of the first shot. While he is looking to his left at frame 193 of the film, he turns his head rapidly to his right just afterward. His rapid turn to the right, in fact, almost mirrors Kennedy's head jerk to the left, as an apparent response to this first shot. While Hickey disappears from the Zapruder film shortly thereafter, one can't reasonably argue that he stopped his turn partway and then began another turn or that he turned to his right in response to

something other than the first shot. The Altgens photo, after all, shows him turned all the way around to his right less than 3 seconds later.

So why do so many latch onto Governor Connally's statements about turning to his right after the first shot, and use that to conjure up a first shot-miss around frame 160 not described in the statements of any of the witnesses, when there are witnesses like Hickey whose statements, when taken in conjunction with the Zapruder film, confirm the statements and testimony of the vast majority of the witnesses--that the first shot hit? Hickey certainly never said anything to contradict himself. Not true for the Governor. Heck, even single-assassin theorist Godfather Vincent Bugliosi has problems accepting Connally's statements. On page 381 of *Reclaiming History*, he writes: *"The only thing that rings true to me about the governor's reflections on what was happening around the time he was hit is not when he tries to be precise, but when he said things like this in his 1978 testimony before the HSCA: 'When I was hit, or shortly before I was hit--no, I guess it was after I was hit...' All of his hesitation and confusion is more in keeping with what I would expect from a witness who had sustained the kind of injuries Connally did."*

I think we all know the answer. People reject Hickey's statements but swear by Connally's because Connally's statements fit in with what they want to believe. The HSCA believed a first shot missed around frame 160 because it matched the timing of the sounds on the dicta-belt. Single-bullet theory devotees believe a first shot missed around frame 160 because it gives Oswald more time to fire his weapon, and makes his purported feat more palatable. (The thought occurs that "feat" and "palatable" should not be used in the same sentence, lest one confuse others into thinking one's put one's foot in one's mouth.)

The acceptance of Hickey's statements, furthermore, would bring grave doubt to the single-assassin conclusion. Here's the next few lines of his 11-30-63 report (18H761-764): "Perhaps 2 or 3 seconds elapsed from the time I looked to the rear and then looked at the President. He was slumped forward and to his left, and was straightening up to an almost erect sitting position as I turned and looked. At the moment he was almost sitting erect I heard two reports which I thought were shots and that appeared to me completely different in sound from the first report and were in such rapid succession that there seemed to be practically no time element between them." By his having heard only one shot before he turned back around to look at the President--which would have to be after frame 255, as the Altgens photo taken at that time showed him to be looking straight back behind him--and by his having heard two shots in rapid succession after he turned back around, Hickey not only supported the HSCA's conclusion that, if there was a shot striking Kennedy and Connally that was heard by anyone, it would be the shot fired around frame 190, but that the last two shots were fired too close together to have been fired by Oswald alone. This makes his statements as good as poison to those certain in their beliefs that Oswald was the sole assassin. Bugliosi, despite his doubts about Connally, never once discusses Hickey's statements in regards to the timing of the shots in his over-2500 page monster of a book, *Reclaiming History*.

But there's no honest reason to reject Hickey's statements.

Zapruder Film Frames 223 - 226



C Z-223 C
K K



C Z-224 C
K K



Z-225



Z-226

Zapruder Frames 223-226

Subsequent to the HSCA, better versions of the Zapruder film became available to the public. This led to the wholesale rejection of the HSCA's single-bullet theory.

Few ever subscribed to their version of the theory anyhow. Single-assassin theorists, not quite comfortable with the HSCA's proposition that Connally showed no reaction until almost two seconds after Kennedy had been hit, began working backwards, looking for the precise moment that Connally was hit, so they could see if it looked like Kennedy was also hit at this time. Now, they could have cited a 1976 study of the film conducted for CBS News by the Itek Corporation; this study had come to the conclusion that Connally had been hit by frame 224. And they could also have consulted the 1979 report of the HSCA Photographic Panel, which had also held that Connally was hit by frame 224. And they could also have consulted with Dr. Cyril Wecht, who, in opposition to the many conspiracy theorists claiming that Connally was not hit until frame 234 or afterward, had been claiming since at least 1975 that Connally first showed a reaction to being hit between frames 223 and 224.

But acknowledging any of these studies would have meant acknowledging that men such as Wecht could be right sometimes, and capable of noticing things overlooked by the Warren Commission. So, the single-assassin theorist community and mainstream media withheld its judgment on the precise time Connally was wounded until 1993, when *Case Closed*, a book largely devoted to tearing down

conspiracy theorists and supporting the Warren Commission, warmly embraced a study of the Zapruder film performed by a legal services company, Failure Analysis. This study, prepared for a mock trial of Oswald in 1992, had concluded that Connally first showed signs of being hit at...frame 224.

Be prepared for a shock: I think they're right.

On the digitized version of the film, a reaction by Connally at frame 224 seems obvious...his hair lifts up, his shoulder turns rapidly to its right, his lapel is pulled forward... And Kennedy's behavior confirms that he, too, has suffered an injury.

Of course, as we've seen, there's reason to believe Kennedy was hit before this frame as well.

When one looks closely at Zapruder frames 223-226, one can see that Kennedy's hands were coming down in 224 and 225, and only started heading towards his throat in 226. This further supports the possibility he was hit before 224 and was beginning to respond only to suffer a second wound to his throat at the same time Connally was hit.

Since this second shot came less than 2 seconds after the shot striking Kennedy around Z-190, moreover, and since FBI's tests showed it would take a minimum of 2.8 seconds for someone using Oswald's bolt-action rifle to eject a spent shell and re-aim. my acceptance that Connally is hit at frame 224 forces me to conclude that one of these shots was fired by someone other than Oswald.. While the HSCA, relying upon the controversial analysis of a police dictabelt, concluded that Oswald had fired his rifle at both 160 and 190, their own ballistics tests indicated he could only have done this by point-shooting, that is, just aiming the rifle in a general direction without using the sight. (One might presume they believed that Oswald felt there just wasn't enough time to actually aim.) That the HSCA held nonetheless that Oswald not only attempted his second shot without aiming, but hit Kennedy and Connally with the so-called "magic" bullet on this shot, is indicative that perhaps the HSCA was jealous of the Warren Commission's Single-Bullet Theory and was trying to one-up them by designing a bullet that was even more magical.

But that's just silly.

Not Waving, Being Shot



When one studies the frames of the Zapruder film, it becomes clear that something happens to Kennedy just before he disappears behind the Stemmons Freeway sign. Note the rapid turn of his head from right to left between frames 193-198 (less than 1/3 of a second). Note that the palm of his right hand, which he's been waving to the crowd, rotates clockwise in this same brief period, pausing briefly in front of his face. Note also that this hand drops sharply in the second between frames 206 and 224.

Not Waving, Being Shot

Equally silly is that Dr. Lattimer and his devotees, in an attempt to preserve the single-bullet theory, have tried to pretend that the HSCA Photographic Panel was full of beans and that there are no signs of Kennedy's being hit before frame 224 of the Zapruder film. While looking to Connally's movements to tell them the moment of a first shot miss circa frame 160, they willfully ignore Kennedy's far more significant movements between frames 190 and 210. Somehow they perceive the frantic movements apparent as he heads behind the sign as his calmly waving to the crowd. Heck, even the Warren Commission knew this wasn't true.

To refresh, a 4-22-64 memo written by Warren Commission counsel Melvin Eisenberg revealed:

- *A screening was held of the Zapruder film and of slides prepared by LIFE from the film. Each slide corresponded with a separate frame of film, beginning with frame 171. The consensus of the meeting was as follows:*
- *(a) The President had been definitely hit by frames 224-225, when he emerges from behind a sign with his hands clutching his throat.*
- *(b) The reaction shown in frames 224-225 may have started at an earlier point - possibly as early as frame 199 (when there appears to be some jerkiness in his movement) or, with a higher degree of possibility, at frames 204-206 (where his right elbow appears to be raised to an*

artificially high position).

So, how do Lattimer and his #1 devotee, Gerald Posner, the author of *Case Closed*, deal with this memo? They are, after all, defenders of the Warren Commission. They can't just ignore that the commission lawyers charged with studying the Zapruder film saw evidence suggesting that Kennedy was hit before the frame number eventually chosen as the moment of the first shot's impact.

Wanna bet? In *Case Closed*, Posner presents *"The latest enhancements show that before the President disappeared behind the sign at frame 200, he was waving to the crowd with his right hand. Even when the car and his body are obscured by the road sign, the top of his right hand can be seen waving."*

The "jerkiness" and "artificially high position" of Kennedy's right elbow had thereby been flushed down the memory hole.

Now, to be fair, Lattimer and Posner weren't the first to fail to notice these things. *Life Magazine*, in the 11-25-66 issue in which they called for a new investigation, nevertheless claimed that the Zapruder film *"shows the President still waving cheerfully as late as frame 206."*

But Lattimer and Posner compounded *Life's* silliness by desperately trying to explain away what would have to be seen as an incredibly rapid reaction by Kennedy to the bullet striking him at frame 224. Yep, in a moment of profound weakness, they offered up that the bullet nicked Kennedy's spine, and caused him to assume the "Thorburn's Position," an immediate locking of the arms.

The reasons for this silliness were clearly demonstrated in the 1992 mock trial of Oswald put on by the American Bar Association, and televised by Court TV. During this trial, prosecution witness Dr. Robert Piziali, after studying President Kennedy's movements in the Zapruder film after frame 224, asserted that the same bullet struck Kennedy and Connally at frame 224, and that a "reflexive reaction" to this impact would take "approximately 200 ms, which is exactly the time from when the bullet passes through Governor Connally's lapel and we see the first motion of the President's elbow." Ouch. This was painfully incorrect. It was so incorrect that even the most ardent single-assassin theorists could see that it was incorrect. Beyond that the bullet did not pass through Connally's lapel, but at a lower point on his jacket, 200 ms is more than three-and-a-half frames of the Zapruder film. No one outside Dr. Piziali, of whom I am aware, has ever, after studying the Zapruder film, asserted that Kennedy's "reflexive reaction" doesn't start till frame 227 of the film. Equally suspicious, upon cross-examination, Dr. Piziali confirmed that yes, it was his expert opinion that Kennedy was bringing his hand down after a wave in frame 225. This ignored that Kennedy's hands began rising back up in frame 226, not 227, and that frame 226 was not three and a half frames after the impact on Connally first apparent at frame 224.

Afterward, defense witness Dr. Roger McCarthy confirmed that a reflexive reaction on Kennedy's part would take about 200 ms, but disagreed with Piziali's conclusions. He asserted that Kennedy's hand movements in frames 225 and 226 were much too rapid to be reflective of his bringing his hand down after a wave, and that Kennedy was therefore most likely reacting to a shot at this time. He testified that, accordingly, Kennedy was most likely hit no later than frame 221, by a different bullet than the one hitting Connally at frame 224.

This didn't jive with the single-assassin theory, of course, and had to be rejected. Thus, in 1993, the next year, writer Gerald Posner offered the single-assassin faithful the hope they'd been looking for, telling them on page 328 that a spinal injury to Kennedy's sixth cervical vertebra, as purported by Lattimer, would cause an "instantaneous reaction." On the next page he spelled out just how "instantaneous." He wrote: "Kennedy's Thorburn response, from spinal damage, at frames 226-227, came between one tenth to two tenths of a second after the bullet hit him, which translates to 1.8 to 3.66 Zapruder frames." By pretending that Kennedy's reaction could have started as late as frame 227,

and that it could have taken as little as one-tenth of a second, Posner was, not surprisingly, covering his pet assassination theory. If people said Kennedy was hit by 227, he could say the reaction took two-tenths of a second. If they said he was hit by 226 he could say it took one tenth of a second. Posner failed to tell his readers that both the Warren Commission and HSCA concluded that Kennedy was clearly reacting to something before frame 226, and that both sides of the 1992 mock trial he cited throughout his book agreed that the reaction time would be at least two tenths of a second, and that the one tenth of a second reaction time he presented for his readers' consideration was something he just made up.

The irony here is that I don't entirely disagree with Posner about the one-tenth of a second reaction time. It seems quite possible that Kennedy, at frame 226, is reacting to the same burst of gunfire hitting Connally at frame 224. You see, the flipping of Connally's lapel was most probably not caused by the bullet itself, but by the explosion of blood and rib from Connally's chest after the bullet made its exit. The bullet causing this reaction would most probably have hit Connally just after frame 223. Kennedy's hands lift in frame 226, which means they had reversed course either between frames 224 and 225 or 225 and 226, most logically the latter. This would indicate a reaction time of around 2 frames or just over the one-tenth second reaction time offered by Posner, provided both men were hit by the same bullet. If Kennedy and Connally were hit by separate shots fired from an automatic weapon, of course, the overly-rapid reaction by Kennedy in comparison to the impact on Connally is more readily explained.

But that's a separate issue. It's important we note here that Lattimer and his devotee Posner, by pushing the "Thorburn theory," were simultaneously rejecting the conclusions of both the Warren Commission and HSCA that Kennedy was hit when he came out from behind the sign, and were instead pushing that Kennedy was not responding to a shot, but only waving, in frames 224 and 225 of the Zapruder film. And that's just plain silly.

Actually, Posner and the single-assassin community's propping up of Lattimer and his "Thorburn theory" to help sell the single-bullet theory is worse than their simply being silly. Lattimer's "Thorburn theory," holding that Kennedy's arms immediately locked into place after being hit, was, and is, a hoax. A careful viewing of the Zapruder film shows that although Kennedy's elbows remain slightly bent after frame 224 for the phenomenal length of five seconds, his arms themselves are far from locked and drop almost immediately. Even more damaging, as discovered by Millicent Cranor and reported by Wallace Milam, the position described by Thorburn in the 1800's was not an immediate locking of the arms, but a position assumed over a couple of days as the afflicted patient sunk into paralysis and death.

And, should one think that--no matter what he called it--Lattimer was onto something when he pushed that the passage of the bullet by the nerves in Kennedy's neck caused his arms to fly up as a reflex, one should consider that this has been disputed as well. And not by a conspiracy theorist such as myself, but by a recognized expert on such things... Yes, an article by Julie Dunn on the website of Kenneth Rahn reports that on December 13, 1994 she contacted famed neuropathologist Dr. Jan Leestma and asked him about Lattimer's "Thorburn" theory. Leestma reportedly said *"it seems to me a reaction as such would just never occur. I don't care if the sixth cervical segment was severed or just touched, the nerves in that area would not go into an immediate neurological reaction with arms flying up, they would fall limp."* He even explained *"when you physically shock any nerve, the last thing it does is fire. It classically becomes electrically silent. Whether the spinal cord is directly hit or grazed, the nerve cords extending beyond the actual spine would be affected and fall silent."*

Still another argument against Lattimer's "Thorburn theory", and one all my own, comes from the presumption that the immediate paralysis described by Lattimer would also cause Kennedy to lose control of his bodily functions. If this is so, then it would seem significant that Kennedy's x-rays, as

interpreted by all three x-ray professionals present at his autopsy, Dr. John Ebersole, Jerrol Custer, and Edward Reed, revealed a significant amount of fecal matter in his colon. That's right; I'm using fecal matter to combat fecal matter.

And I'm not afraid to sling it... Is it just a coincidence that Gerald Posner, the primary spreader of Lattimer's manure, was in 2010 exposed as one, let's say, lacking in ethics, after it became clear he'd been routinely plagiarizing the works of others in his columns for the Daily Beast? I suspect not.

I also suspect he wasn't the only prosecutor-turned-writer to try and "lawyer" his readers into believing something he knows is most unclear. In the first section of Vincent Bugliosi's 2007 single-assassin theorist manifesto, *Reclaiming History*, he describes a first shot miss, and then a second shot 4.9 seconds before the head shot, at roughly frame 224 of the Zapruder film. He claims this second shot is the one that hit Kennedy and Connally. Later, while discussing in the photo section the position of the limo at the time of this second shot he claims, first, that it was "somewhere around frame 210" and then, on the next page, that it was "within a split second of frame 210." Nowhere in the book is it acknowledged that one of the expert witnesses used by Bugliosi in his prosecution of Oswald in a 1986 mock trial was Cecil Kirk, from the HSCA Photographic Panel, and that Bugliosi had Kirk testify that a comparison of frames 195 and 199 of the Zapruder film indicated that Kennedy was shot at this time. (When looking at the second frame, Kirk testified *"Now you see that the President's arm is super-extended. We interpreted this to be a stimulus."* When asked by Bugliosi if this was a response to his being hit the first time, Kirk testified *"That's correct."*) No, instead of acknowledging that he had previously introduced evidence into a court of law that Kennedy was reacting to a shot before frame 199 of the Zapruder film, Bugliosi, in *Reclaiming History*, presents frame 204 of the film with the misleading caption *"Kennedy, now past most of the spectators on his right, begins to lower his right arm."*

What had been a reaction to a stimulus was now just a relaxing of the arm. Evidently, Mr. Kirk and his testimony had fallen down Bugliosi's memory hole.

Where's Nellie?



Warren Commission
Exhibit 895:
the sniper's nest
trajectory at Z-225.

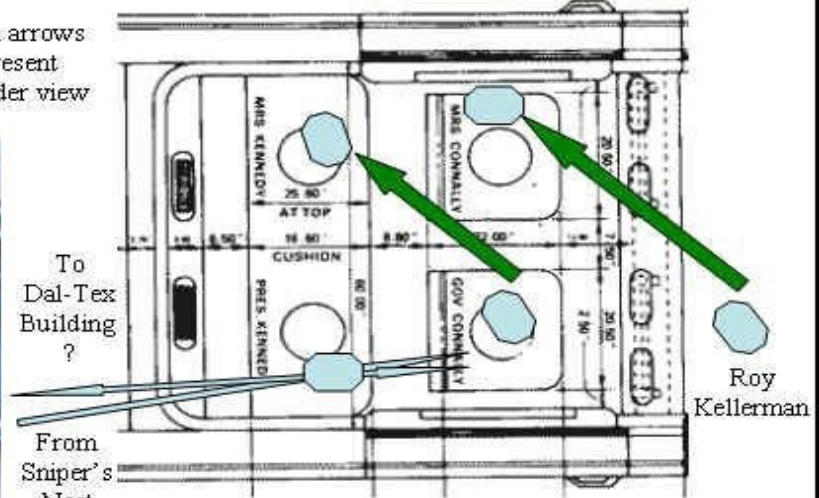
Zapruder
Frame
223



Green arrows
represent
Zapruder view



Scene from a September 3, 1998 simulation reveals
the far right and forward placement of JFK needed
for the single-bullet theory to be possible.



HSCA Figure II-19 (cropped). The blue octagons
depict the seating pattern required to support the single-bullet
theory at Z-223. The blue arrows represent trajectories.

Where's Nellie?

When one looks at Warren Commission Exhibit 895, a photograph purporting to represent the trajectory from the sniper's nest at frame 225, roughly $1/10^{\text{th}}$ of a second after the point single-assassin theorists now claim Kennedy was hit, one can find yet another reason to doubt the new and "improved" version of the single-bullet theory. Since the bullet found on the stretcher in Parkland Hospital, the "magic" bullet, was largely undamaged, the theory is dependent on the presumption that the bullet struck no bones on its way through Kennedy. Since the bullets used in Oswald's rifle, per the testimony of the Warren Commission's and HSCA's own ballistics experts, were among the most stable ever tested, it follows that there should have been little deviation from its path while going through the President. And yet the target on Kennedy's neck in the Warren Commission's own re-enactment aligns not with Connally's right armpit, where he was struck, but the middle of his back! While one might muse that the bullet was deflected slightly by the knot in Kennedy's tie towards Connally's armpit, this would then necessitate its being deflected both to the left and downwards once again when it struck Connally's rib. Perhaps this problem in alignment is why the FBI, under the direction of the Warren Commission's Arlen Specter, failed to measure the right/left angle from the sniper's nest into the limousine. They measured the angle of descent from the sniper's nest into the limousine to the minute, but made no measurements whatsoever of the cross-angle.

Since this exhibit, much as the HSCA exhibit showing the trajectory of a single-bullet shot at frame 190, conclusively demonstrates that Connally would have to have been sprawled across his seat for his wounds to align with Kennedy's, we are forced to look at the Zapruder film once again, and see if we can conclusively determine Connally's position at frame 224.

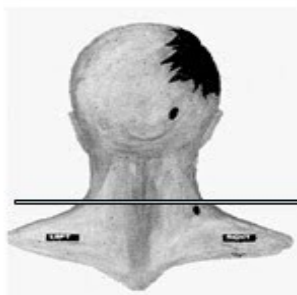
It occurred to me that one could do this by establishing the relative positions of the limousine's occupants, and projecting them onto the scale drawing of the limousine provided by the Warren Commission and HSCA, and see what made sense. Since the limousine was moving roughly a foot per frame and since the Connallys were sitting roughly two feet in front of the Kennedys, the Connallys in frames 223 and 224 occupied the same relative space as the Kennedys in frames 225 and 226. As demonstrated on the Z-223-226 slide, when one compares these frames, it becomes readily apparent that John and Nellie Connally were roughly 90% as far apart as John and Jackie Kennedy.

From this we can establish Connally's actual position. If one places Connally far enough over in his seat to receive a wound in his right armpit from a bullet exiting Kennedy's neck in a straight line from the sniper's nest at 224, and places Jackie Kennedy far enough over so that she's in line with Connally a la the Zapruder film, a placement of Nellie Connally 90% as far from her husband as Jackie Kennedy was from the President pushes Nellie off her seat and up against the side of the car. I refuse to believe the first lady of Texas was draping her face over the side of the limousine and lapping up wind like a dog. That she seems far too close to her door is an indication, clearly, that everyone, save the President, should be shifted back to their right. If one shifts Connally just a few inches to his right, however, the single-bullet theory trajectory, via rear-projection from Connally's wounds, pivots onto the roof of the Dal-Tex Building. If one simply shifts Kennedy all the way to his right, so that he is draped across the side of the car, as has been done in most current re-enactments and simulations, on the other hand, it takes care of Nellie and places her more towards the center of her seat, but opens up a whole series of other problems.

For when one looks closely at the Zapruder sequence from 223-226 one can see that Kennedy's right arm was inside the car and did not even leave a shadow along the side of the car. This would appear to place him several inches inwards from the position used in a 1998 laser re-enactment. If one compares Kennedy's position in frame 225 against that of Secret Service Agent Roy Kellerman, the passenger in the front seat, moreover, it seems clear that both men are roughly the same distance from the side of the car. And yet, in order for Kellerman to be in line with Nellie's position in the Zapruder film (and have her be 90% as far from her husband as Mrs. Kennedy was from her husband) Kellerman would have to have been twice as far away from the side of the limousine as Kennedy.

Once again, the proper positioning of the passengers in the limousine and Kennedy and Connally in particular pivots a backwards trajectory through Connally and Kennedy's wounds from the Texas School Book Depository across the street to the Dal-Tex. I've said it before and I'll say it again. Kennedy and Connally's wounds only align if the shot originated from the Dal-Tex Building.

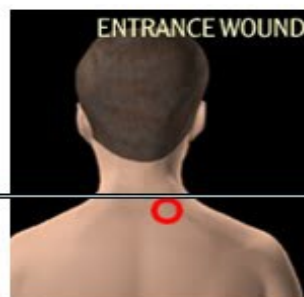
The Single Bullet Theory Redux



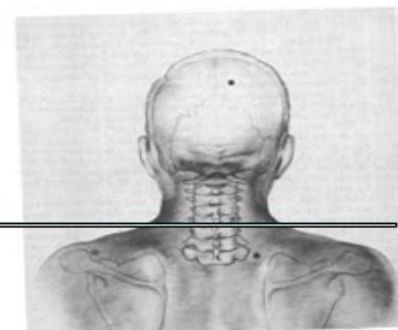
Warren Commission
Exhibit CE 386, 1964



Fox Autopsy Photo
confirmed by the
HSCA, 1978



The animation of Dale
Myers, which moves the
back wound onto the base
of the neck... AGAIN.

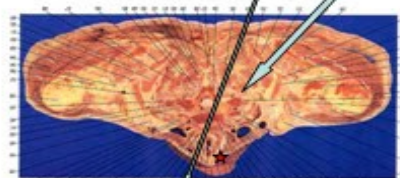


HSCA
Figure F-24,
1978.



Scene from a 1998 re-enactment filmed in
Dealey Plaza. Note the forward lean required to
point the laser beam into the sniper's nest.

Double arrow points to HSCA
entrance in back. Diagonal
arrow reflects 18 degree path
through body as per HSCA.
Red star reflects exit if angle
was only 10 degrees, a la most
current theories.



C7-T1 Cross Section (Upwards View)

Trajectory connecting the back wound and an exit just left of the
mid-line of the throat, as per the HSCA, would barely miss
the spinal column, and would crash through its transverse process.

The Single Bullet Theory Redux

The single-bullet theory, with its new and "improved" impact frame of Z-224, was first revived in the eyes of the public by Gerald Posner in his 1993 book *Case Closed*, a response to Oliver Stone's *JFK*. In his defense of the single bullet theory, however, Posner was grossly deceptive. He repeatedly cited Dr. Lattimer as an expert on the single-bullet theory without mentioning that Dr. Lattimer believed the bullet entered Kennedy's neck at a point inches higher than even the Warren Commission. He also published an exhibit demonstrating the single-bullet theory prepared by a legal services team called Failure Analysis without mentioning that this exhibit was made for a mock trial in which Failure Analysis prepared exhibits for both sides, including exhibits indicating the single-bullet theory did not work.

A simulation, performed in Dealey Plaza on September 3, 1998 for a TV show called the Secret KGB JFK Assassination Files, was equally disingenuous. In this simulation, performed under the guidance of noted wound ballistics expert Vincent J M. DiMaio (not surprisingly, a close colleague of the Clark Panel's Dr. Fisher), the dummy's body needed to be bent forwards in order to get the laser beam connecting the locations of Kennedy's wounds to reach the sniper's nest. If one imagines this dummy sliding back a few inches to match Kennedy's position at Z-225, the first frame he can be seen after coming out from behind the sign, however, the backwards trajectory from Connally through Kennedy's neck once again pivots to Kennedy's left and once again ends up on the Dal-Tex Building. If one projects backwards at the 25 degree angle of the wounds reportedly from Kennedy's neck through Connally, moreover, this projection leads precisely to the roof of the Dal-Tex Building.

But a cursory knowledge of anatomy is all one really needs to doubt the single-bullet theory. As

discussed in The Smoking Spine section of the last chapter, if one looks at a cross-section of the level of the bullet's purported passage, the 7th cervical vertebrae and the 1st thoracic vertebrae, and projects an 18 degree right-to-left trajectory through the body, ala the HSCA's trajectory analysis, one can see that a bullet entering at the location apparent on HSCA exhibit F-58 would nick a man's spinal column. Even worse, a bullet entering 2/3 of an inch closer to the mid-line, as apparent on the autopsy photo, would plow right through the spine and exit from the left side of the neck. Should one allow that Kennedy was scrawnier than the man used for the medical slides, and compress the cross-section so that an 18 degree bullet can connect Kennedy's back wound with the exit in his throat, one still finds that the bullet would smash right through his right transverse process, the small bones that stick out to the left and right of the column. This problem with the spine was discussed by Dr. John Nichols in the 1970's. More recently, Dr. David Mantik has plotted out this trajectory on CAT scans of men with Kennedy's precise proportions and has confirmed that a trajectory connecting the back wound with the purported location of the throat wound would have to pass through bone. According to Drs Pryor and Cotton in 2005's Ballistic Trauma: A Practical Guide, the use of entrance and exit locations on CAT scans to accurately plot the internal trajectory of bullets traveling through the neck has been tested with positive results. Since the so-called magic bullet found on a stretcher in Parkland hospital shows no sign of crashing through bone this casts a great shadow over the single-bullet theory. (While the HSCA acknowledged that the right transverse process of Kennedy's first thoracic vertebrae was damaged, single-assassin theorists almost unilaterally maintain that a temporary cavity caused by the bullet's rapid passage struck this process, and not the bullet itself. This explanation is of course necessitated by the undamaged condition of the bullet's nose.)

While a bullet fired from the sniper's nest and striking Kennedy at frame 224 of the Zapruder film, the single bullet scenario currently in vogue, would be coming in at less of an angle than the 18 degrees described by the HSCA's trajectory analysis (which was built around a shot at frame 190), it would still exit the left side of Kennedy's throat. Should one decide Kennedy straightened out between Z-190 and Z-224, so that he was no longer turned 5 degrees to his right, as proposed by the HSCA, it would restrict the damage to Kennedy's trachea to his right side, and be more in line with the recollections of his doctors. Unfortunately, for single-bullet theorists, this trajectory still plunges through the spine.

This comparison between the HSCA's single-bullet theory and the "single-bullet theory redux" raises an interesting point. Few single-bullet theorists acknowledge that with the recent change in frame number they've re-interpreted the position of the President from the HSCA's trajectory analysis. Many in fact claim to accept both the wound locations of the HSCA forensic pathology panel and its trajectory analysis, even though (as we have seen) they are in opposition and designed around a shot at frame 190, when the President was about 30 feet closer to the gun than at frame 224.

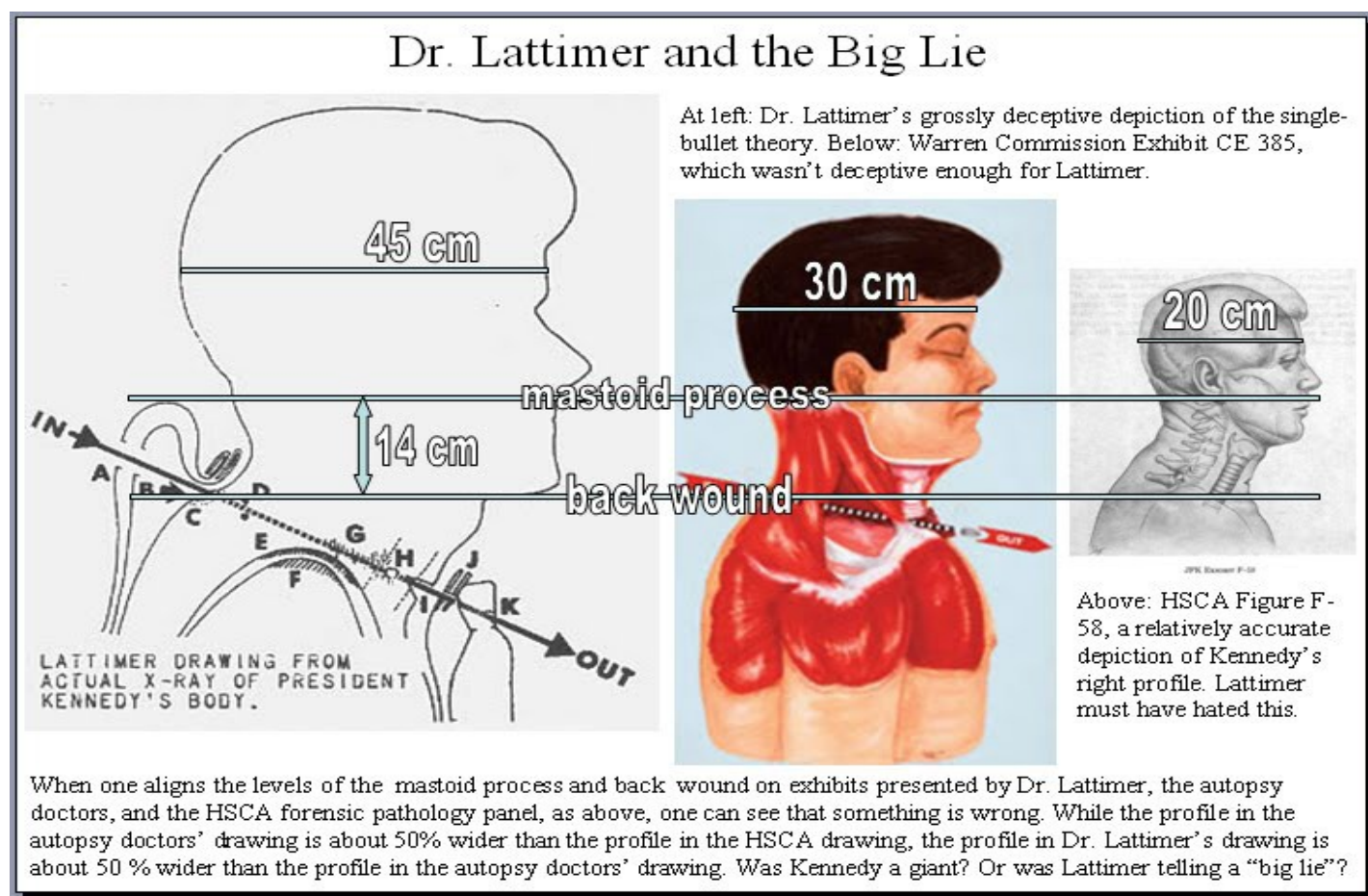
It's like saying that GM builds the best trucks, and then citing a report saying that Ford builds the best trucks as support for your statement. You can't have it both ways. You're either in agreement with the HSCA's trajectory analyst or you're not. You're either supported by the "experts" or you're not.

And should one think I'm nit-picking on this issue, one should be informed that animator Dale Myers, perhaps the most respected of the current batch of single-bullet theorists, agrees, and has concluded that the wounds in Connally and Kennedy project back to the sniper's nest but for the split second between frames 217 and 224 of the Zapruder film, and that the HSCA's trajectory analysis was fatally flawed in both its interpretation of the single-bullet trajectories, and head wound trajectories.

So single-bullet theorists can't have it both ways, try as they might. As a result, many of them have stopped citing the HSCA's "rocket scientist," Thomas Canning, as the definitive expert on the trajectories, and instead cite Dale Myers, a mere animator, as the definitive expert. This is indeed hypocritical. If Canning--the supposed expert--was wrong, as they now claim, and Myers, an amateur,

was right, on what grounds can they pretend that the findings of an amateur such as myself should automatically be rejected in favor of the "experts" to whom they normally defer. They can't. Not if they give a damn about intellectual consistency.

Still, many single-assassin theorists evade this trap by telling themselves an animator such as Myers possesses unique skills, and is every bit the expert in his own way as NASA trajectory expert Thomas Canning was in his. There's at least one point on which single-bullet theory revisionists are most definitely NOT supported by any of the top "experts" they so love to cite, however: the location of the back wound.



Dr. Lattimer and the Big Lie

Although one might think Dr. Lattimer, a urologist, after having his interpretation of Kennedy's back wound location so thoroughly rejected by the nine forensic pathologists on the HSCA pathology panel, would simply revise his interpretation, but continue to push that the single-bullet theory was correct, one would be wrong.

Apparently, there was too much at stake. Not only had Lattimer staked his reputation on the thoroughly repudiated proposition that the back wound was well above the throat wound, the reputation of the Warren Commission, and, by extension, the Executive Branch of the Government, also hung in the balance. In 1967, and then again in 1968, the Justice Department had convened panels of doctors to interpret the photos. Both panels had asserted that the autopsy photos demonstrated that the back

wound was well above the throat wound. In 1972, after becoming the first "independent" researcher allowed to inspect these photographs, Lattimer, amazingly, went even further, and emerged from the archives with the proposition that the back wound was even higher on the back than depicted in the drawings created for the Warren Commission. In 1975, Warren Commission lawyers W. David Slawson and Richard M. Mosk wrote an article for the L.A. Times arguing against a re-investigation of the medical evidence; in this article, they asserted "The evidence concerning the wounds conclusively dispels the idea of shots from the front...The wounds both slanted downward from Kennedy's back. This is clear beyond doubt from the autopsy and from the photographs and X rays of the body...to doubt the evidence of the wounds is to label as liars the doctors who examined the body, the pictures and the X rays for the commission." Well, here, in 1978, were nine top pathologists, working for the House of Representatives, not only doubting the evidence of the wounds, but asserting it had been incorrect. They were, in the eyes of Warren Commission supporters like Slawson and Mosk, admitting that the autopsy doctors--the men upon whose integrity the entire single-bullet theory had been built--were liars, and that, by extension, Dr. Lattimer, who'd asserted that the biggest lie pushed by the autopsy doctors--that the back wound was well above the throat wound--was an understatement--was an even bigger liar.

So what was he to do? He could admit he was mistaken, and take a body blow to his credibility, or he could double down, and insist that he, a urologist, was the sole doctor to inspect Kennedy's autopsy photos and x-rays in the decade to properly interpret the vertical relationship between Kennedy's back wound and throat wound.

As Dr. Lattimer was an avid collector of Nazi paraphernalia, he was almost certainly familiar with the following passage from Hitler's manifesto, *Mein Kampf*:

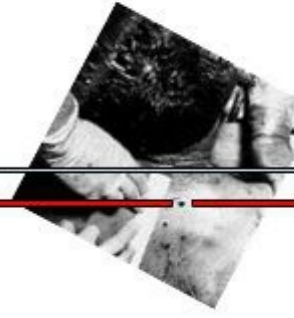
"in the big lie there is always a certain force of credibility; because the broad masses of a nation are always more easily corrupted in the deeper strata of their emotional nature than consciously or voluntarily; and thus in the primitive simplicity of their minds they more readily fall victims to the big lie than the small lie, since they themselves often tell small lies in little matters but would be ashamed to resort to large-scale falsehoods. It would never come into their heads to fabricate colossal untruths, and they would not believe that others could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously. Even though the facts which prove this to be so may be brought clearly to their minds, they will still doubt and waver and will continue to think that there may be some other explanation. For the grossly impudent lie always leaves traces behind it, even after it has been nailed down, a fact which is known to all expert liars in this world and to all who conspire together in the art of lying."

In his 1980 book, *Kennedy and Lincoln*, Dr. Lattimer revealed that the repudiation of his findings by the HSCA pathology panel in 1978 had had no impact whatsoever on his unique interpretation of Kennedy's wounds. As a result, one is forced to wonder if his continuing to tout, in the absence of all evidence, and without any support among his fellow physicians, that the back wound was much higher on the body than the throat wound, is an example of a "big lie" in action...

Lattimer vs. Lattimer



1. When one compares Dr. John Lattimer's depiction of the single-bullet theory, above, with the photo of Kennedy he claims supports his theory, at right, it is clear something is wrong. The photo depicts Kennedy's right shoulder far above his chin, the level Lattimer claims for the back wound, but his left shoulder below his chin.



3. Other photos of a shirtless Kennedy, like the one at left, confirm that, when Kennedy was facing the camera, and not leaning forward, his mouth was well above his shoulders.

2. This demonstrates that Kennedy was leaning forward and to his left in the photo. When one matches this photo with the back wound photo (third from left across the top), moreover, other problems arise. While one can match the level of the shoulders, and have the back wound location match the level on Lattimer's depiction, one cannot do so without having the shoulders in the back wound photo align with a point on the back of Kennedy's head on Lattimer's drawing, at the level of Kennedy's mouth (as shown by the blue line above). This, of course, is ludicrous.

Lattimer vs. Lattimer

Yep, when it comes to bald-faced lying about the murder of a president, Lattimer pretty much set the standard with Kennedy and Lincoln. While discussing Kennedy's throat wound, for example, he asserted, *"any bullet that might have exited through this hole had had a definite downward course through Kennedy's neck, rather than the relatively horizontal course ...depicted in the official schematic diagram made by medical staff artist H.A. Rydberg."* Incredibly, even after the HSCA released a drawing of Kennedy taken from an autopsy photo showing his back wound to be, well, on his back, Lattimer chose to re-publish his 1972 drawing depicting the back wound to be at the level of Kennedy's chin, and the bullet to be descending on an even steeper trajectory through the President's neck than in the drawings created for the Warren Commission. This trajectory, if projected forward from the back wound in the autopsy photos, amazingly, would have passed right through the President's sternum, inches below the supposed exit on his throat.

In 1993, in an article published in the Journal of the American Medical Association, Lattimer tried to explain this last discrepancy. He asserted that a large fat pad on Kennedy's neck, aka the "hunch" or "hump," deflected the bullet downwards, and that Kennedy may have leaned forwards to talk to Connally just before he was shot at frame 224 of the Zapruder film. Astonishingly, Lattimer and the editors at JAMA had failed to realize that this proposed lean would lessen the degree of descent within

Kennedy's body, and make the 27 degree descent depicted in his drawing even more unlikely.

This was not all that surprising. By 1993, Lattimer had become something of a guru to his fellow single-assassin theorists, including JAMA's editor George Lundberg. As a consequence, in April 1993, he was invited to present his findings at an assassination conference in Chicago. Videotapes of this conference indicate that he was still 100% committed to his appallingly incorrect understanding of Kennedy's anatomy and wounds. As he showed the audience the Warren Commission's depiction of the single-bullet theory, CE 385, he explained: *"I knew President Kennedy and this was not President Kennedy. President Kennedy had a big hump on the back of his neck from all the steroids he was taking. And the point of entry, for example, of the bullet, isn't down there (pointing out the entrance on CE 385), it's way up here (pointing to the back of the neck) at the level of the base of his chin."* Later, when presenting his own drawing to the audience, he added: *"The hump on the back of his neck brought the point of impact of the bullet up to the level of his chin and the downward course of the bullet coming out low on his neck, where Dr. Perry did the tracheostomy."*

Well, this was just crazy talk. In Kennedy and Lincoln, Lattimer published a photograph of a shirtless Kennedy at Santa Monica Beach and claimed this photograph proved Kennedy's shoulders to be unusually high as a result of his Addison's disease. This was totally misleading. True, Kennedy's chin was below his right shoulder in the photo. But this was because he was leaning slightly forward, and to his left. His chin, tellingly, was not below his left shoulder. When one looks at other photos of a shirtless Kennedy taken after he'd contracted his disease, moreover, it becomes abundantly clear that his shoulders did not extend above his chin, and that his chin was at best at the level of the crease at the base of his neck. (The second shirtless photo of Kennedy on the slide above was taken in the mid-50's.)

I mean, just look at Lattimer's drawing, and compare it to the autopsy photo of the back wound... The autopsy photo proves the back wound to be inches below the point where Kennedy's shoulders connected to his neck. And yet, Lattimer's drawing presents this wound at the level of his chin. It follows then--yes, I know it's hard to believe that such a respected man could make such a crazy assertion--that Lattimer believed Kennedy's shoulders attached to his neck inches above his chin.

Don't believe me? Well, then consider that at the '93 Chicago conference, Lattimer showed the audience the JFK beach photo on the slide above, and pointed out the trajectory of the bullet through Kennedy's neck, beginning at the level of the light blue line on the slide above.

I mean, really, just who was Lattimer trying to fool?

Apparently, all of us...

Unfortunately, Lattimer's actions on behalf of his beloved single-assassin theory extended way beyond his creating a flawed drawing or two, and/or his inability to see its inaccuracies. He helped sell a whole generation of doctors and devotees that the single-bullet theory was viable and supported by meticulous research. Since his work on the head wounds was equally misleading, many in the conspiracy community assumed he was some sort of government plant. Upon his death in 2007, however, another possibility was revealed--that he was every bit as eccentric and wacky as the wackiest conspiracy theorist. You see, buried within his obituaries was an astonishing fact--that among Lattimer's many collectibles and prized possessions was an historically significant item he'd purchased some years before at auction, for a reported 3,000 dollars...Napoleon's shriveled penis!



Location, Location, Location

But enough about shriveled penises...

While single-assassin theorists are fond of repeating ad nauseum that conspiracy theorists can't accept the clear-cut truth that Oswald acted alone, and are in love with 'factoids' at odds with the evidence, the incredible hypocrisy of this overly influential "community" becomes apparent when one looks at their depictions of the single-bullet theory. In virtually all depictions, they take their lead from Lattimer and place the back wound above the throat wound at a point inches above the back wound location determined by the HSCA forensic pathology panel.

When asked if their doing so doesn't make them no better than the conspiracy theorists they denounce, and all too often despise, single-bullet theorist David Von Pein, who has littered the internet with literally thousands of posts and essays praising the single-bullet theory, gave what would have to be taken as an admirably honest response.

On December 24, 2011, on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, he replied:

"You are exactly right, Pat. I plead guilty. And I'll admit that I am doing something that I often scold CTers for doing -- throwing out EXPERT testimony and clinging to my own personal beliefs. So, if you want to, you can shoot me down with Oswald's remaining unfired C2766 bullet. Yes, I'm asking for it, because I did something that I ridicule the conspiracy theorists for constantly doing. In this instance, I'm nothing but a hypocrite. However, I sincerely believe that the HSCA/FPP was wrong about the throat wound being higher than the back wound. And I think I've provided a very good reason for WHY I think they were wrong. Mainly-- this composite picture below, which plainly shows the throat wound to be LOWER than the bullet hole in JFK's upper back. And I don't see how anyone can argue with this plain-as-day observation. But, just in case you want to -- I'm ready to be strung up by the oak tree in front of the TSBD for my sin of disagreeing with the HSCA. I'm guilty. And I know it."

And this wasn't the first time he admitted his hypocrisy.

On February 14, 2008, in an online discussion of Vincent Bugliosi's book Reclaiming History, he wrote: *"In this particular narrow-based instance, I will readily admit that it (his re-interpreting the wound location) doesn't make me "any better than the looniest conspiracy theorist", due to the fact that I am doing what almost all conspiracy-happy people love to do with virtually ALL of the evidence in the case -- I'm completely ignoring the official conclusion of the HSCA's Forensic Panel in this particular "height of the wounds" regard...the HSCA's FPP was and is definitely DEAD WRONG when it comes to their conclusion that the back wound was anatomically lower than the throat wound. And even Dr. James J. Humes, JFK's leading autopsy doctor, has said so -- i.e., Humes himself said, in 1964 to the Warren Commission, that JFK's throat wound was "physically lower" than the wound located in Kennedy's upper back."* (Von Pein's citing Humes' Warren Commission testimony on this matter was of course pretty silly--seeing as he'd had been denied access to the autopsy photos before testifying. It becomes even more silly, moreover, when one considers that Humes' partner, Dr. Boswell, when confronted with the photos by the ARRB, and asked the magic question, approximated the back wound at the level of the second thoracic vertebra, well below the throat wound.)

Not surprisingly, Von Pein then went on to argue that his ignoring experts was somehow more "rational" than conspiracy theorists ignoring experts, and that, even if he disagreed with the HSCA panel about the wound location, he was correct in citing them as authoritative on the number of bullet wounds. He wrote *"I wouldn't compare the two things as being on equal levels. In one instance, the HSCA was attempting to determine how many bullet holes John Kennedy had in his body (and from what directions those shots were fired). But the other instance is quite different (and a bit more subjective in nature, given the fact they had no photo to work with that showed BOTH Kennedy's throat*

wound and his upper-back wound in the same photo for direct "relative height" comparison) -- i.e., the HSCA was trying to answer the "lower or higher?" question regarding those wounds by utilizing the autopsy photographs and the written record and the testimony of the autopsists (testimony taken 15 years after the assassination). And that's just exactly what other people have tried to do as well, using the very same pictures and documented testimony. And the HSCA, for some reason I'll never be able to fathom, came to the cockeyed determination that the two photos linked below (when viewed IN TANDEM and when using each of them to compare to the other) depict the upper-back wound (in the top photo) as being located anatomically LOWER than the wound in the front of JFK's neck, which is a wound that is fully visible in the bottom photo." (Von Pein's suggestion that comparing autopsy photos to determine the relative location of wounds on a patient's body is drastically more challenging to a medical professional well-acquainted with anatomy than determining the number and direction of bullets striking the body is of course without merit.)

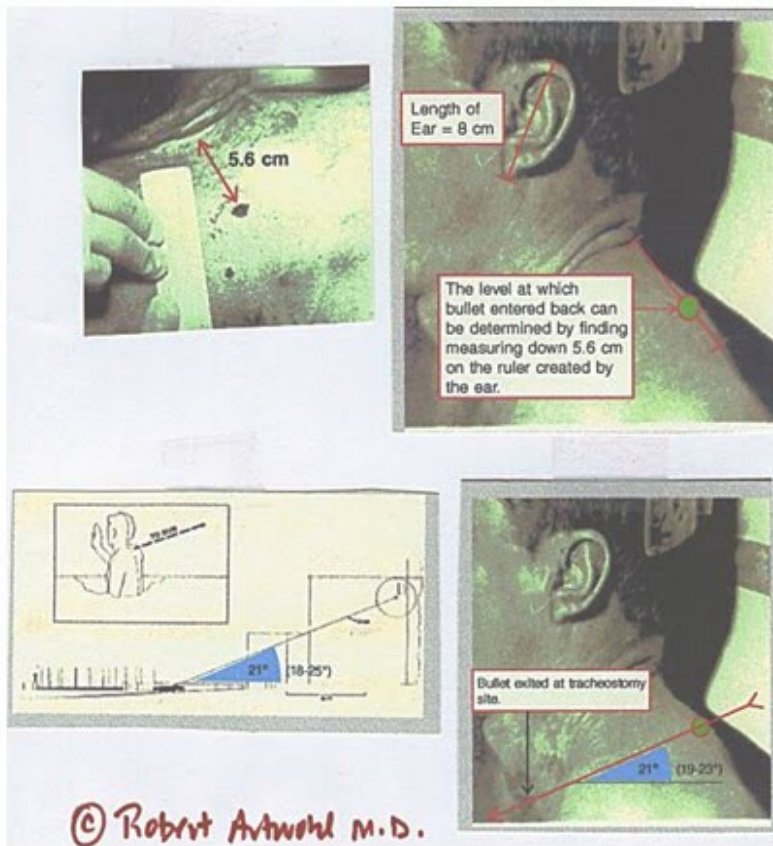
He then, perhaps unwittingly, asserted that one's expertise is of but little importance when the evidence is so, well, gosh-darned evident. He declared: *"But as anyone with just one good eye can see (when comparing the individual wounds seen in each of the above photos), the bullet hole in JFK's upper back (which was determined by the HSCA to be the TOP SPOT [or "artifact"] in the top photo above) is not even close to being located anatomically LOWER on Kennedy's body when compared to the wound in the throat."* (While he is DEAD WRONG about this particular piece of evidence, I have to agree that one's relying on experts to interpret a photo can blind one to what's startlingly clear.)

Von Pein also discussed Vincent Bugliosi's approach to this matter: *"you can't really say that Vince and I think alike on this issue (at least when based on Pages 423 and 424 of VB's JFK book)....and that's because, based on the text found on those two pages, Vince says that he totally accepts the HSCA's findings as being true regarding the wound locations AND he also asserts that he does not accept the HSCA's conclusions (via his comments on page 424 at any rate)"*

Here, Von Pein was repeating information first discovered and exposed by myself on this webpage. He is correct to distance himself from Bugliosi on this issue, as Bugliosi's handling of this issue is mighty mighty strange. On page 423 of his book, Bugliosi writes *"The...bullet track, which is going downward through the president's body, is traveling upward anatomically."* But on the very next page, he enthuses *"Perhaps the clearest visual evidence of the fact that the entrance wound in the back was definitely above the exit wound in the throat appears in one of these photos taken of the left side of the president's head as he is lying on his back, his head on a metal headrest. Only the wound in the throat is visible, not the wound on the upper right back. However, it couldn't be clearer from this photo that the wound in the back was definitely above the exit wound in the throat."* These assertions are, of course, mutually exclusive. It seems that Bugliosi, like the dog in the Devo song "Freedom of Choice", had two bones, and failed to properly assess which one was best deserving of a lick.

So let's take a look at these photos and see what Von Pein and Bugliosi have been raving about.

Artwohl Analysis



Dr. Artwohl's spirited defense of the single-bullet theory

If Kennedy's ear was really 8 cm, then the man at far right was almost 8 feet tall.



Going, going, gone. As one takes other factors into account, Artwohl's 21 degree angle fades away.

Artwohl Analysis

The photos discussed by Von Pein and Bugliosi are the same ones discussed in the "Hunchback Analysis" slide of the last chapter. In the 1990's Dr. Robert Artwohl resurrected the incorrect assessment of these photos first pushed in the 1967 so-called "Military Review" and then later adopted by the Church Panel. Since that time, his comparison has been a mainstay on the much-visited JFK website of history professor John McAdams, confusing people by the thousands.

On the surface, his comparison almost makes sense. He uses the ruler in the back wound photo to measure the distance from Kennedy's neck line to his back wound and comes up with 5.6 cm. He then uses the length of Kennedy's ear in the lateral photo as a ruler, and plots out where this 5.6 cm down Kennedy's back would be on the lateral photo. This establishes his entrance. It's then just a simple matter of drawing a line between the back wound and the throat wound and measuring the angle. Not surprisingly, Artwohl came up with the exact angle the HSCA told us leads back to the sniper's nest.

He makes a number of mistakes. First of all, he uses 8 cm as the length of Kennedy's ear, which seems way too large. (Mine is only 6.8 cm and I have big ears.) Using a long distance photo of Kennedy for comparison I determined his ears were really more like 6.2 cm. (Should you doubt me, consider that, if this 8 cm measurement was real, Kennedy's throat wound was at a vertical level 2.5 inches below his Adam's Apple. Measure this on your own body and not along the throat itself--which runs at an angle--and see if this seems possible.) Second of all, even though the ruler in the back wound photo is clearly

pressed against Kennedy's back he measures this distance down Kennedy's back at the angle of his neck and not the angle of his back. When one makes these corrections, one finds that the angle from the back wound to the throat wound was really more like 14 degrees, the white trajectory in the slide up above.

But there are other factors as well. When one realizes that Kennedy's head in the back wound photo is turned slightly to his right, one should realize that this lowers his neck line by approximately one centimeter in comparison to the neck line in the lateral view. This means the 5.6 cm measurement leading to the back wound in the lateral photo should start a centimeter lower on Kennedy's neck. This drops the angle from the back wound to the throat wound down to 10 degrees, which is represented by the tan trajectory. Finally, one should take into account that Kennedy's body in the back wound photo appears to be laying on its left side with its right shoulder rolled forwards. According to my calculations (or, more precisely, my girlfriend's repeated measurements on my body), this would raise the back wound an inch or more in comparison to the throat wound, and drop the angle down to zero, as shown by the blue line.

But one need not rely on my words to see Artwohl is mistaken. Consider Artwohl's own. At the April '93 conference on the medical evidence in Chicago, Dr. Artwohl pointed out the "hump" on Kennedy's back where he claims the bullet entered, and said "The hump here really represents about the level of T-1." No, not really. I mean, he really said that. But that's not really what it represents.

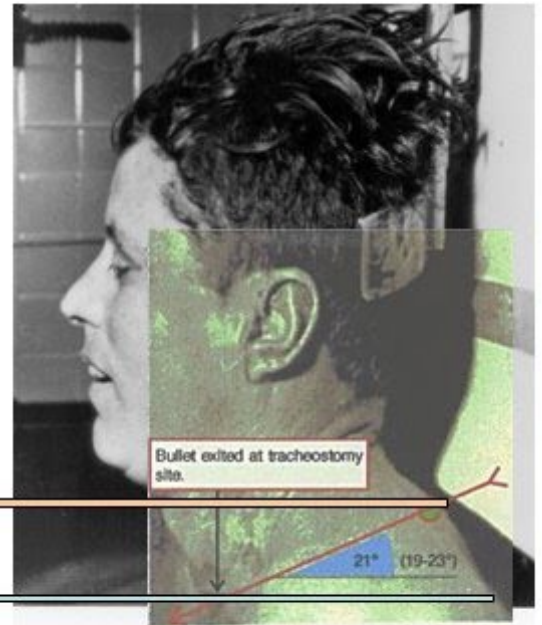
And that's not the only time Artwohl has put his woeful grasp of anatomy on display. On the website of Professor John McAdams, in an attempt to demonstrate the failings of Dr. Cyril Wecht, he presents a few old online posts from Artwohl to Wecht, in which Artwohl unsuccessfully asks Wecht for clarification on a few key points. On one of these posts, dated 10-18-94, Artwohl writes that "the autopsy photographs clearly show that the bullet wound is 5.5 cm (about 2 inches) below the inferiornuchal crease (the lowest wrinkle in the back of JFK's neck). The inferior nuchal crease overlies the cervical spine at about the level of C4 or C5. Thus two inches below that would fall at the level at around the level of C7, or at the base of the neck." Artwohl is thereby claiming the back wound was around C7. Well, one look at the left lateral view of Kennedy with Artwohl's trajectory drawn in demonstrates beyond any argument that his proposed entrance location, which he says is at C7, is far closer to the "inferiornuchal crease" than it is to the level of the throat wound. This means that, in Artwohl's analysis, the throat wound was more than 2 vertical inches below the level of C7.

He's dead wrong. Kennedy's throat wound was indisputably near the level of C7/T-1. Two inches above this--where Artwohl places the back wound--would be around C5, not C7. Artwohl's analysis is nonsense.

Coat Check



Kennedy's left profile in 1960: image inverted.
Arrow reflects trajectory from sniper's nest at Z-224.



Artwohl trajectory superimposed onto
Kennedy's left profile autopsy photo

Tan Line = Artwohl entrance level

Blue Line = HSCA entrance level

Blue star reflects clothing entrance if
ear is 6.2 cm. Tan star reflects clothing
entrance if ear is 8 cm. a la Artwohl.

Coat Check

Should one still be confused by Dr. Artwohl's presentation, one should take a look at a comparison of the entrance locations in dispute with the undisputed entrance of the bullet on Kennedy's clothing, 5 3/8 inches below the top of his collar. Even if one uses Artwohl's 8 cm measurement of Kennedy's ear in one's analysis, it seems highly unlikely a bullet could enter so low on Kennedy's clothing yet as high on his back as Artwohl and Lattimer contend.

A look at this comparison, moreover, casts further doubt on the sincerity of the June, 1967 articles written by Sid Moody and Bernard Gavzer for the Associated Press, and published nationwide. In dismissing the Warren Commission's critic's claims that the jacket holes were too low to support the single-bullet theory, they claimed "Seeing the holes through the eyes of Lane, Epstein, and Weisberg, it might seem that the bullet which made them could not have hit the president in the base of the neck. But put a jacket and shirt on any grown man with reasonably well-developed shoulders, measure 5 3/8 inches below the top of the collar and a bit to the right of the seam, have him raise his right arm slightly (as the president's was) and mark the spot with a pencil point or chalk. Where does this touch the body? The base of the neck."

Oh really? The slight lift of Kennedy's right arm would lift the blue star in this comparison to the level of the tan line? I don't think so. Evidently, Moody and Gavzer weren't in the mind to double-check

their “facts” that day...

Coat Double Check



Above: a crop of the Croft photo in John Hunt's article The Case of the Bunched Jacket. Did the jacket really stick straight out?



Above: a crop of the color version of the Croft Photo, taken at Z-161. Or is the bunch really Kennedy's right shoulder seen at an angle?



Above: Z-161. The Zapruder film suggests Kennedy's right shoulder was indeed elevated at the moment in question.



At left: a photograph of Kennedy in the motorcade demonstrating that the bunched jacket peaked at Kennedy's right shoulder, and that the “bunching” did not extend up onto the back of his head. Is this just a coincidence?

Coat Double Check


But that doesn't mean we shouldn't double check our facts. The undisputed entrance on the clothing is also slightly lower than the back wound seen on the autopsy photos. This means that either there was some bunching of Kennedy's clothing on November 22, 1963, or that Kennedy's autopsy photos and the bullet holes visible on his clothing are in disagreement. If there was some bunching, of course, one should determine whether or not there was enough bunching to support the single bullet theory.

When one combs the internet for photos from the November 22, 1963 motorcade, one discovers that the jacket Kennedy was wearing in Dallas did undoubtedly “bunch” up whenever he lifted his arm. Virtually every photograph displays significant “bunching”. But was this bunching significant enough to support the single bullet theory? Could the bunching have lifted Kennedy's jacket high enough so that a bullet descending from 20 degrees or more above him could enter 5 3/8” below the top of his collar and still exit from his throat? Without deflection?


In researcher John Hunt's online article “The Case for a Bunched Jacket,” available on the website of John McAdams, he argues that the amount of bunching shown in the Croft photo is indeed significant

and suggests that the bullet entrance was high enough on Kennedy's body to support the single-bullet theory. I respectfully disagree. The straight line of "bunched jacket" sticking out at the back of Kennedy in Hunt's version of the Croft photo is in my considered opinion Kennedy's right shoulder pad seen at an angle. Clearly the line of the back seat in the photo runs parallel to a line connecting his left shoulder with the purported bunching of the jacket. While Hunt is quite correct in that there is bunching visible in most every photo of the motorcade, it would appear then that this bunching involved too little material to lift the clothing in line with the Warren Commission or Artwohl entrance, and nowhere near the amount of material needed to lift it in line with the Lattimer entrance.


Coat Check Mate




Above: the Artwohl trajectory featured on the website of John McAdams.



Above: HSCA Figure 1, Kennedy's jacket, sized to align the bullet hole with the Artwohl entrance if there was no "bunching."



Above: Fox autopsy photo (back wound lifted slightly by body position)

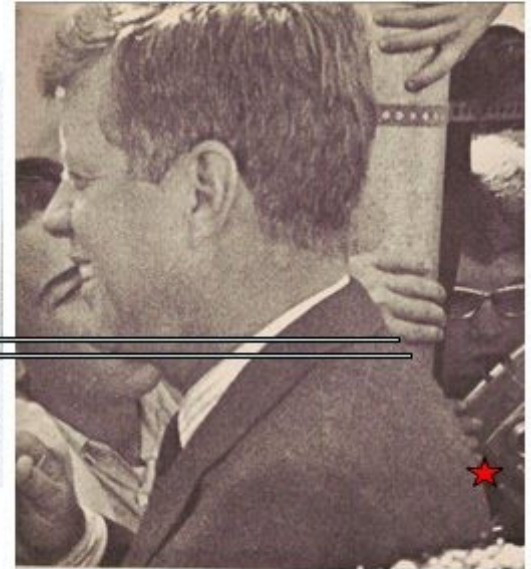
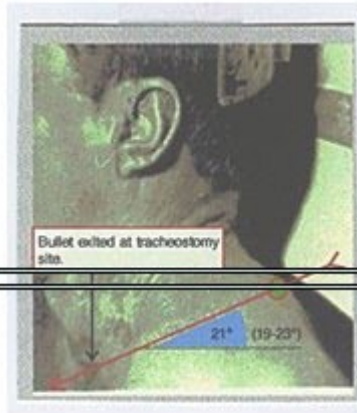
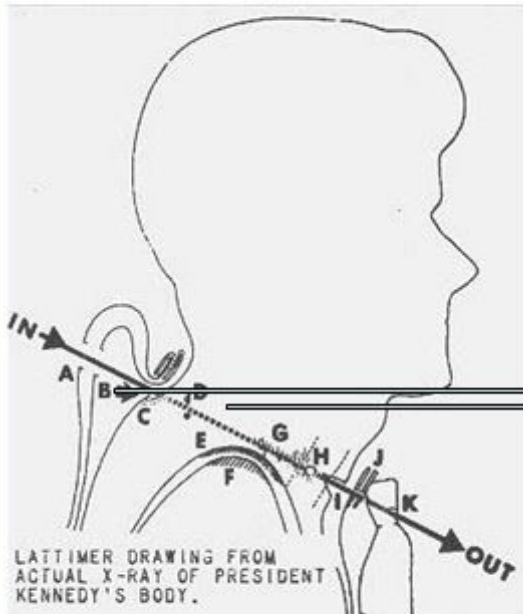


At right: HSCA Figure 1, sized to fit the body size of Kennedy in the Artwohl trajectory. There's far too much jacket between the level of the Artwohl entrance and the level of the bullet hole on the clothing. Just where did all this jacket go?

Coat Checkmate

That the holes on the clothing debunk the "Artwohl" entrance is perhaps more easily demonstrated by matching the size of Kennedy's head in the Artwohl trajectory to the size of his head in the back wound photo, and then matching the size of the back and neck in the back wound photo to an image of Kennedy's jacket. This suggests that the bullet entrance on Kennedy's jacket was far too low on his back to be aligned with a bullet entrance at the base of his neck. That is, UNLESS the jacket was significantly bunched up at the back of Kennedy's head, something totally unseen in the motorcade photos, and something proposed by no one.

Reality Check



The incredible silliness of the single-bullet theory as proposed by most theorists becomes clear when one looks at the single-bullet theory trajectories proposed by Dr. John Lattimer (left) and Dr. Robert Artwohl (middle) and compares them to photos of Kennedy's profile on 11-22-63 (right), with the level of the bullet hole entrance on the jacket noted (as done above with a red star). The collar to Kennedy's jacket was 1 ¼ inches wide. The bullet entered his jacket 4 1/8 inches below this point. As demonstrated above, even if Kennedy's collar had crept up an inch on the back of his neck by the time of the shooting, this would still leave over 3 inches of jacket material that somehow somehow had to get lifted above the bullet entrance in order for the bullet to have entered where Lattimer and Artwohl have proposed. This DID NOT happen. The single-bullet theory as proposed by Lattimer and Artwohl was a fairy tale.

Reality Check

Well, no one remotely reasonable. As if to advertise his lunacy, Dr. John Lattimer actually proposed Kennedy's jacket was bunched up at the back of his head, and that 5 3/8 inches of Kennedy's clothing (the measured distance to the bullet entrance on the clothing) had been lifted above the level of his chin! Complete nonsense. Utter hoo-ha.

And certifiably certifiable... Let's review. In the September 1973 Forensic Science Gazette Lattimer specified that *"the bullet holes in the clothing were about 13 or 14 centimeters below the upper edge of the collar, whereas the bullet hole in the back of the body, in this general location, was only about half this distance down from the expected location of the top of the collar."* He then related that *"The bullet hole in the President's upper back, near the base of his neck, was about two inches below the prominent crease across the base of the back of his neck."*

Now let's do the math. Two inches is basically 5 centimeters. Since the expected location of the collar was, according to Lattimer, as little as 6 1/2 cm above this location, it follows that the expected location of the top of the collar would be as little as 1 1/2 cm above the neck crease. So far, so good. That is, if you're willing to accept that the expected location of Kennedy's collar was 6 1/2 to 7 cm above the level of his back wound (which Lattimer elsewhere places at the level of his chin) and that twice this amount

of clothing was bunched up at the back of JFK's head!

Now let's factor in that Lattimer accepted the autopsists' conclusion the back wound was 14 cm below the bottom tip of the mastoid process, the bottom of the skull. This means that, in Lattimer's analysis, the *"expected location of the top of the collar"* was as much as 7 1/2 cm (three inches!) below the base of the skull!

That's right, in Lattimer World, the "expected location" of Kennedy's collar was both 7 to 7 1/2 cm below the base of his skull and 6 1/2 to 7 cm or more above the level of the back wound (which Lattimer elsewhere describes as being at the level of his chin). Amazingly, and perhaps inadvertently, Lattimer had proposed that Kennedy's chin was 14 cm below the base of his skull, and that the expected location of Kennedy's collar lay half-way in between.

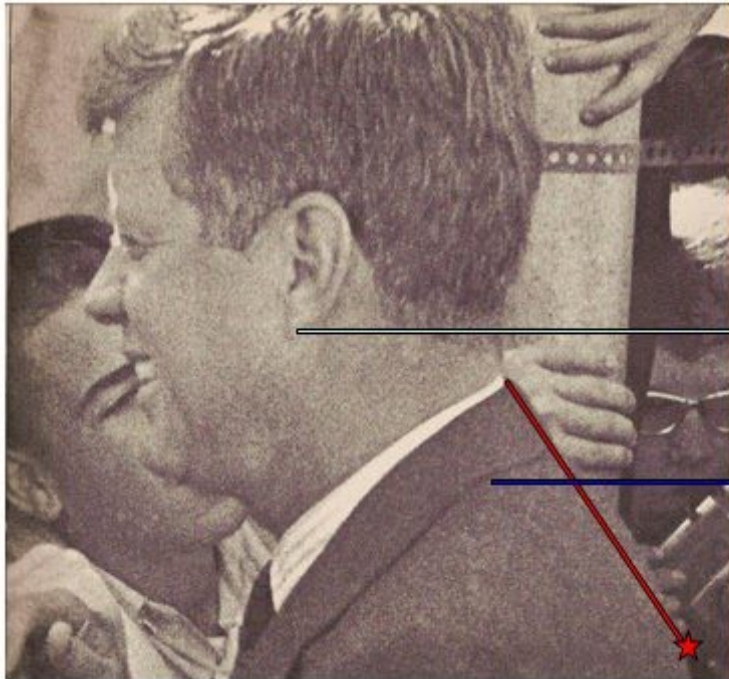
Now, measure this out on yourself real quick and see if it makes any sense.

It doesn't. Not one iota. Perhaps this helps explain why Lattimer claimed Kennedy was a hunch-back. The man was desperate for something, anything, that could help him explain the problematic measurements. Having Kennedy's back stick straight out would allow the back wound to be 14 cm away from the base of his skull, while still being at the level of his chin. This is insanity in its purest form, or a deliberate fraud, take your pick.

And Artwohl's theory wasn't much better. When one looks at profile pictures of Kennedy on 11-22, and realizes one can establish the level of the entrance on the clothing by using the 1 1/4 width of his collar as a ruler (which I've done on the slide above at the suggestion of Cliff Varnell), one can see quite easily that there was just no freakin' way that enough clothing bunched up on the back of Kennedy's neck to bring the entrance on his clothing in line with Artwohl's make-believe entrance at the base of Kennedy's neck.

Still, some folks are slower than others. In December, 2009, single-bullet theorist David Von Pein revealed that despite everything demonstrated on the slides above, he, in keeping with his hero Vincent Bugliosi, still felt the Croft photo demonstrated that Kennedy's jacket was bunched up enough to lift the bullet entrance on the clothes up to the level of the entrance location proposed by Robert Artwohl on Kennedy's back.

End of the Line



Since single-bullet theorists continue to claim that the Croft photo, at right, demonstrates the bunching of jacket necessary to lift the bullet entrance on the clothes up to the entrance location on Kennedy's back proposed by Dr. Robert Artwohl (at the level of the dark blue line above), it is important to establish the entrance on the clothes in the Croft photo. The red line and star on the 11-22-63 AP photo at left mark the level of entrance on the clothes, 5 3/8 inches below the top of the collar. A line this same length has been broken in two on the Croft photo at right. This shows that even IF the clothing in the Croft photo bunched up directly behind JFK's head, it is still not enough bunching to lift the hole on the clothing to the Artwohl entrance.

End of the Line

And so I dedicate the slide above to Von Pein and his quite "Vince-ible" hero Vince.

After matching up the AP photo of Kennedy on 11-22 with the Croft photo taken just seconds before he was shot, and using the width of Kennedy's collar to measure the distance down his back on the AP photo, I was able to establish the length of a straight line stretching to the entrance on the clothes. I then broke this line into two parts, and placed them along the outside of Kennedy's jacket profile in the Croft photo. This proved, once and for all, that EVEN IF the "bunching of clothing" visible in the Croft photo was not his right shoulder seen at an angle, but clothing directly in back of Kennedy's head bunched straight out, the amount of material involved was still insufficient to lift the hole on the clothes to Artwohl's proposed entrance location. I mean, let's get real. It's not even close.

But will this end of the line put an end to the lyin'?

Bunch o' Baloney



When the Jefferies film was released in 2007, it sparked renewed debate about the "bunching" theory. A low-res depiction of the coat "bunch" is at far left. A much clearer version is to its right.



What went unstated in all the hoopla, however, was that the Jefferies film confirmed two things—not just that Kennedy's jacket bunched up at the back of his neck at times, but that the jacket actually dropped in Dealey Plaza.



Across the bottom row from L to R: an image from the Jefferies film on Main Street, a photo taken by Phil Willis on Elm Street, a rear view of Kennedy in the Jefferies film on Main Street, and a rear view in the film of Tina Towner on Elm Street, just a few seconds before Kennedy was shot.

Bunch o' Baloney

Afraid not. The "bunching" myth, along with Lattimer's "Thorburn theory" and other single-bullet theorist "factoids," lives! On February 19, 2007, a home movie taken of Kennedy in the Dallas Motorcade by George Jefferies was released to the public. From the very first, single-assassin theorists have latched on to its frames, and their depiction of a "bunched" jacket, as the "evidence" they've been waiting for.

They conveniently ignore that the photos of Phil Willis and the film of Tina Towner, taken minutes after the Jefferies film, and showing Kennedy on Elm Street just seconds before he was shot, confirm that no matter how "bunched" Kennedy's jacket was earlier, his jacket collar had dropped back down below his shirt collar, and was not by any means bunched up enough to support the single-bullet theory proposed by so many.

Trapped



When theorists offer that Kennedy was leaning forward when shot, as depicted in HSCA F-46, at left, they miss that this would lift his body in comparison to his jacket, as shown in the images of Marie Muchmore and James Altgens in Dealey Plaza, at right.



Similarly, when they cite the "bunching" in the Jefferies film, at left, as evidence for their theory, they ignore that it proves the jacket dropped in Dealey Plaza. (As demonstrated in this comparison with the Croft photo taken at Z-161.)



A close look at the collar in the Croft photo, at far left and in insert, shows the shirt collar in shadow above the top of the jacket, not hidden as in the Jefferies film.

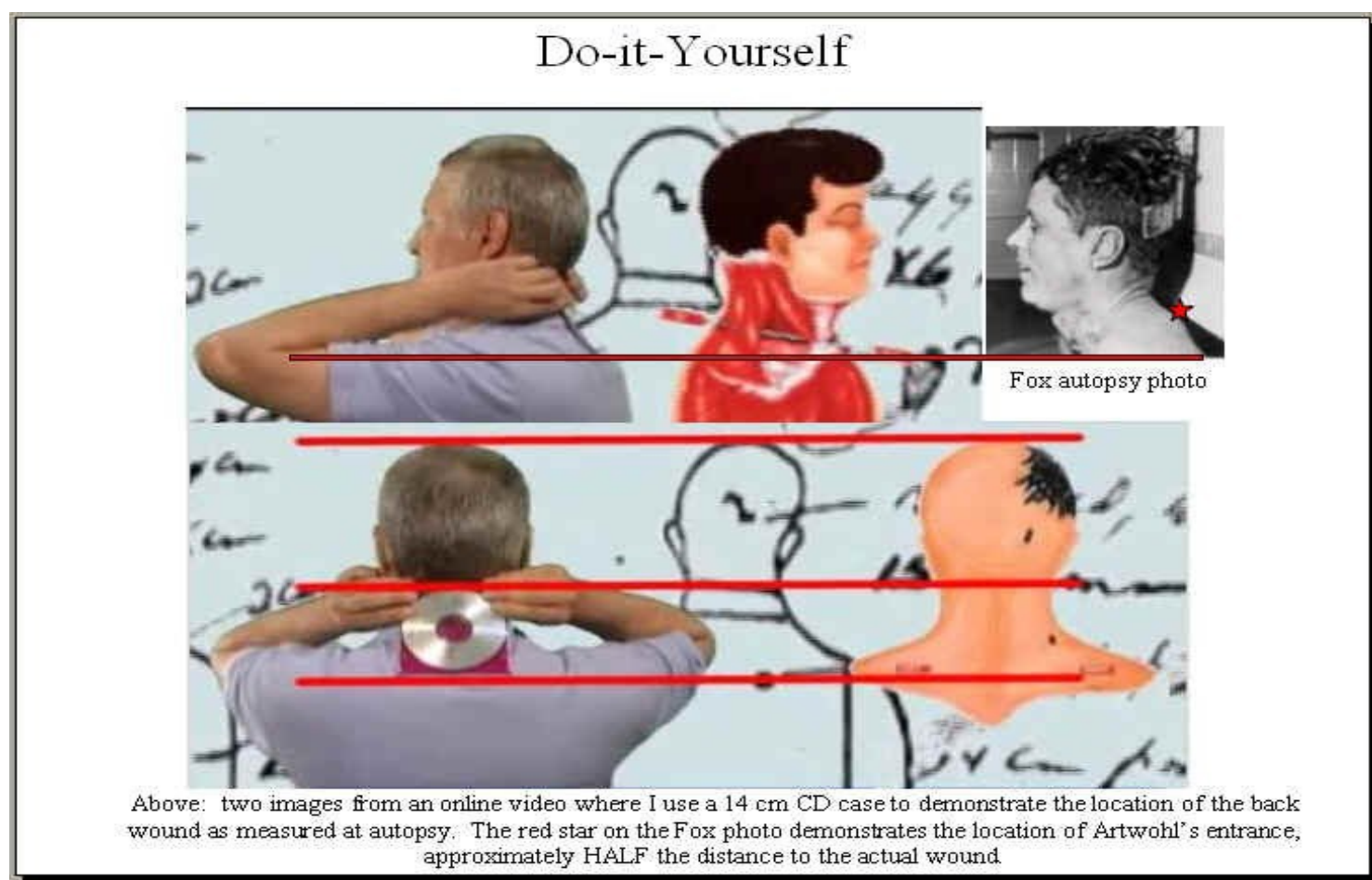
Trapped

In short, I believe that researcher Cliff Varnell is correct when he proposes that a study of the holes in the President's clothes, when studied in conjunction with the photographic evidence, single-handedly destroys the single-bullet theory (at least as is commonly proposed). Single-bullet theorists are trapped--either they believe the back wound was where the HSCA Panel said it was, and therefore that Kennedy was leaning further forward than shown on the films, or that the back wound was higher than proposed by the HSCA, with more "bunched" clothing than shown in the films. The scenarios are mutually exclusive and neither one is supported by the evidence.

In fact, in recent years, it has become more than clear that most all the evidence offered to support the single bullet theory has been bogus. In December 1991, as a response to the movie JFK, HSCA assistant deputy chief counsel Kenneth Klein wrote an article for the L.A. Times defending the single-bullet theory. He offered four reasons to believe it. First he claimed that Connally's back wound was ovoid, and that this indicated the bullet striking him had first struck Kennedy. Well, as we've discussed, this simply wasn't true. Dr. Baden had used the measurements of Connally's doctor taken after he'd removed some of the skin around the wound instead of the measurements taken before this removal, and this had misrepresented the shape of the wound. Klein then noted the trajectory analysis of Thomas Canning, which was purported to show that the bullets striking Kennedy and Connally all came from the sniper's nest. Well, as we shall see, Canning not only moved the wounds so that the bullet trajectories would point back to the sniper's nest, he actually re-imagined the positions of Kennedy, so

that, in the findings of his committee, Kennedy was leaning further forward when shot in the back than when shot in the head at frame 313 of the Zapruder film. This, of course, is nonsense. Klein then cited the ballistics evidence, and noted that "it was determined that the bullet found on a stretcher at Parkland Hospital had been fired from the rifle recovered from the depository." Well, maybe so, but not by his committee. The HSCA's ballistics experts claimed the assassination rifle had been fired too many times, and that bullets fired down its barrel no longer matched the stretcher bullet. Klein then referenced the findings of Vincent Guinn, and specifically his claim that the bullet fragment found in Connally's wrist came from the stretcher bullet. Well, as we've seen, the scientific community has since rejected Guinn's conclusions, and Klein's boss Robert Blakey has taken to calling Guinn's methodology "junk science".

The single-bullet theory trajectory just plain ole doesn't work. But you don't have to trust me on this. You can measure this yourself.



Do It Yourself

In March, 2007, after reading yet another online defense of the single bullet theory using a comparison of the back wound photo and the left lateral photo as "proof" that the back wound was above the throat wound, I decided to kill this argument once and for all. This argument, first pushed forward in the January 26 1967 report of the autopsy doctors, then repeated in 1968 by the Clark Panel, and then resurrected by Dr. Artwohl and spread throughout the internet from the website of John McAdams, (from whence, apparently, it infected Vincent Bugliosi) just infuriates me. It infuriates me because these men, supposedly respectful of the official record, used their subjective impressions of the relative

sizes of two photos in order to come to a conclusion about a wound's location, rather than use the ACTUAL measurements taken at autopsy. As Artwohl, McAdams, and Bugliosi have no forensic background and could simply be mistaken, we can give them the benefit of the doubt. That the doctors in the 67 "military inspection" and the Clark Panel made the same mistake, however, is highly suspect.

As both the autopsy doctors and the Clark Panel agreed that the back wound was 14 cm below the bottom tip of the right mastoid process, all I needed to establish the location of the back wound was a model and a ruler. I decided to use myself. In looking around my apartment, I found that the long measurement of a typical CD jewel case is a little over 14 cm. (At 141 mm it was less than 1% larger than 14 cm, which was okay because I am 76 inches tall--6% taller than Kennedy, and have a reasonably long neck.) I then placed it across the back of my neck, with the top edge up against the base of my skull (the location of the bottom tip of the mastoid process). And guess what? The bottom of the CD case was clearly on my back, inches below the entrance on the Rydberg drawings and INCHES below the entrance proposed on the left lateral photo in the 67 inspection, the Clark Panel inspection, and by Artwohl. It's not even close. The location is so far off, in fact, that it's really difficult to believe that Humes and Boswell could ever have believed that the wound in the Rydberg drawings was 14 cm below the right mastoid process.

They probably never did. Harold Weisberg, in his 1975 opus *Post Mortem*, recounts that he, too, measured 14 cm from his mastoid and found this location to be on his back. He tells us, furthermore, that he double-checked this with Dr. Malcolm Perry, Kennedy's emergency room doctor, and that Dr. Perry told him "that his plotting of these measurements makes it a back wound." This is interesting because a 12-11-63 report by the Secret Service's Elmer Moore reflects that he met with Perry and showed him the autopsy report and its measurements and found that the proposed missile path for the first bullet to strike the President was "from the upper right posterior thorax to the exit position in the low anterior cervical region" and was "in slight general downward direction." This is especially interesting, moreover, because Dr. Perry was asked in his testimony before the Warren Commission how a wound 14 cm below the mastoid process would align with the wound he saw on the President's throat, and replied: "In view of the fact there was an injury to the right lateral portion of the trachea and a wound in the neck if one were to extend a line roughly between these two, it would be going slightly superiorly, that is cephalad toward the head, from anterior to posterior, which would indicate that the missile entered from slightly above and behind."

It seems doubtful Perry would unreservedly describe it as a back wound later if he honestly believed it to be above the throat wound when talking to Moore, and "a wound in the neck" when testifying before the Commission. Of course, the "slight general downward direction" mentioned by Moore and the "slightly superiorly" testified to by Perry might have been "extremely slight and nearly non-existent" in Perry's mind.

And then there's another possibility...raised when one looks at the exact wording of the question asked Perry, and then his response.

Mr. SPECTER - Based upon a point of entrance in the body of the President which I described to you as being 14 cm. from the right acromion process and 14 cm. below the tip of the right mastoid process and coupling that with your observation of the neck wound, would that provide a sufficient basis for you to form an opinion as to the path of the bullet, as to whether it was level, up or down?

Dr. PERRY - Yes, it would. In view of the fact there was an injury to the right lateral portion of the trachea and a wound in the neck if one were to extend a line roughly between these two, it would be going slightly superiorly, that is cephalad toward the head, from anterior to posterior, which would indicate that the missile entered from slightly above and behind.

Well, Specter refers to the throat wound as a neck wound, and Perry responds by stating that a line connecting the trachea wound and the neck wound pointed back in the general direction of the head. If Perry is calling the wound 14 cm below the mastoid the "neck wound," as surmised, he is indeed supporting the accuracy of the autopsy doctors and claiming the shot came from above. If, however, he is using Specter's terminology and calling the throat wound the "neck wound" and stating that the wound on the throat, when lined up with the trachea wound, pointed back upwards toward the head, then his answer is non-responsive to Specter's question. He is refusing to tell Specter where a wound 14 cm below the mastoid would be, and is telling him instead that, from what he observed, the trachea wound was above the throat wound, and the "missile" (which can be taken as an indication he's still not convinced it was a bullet) MUST HAVE come from above. If so, and this is indeed what Perry is stating, then it follows that he knew a wound 14 cm below the mastoid would not be well above the throat wound, as suggested by the autopsy doctors, and is trying not to put his observation into the record.

In any event, Perry's statements to Moore, Specter, and Weisberg make it clear he knew the Rydberg drawings were gross misrepresentations of Kennedy's wounds. His silence on this matter in the years prior to 1978, when the drawings were officially debunked, is, therefore, disappointing. In 1967, when Dr. Humes went on TV and told the nation that the autopsy photos showed the back wound to be exactly as depicted in the Rydberg drawings, Perry (and no doubt dozens of other curious doctors) most certainly knew that the wound depicted in the drawings was inconsistent with the autopsy measurements, and that, therefore, either Humes' autopsy measurements were incredibly inaccurate, or he was lying to the nation. And yet, as far as I can tell, not one of these doctors said anything about this to the media! No. Not even when Dr. Lattimer moved the back wound in the Rydberg drawings--already far too close to the mastoid process to be in agreement with the autopsy measurements--INCHES CLOSER to the mastoid process in the drawing he created and published in article after article, year after year, (while still touting in personal letters that "the wound on the back of the neck that I described was certainly the one 14 cm. below the mastoid process") did anyone break their silence, and point out to their colleagues that Lattimer was dishing up manure.

As a result, I can't decide if the AMA is AMAzingly gutless, or AMAzingly brainless, but it is certainly AMAzing and missing something of vital importance.

If the Rydberg drawings were deliberate misrepresentations, of course, it suggests a larger conspiracy than previously discussed. Since the 67 inspection and Clark Panel inspection were both performed for the Justice Department, and under its direction, and both told the same demonstrable lie about the back wound being higher than the throat wound, the finger points directly at the Johnson Administration. Orchestrating a cover-up, of course, does not prove guilt of the initial act. But one should question why such a reckless and politically dangerous cover-up was performed, if not to cover-up something even more sinister.

I better stop here before I start sounding like one of those dreaded "conspiracy theorists."

Chapter 12b: Bullshit and Beyond

A micro-scopic look at the most recent televised depictions of the single-bullet theory. It seems false advertising isn't restricted to the commercials.

Untru TV



In 2003, Court TV, which would later change its name to Tru TV, offered its own depiction of the Kennedy assassination bullet trajectories. A little dramatic license appears to have been taken. The animators had the limousine driving along the white line before the first shot (as seen at left).



Then, just in time for the second shot, they had the limo swerve to its left, thereby aligning Kennedy with Connally for the single-bullet shot (as seen at left).



The limo then swerved to its right, aligning JFK with the crack on the windshield, just before the head shot (as seen at right).

An AP photo taken between these two swerves, however, shows the limo still driving along the white line (as seen at left).



For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Untru TV

In 2003, Court TV was guilty of gross misrepresentation. During the Forensic Files episode entitled JFK: Investigation Reopened they jumped on the deceptive animation bandwagon and defended the feasibility of the single-bullet theory. Of course, to do this they had to lift the back wound above the shoulder line.

They had a few other tricks up their sleeve, as well. The animated segment of the limousine on Elm Street began with the limousine driving straight down the right side of the middle lane. A moment later, however, just as the shot purported to hit Kennedy and Connally was fired, they portrayed the limousine swerving sharply to its left, briefly crossing the white lines of the lane. This brought Connally's armpit in line with the trajectory of a bullet fired from the sniper's nest and exiting Kennedy's throat. The car then swung back in the other direction. This allowed them to better align the location of the crack on the windshield with Kennedy's head and the sniper's nest at the moment of the head shot.

As no one testified to these swerves and as these swerves are not visible on any of the films, the creators of the animation, Hatchling Studios, were clearly of the mind-set that it was more important to

have the shots line up than to accurately depict the path of the limousine. In an online press release dated November 17, 2003, Marc Dole, president of Hatchling Studios (AKA M2-3D), explained: "By combining the film with other data sources, including *personal interviews with local JFK experts*, we were able to create multiple animations-in only eight days-to yield an extensive recreation of downtown Dallas on that day. Now, for example, you can see a head-on view of the president's Lincoln in the motorcade, and you can draw a straight line from the sixth floor of the book depository to the back of Kennedy's head. We also produced a view of the president's limo from Oswald's perspective. It's dramatic, even a bit spooky, but it's also very useful and instructive data." One can only wonder who these "local JFK experts" were, and one can only guess who they believed fired the three shots heard in Dealey Plaza.

In 2007, Court TV changed its name to Tru Tv. As Tru Tv's new motto is "Not Reality. Actuality." I anxiously await their defense of the "actuality" of their animation.

BULLSHIT!



At left, CE 903, the Warren Commission's depiction of the single bullet trajectory, with the bullet descending 17 degrees from the sniper's nest. Due to the angle of the camera, the rod appears to descend at 20 degrees.



So why did the producers of the TV show Bullshit depict the rod descending 15 degrees? (Above) And why did they use a big fuzzy line that disguises that the back entrance at the bottom of the line and throat exit at the top of the line fail to align with the wound in Connally's armpit? (Top line at left) And why did they fail to tell their viewers that the entrance used in the "FBI Recreation" was subsequently found to be two inches too high, and that a trajectory using the corrected entrance and angle from the sniper's nest would exit the Kennedy stand-in's chest? (Bottom line at left) Were they "Bullshitting" their audience?



Bullshit!

Another program to deceive its audience was the Showtime program appropriately entitled Bullshit. While this series normally debunks marginal beliefs by shining a little logic in their direction, in its 2005 episode "Conspiracy Theories" the producers opted to lump all conspiracy theories together and conclude they all are bullshit. While this is ludicrous on its face, as conspiracies have been known to exist and as each theory should be judged on its merits, the producers out-did themselves by trying to prove that Oswald acted alone. Not that cable TV programs are under any obligation to reveal the

lineage of their creators, but they failed to tell their audience that the producer of their show, Mark Wolper, is the son of David Wolper, the producer of *Four Days in November*, an Academy Award-nominated film on Kennedy's assassination, made with the cooperation of the Johnson Administration.

To demonstrate that the single-bullet theory works, the program used a photo from Arlen Specter's May 24, 1964 test of the theory. Knowing full well that Specter and the Warren Commission had little credibility with their audience, they hid their involvement by inaccurately describing the photo as an "FBI re-creation." Even worse, they failed to tell their audience that the back wound location used in that photo was not only higher than the mark originally put on the JFK stand-in's jacket, but later determined to have been two inches higher than Kennedy's actual wound. In addition, the angle of descent in their depiction was too small. In short, they fed their audience bullshit.

Unfortunately, such misrepresentations are so commonplace these days they're barely even noticed. In 2003 a Discovery Channel program entitled "The JFK Conspiracy Myths" attempted to show that Oswald had enough time to perform the shooting by having a sharpshooter on a scaffold shoot at watermelons riding in a remote-controlled limousine. That the sharp shooter hired by the program, Michael Yardley, was able to hit a moving target 3 times in 7.87 seconds (longer than the Warren Commission's favored scenario) was supposed to prove that Oswald, who hadn't fired his rifle in months, if ever, and who had never been trained in shooting at a moving target from an elevated perch, would have been able to accomplish a similar feat. While the program mentioned that Yardley fired six other sets of three shots, and that four of these proved successful, with the other two marred by equipment failure (the rifle jammed 5 times in 21 tries), they failed to mention the timing of these other sets. This leads one to suspect the other sets took longer than the already too long 7.87 seconds quoted in the program. Even worse, when it came time to test the accuracy of Yardley's shooting, they provided him with a rifle hooked up to a laser switch. As a laser beam travels at the speed of light, making it dramatically easier to hit a moving target, and as a laser beam suffers no bullet drop or wind resistance, and as a laser rifle offers no recoil, making it easier to shoot and re-aim, this was akin to playing with a stacked deck.

As if the clear but unacknowledged point made in the program--that the shooting of Kennedy by Oswald was possible, but not likely--needed any clarification, its sharpshooter Michael Yardley wrote a short article on his experience entitled "Who Shot John F. Kennedy? It was me" that was published in his native England. While claiming he believed Oswald had indeed "fired three shots from the depository," he expressed serious doubts that these were the shots striking Kennedy, as he also claimed that the head shot, "if taken from the Grassy Knoll, Badgeman or Walkway positions (all positions forward of the presidential vehicle) would have been much easier" and that "practical experience of the second gunman positions leads me to suspect that there could well have been another shooter." He then closed his article with "Of what can one be certain? That Oswald was a patsy." Of course, none of this was mentioned in the program.

Still, as deceptive as the Discovery Channel (more like the Conceal Channel or the Mislead Channel) was in 2003, it was only warming up.

“Beyond the Magic Bullet” Magic



Above:
Fox
autopsy
photo:

Exhibit 1

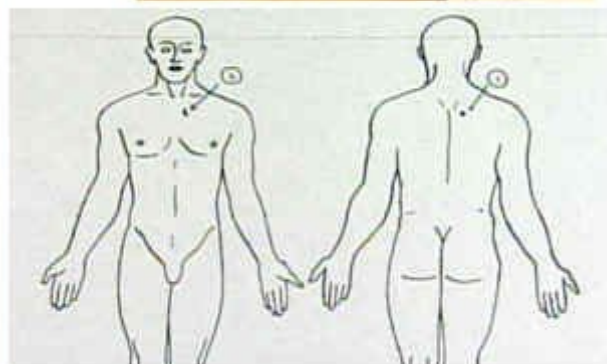


Exhibit 2

Exhibit 3



Exhibit 4



Exhibit 5

Exhibit 6

Exhibit 7

All exhibits from JFK:
Beyond the Magic Bullet



“Beyond the Magic Bullet” Magic

In 2004, the Discovery Channel began running a new program entitled JFK: Beyond the Magic Bullet. While appearing authoritative, using scientists and experts to simulate the shooting in Dealey Plaza, the program was rife with errors and/or distortions. Ultimately, it demonstrated reasons to disbelieve the magic bullet theory, but then turned around and claimed the opposite!

They simulated the shots from the sniper's nest by placing their shooter on an elevated platform, at a distance of 180 feet, the distance they claim the HSCA claimed for the second shot. Well, there are two problems with this: one is that the HSCA claimed the shot came at around Z-190, which according to the Warren Commission's recreation, would make it roughly 160 feet, and two is that the Dale Myers animation they used as evidence depicted the shot at Z-224, which would make it roughly 190 feet. It's unclear where they derived their 180 foot measurement, but the Warren Commission, which failed to pick an exact moment for the shot, estimated the length of the shot to be 180 feet.

They then shot through a gelatin block simulating Kennedy's back and neck to see if the exiting bullet would leave an elongated entrance like the one they claimed was on Connally. (Following the well-worn path of Dr.s Lattimer and Baden, previously discussed, they incorrectly believed the bullet was traveling sideways upon impact with Connally). When the bullet headed straight through the gelatin

with scarcely a wobble, they decided to add rope into the gelatin to better simulate the "dense sinu" of the human neck. There is a huge problem with this: Dr. Humes et al testified that the bullet striking Kennedy's neck passed between the strap muscles, and not through them. Their second try, not surprisingly, created the wound desired. They then expanded their test to include two gelatin blocks representing Connally's chest, and were similarly pleased with the results.

They then began to shoot at simulated human torsos. After shooting on some empty shells, they placed a target on a fully-simulated torso of the President at a point several inches to the right of the wound seen on the autopsy photos. They claimed this placement came after "triple-measurement." What they failed to mention was that the autopsy measurements reflected the distance from the shoulder and from the back of the head and that their torso had no head. The HSCA and Clark Panel made estimates as to the distance from the spine, which they clearly ignored. Even so, the shooter missed this target and actually hit the torso very close to where the wound is depicted on the autopsy photos. (See Exhibit 1 on the slide above.) I'd like to think this "miss" was on purpose.

But this was just the beginning of their troubles. Since their "magic bullet," after traversing simulated torsos of both Kennedy and Connally, failed to explode the simulated wrist to the extent Connally's was damaged and actually bounced off the simulated thigh, they had to look for it in the surrounding brush. They found a clearly deformed bullet several yards to the right of the torsos. (See Exhibit 2 on the slide above.)

During a slow-motion replay of the shooting, moreover, the narrator stated as a matter-of-fact that the bullet "struck Kennedy in the neck." Someone should have told the writer that that particular lie, although an all-time favorite, died with the HSCA. At this point, the direction of the program became obvious. While one of the great controversies surrounding the single-bullet theory is whether or not a bullet striking Kennedy in the back from above would exit his throat as purported, the program failed to show a close-up of the bullet's exit from the Kennedy torso. Nevertheless, the profile shot of the bullet's path made it clear the bullet exited from the Kennedy torso's chest, and not its throat. (See Exhibit 3.)

They then conducted a post-mortem to see what went wrong with their simulation. After taking the Connally torso to a doctor for a cat-scan, they concluded that the bullet struck two of Connally's ribs instead of the one struck by the "magic bullet" and that this was why their bullet was more damaged. Still, the cat-scan revealed more than the producers of the show could possibly have desired.

The cat-scan (Exhibit 4 above) revealed that the two damaged ribs on the Connally torso were the 8th and 9th ribs, some distance below the entrance on Connally's 5th rib. This demonstrated once again that the bullet trajectory from the sniper's nest didn't quite line-up with Kennedy's and Connally's wounds.

But this wasn't all the cat-scan revealed.

Astonishingly, (and as seen in Exhibit 5) it also revealed that the simulated ribs on the Connally torso were not even connected to the sternum! This meant that there was no bones in the front of the Connally torso to slow or damage the "magic bullet" before it struck the simulated wrist.

Since the purpose of the simulation was purportedly to see if a bullet creating Kennedy's and Connally's wounds might emerge as undamaged as the "magic" bullet, CE 399, removing bone from the purported path of the bullet was undoubtedly deceptive and dishonest.

At this point, I ran a quick replay. I went back to the beginning of the program where they created the torsos and noticed this time that the Kennedy torso had no spine, and that neither torso had shoulder blades. While these bones may have been left out because the producers believed the real "magic" bullet missed these bones, the exclusion of Connally's front ribs, where the bullet made its exit, was inexcusable. That this was no mistake is confirmed by the statements of their wound ballistics expert.

When they were preparing for their torso shoot by shooting at two gelatin blocks simulating Connally's chest, he said "The thorax is not one piece of muscle. It is a piece of muscle, some bone, then an airspace--the lung--and then another piece of tissue after that." It's almost certain he knew perfectly well that the bullet exiting Connally's chest exited through his fifth rib, and not through just "another piece of tissue".

It then became clear. Rather than testing if a bullet hitting the President in the assumed location would go on to hit Connally in his armpit, wrist and thigh, and come out largely unblemished, the program's creators were testing if such a bullet, *after missing Kennedy's spine*, which is doubtful, *after exiting Kennedy's throat*, which is doubtful, and *after hitting Connally's ribs in only one place*, which is doubtful, would go on to create the other wounds and appear unblemished.

As if that wasn't bad enough, the program's creators neglected to tell their audience the significance of that which they did discover. That the tumbling bullet in their re-enactment hit two ribs while the bullet striking Connally stuck but one suggested that the bullet striking Connally was not tumbling. This supported the statements of Dr. Robert Shaw, Connally's doctor, who said the entrance wound was only 1.5 cm long. It was, however, in direct contradiction with all too many single-assassin theorists, including the HSCA's Dr. Baden, who cite the fact (which is not a fact) that the bullet was tumbling as evidence that the bullet first struck Kennedy. These single-assassin theorists, and the Discovery program under their influence, repeat like a mantra that the entrance in Connally's armpit was 3 cm, the size of a bullet traveling sideways, and ignore Shaw's statements that the wound was but 1.5 cm and the inconvenient fact that the corresponding tear in Connally's jacket was only 1.7 cm. (As discussed in the Ovoid? Oy Vey! section of chapter 11.)

In any event, instead of telling the audience the significance of the bullet hitting two ribs, the Beyond the Magic Bullet program cut to some supposed expert stating that their simulation had taken the "magic" out of the "magic bullet".

But the program wasn't over. For their final act they took an autopsy report reflecting the wounds incurred by their simulated torsos to an L.A. County Coroner. Surprisingly, the face sheet created for the Kennedy torso revealed that the bullet exited not from the torso's throat but from its left chest, and that it probably would have hit its spine (if it had one) and must have hit its sternum (if it had one). (Exhibit 6 above.) Even worse, a probe poked through a skeleton by the doctor to depict the path of the bullet exploded the program's assertion of replicating the magic bullet, as the probe passed *below the clavicle and first rib*. (Exhibit 7.) A bullet traveling on such a trajectory would not have bruised the President's lung, but pierced it, and would have exited far below his throat.

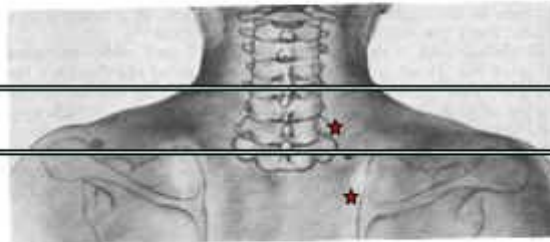
And that wasn't even the worst of it. A close-up on the autopsy report reveals that the simulated Connally back wound, in which two ribs were struck, measured 50 mm x 45 mm. The doctor then describes it as a "keyhole" entrance. This is a far cry from the reportedly "ovoid" entrance on Connally, measuring roughly 38 by 16 mm (1.5 X 5/8 inches), and more than suggests that the bullet striking Connally was not tumbling as the bullet in the re-enactment, and that the magic bullet theory is suspect.

In conclusion, one might state that the Discovery Channel did recreate the magic bullet, if one is to acknowledge that magic is deliberate deception designed to create the illusion that fantastic events have taken place.

Dr. Zimmerman's Magic Bullet



X-ray depicting the location of the marker while the stand-in was standing.



HSCA Figure 24: red stars reflect the positions of the marker before and after the stand-in sat down. Blue lines reflect the level of the collar at right and level of entrance, above.

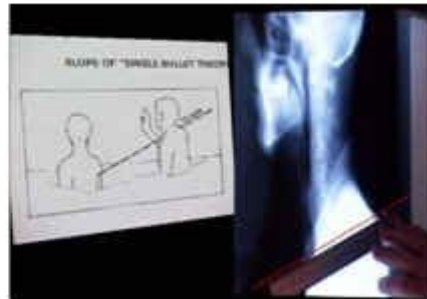


X-ray depicting the location of the marker while the stand-in was sitting

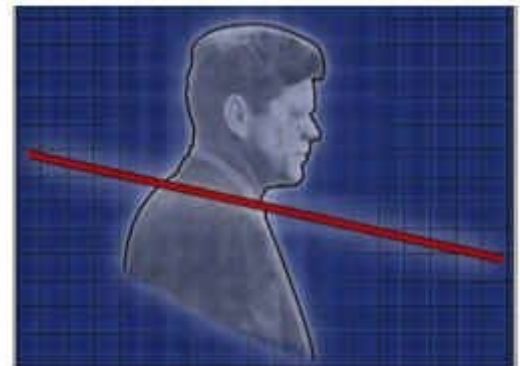
All images except HSCA Figure 24 borrowed from JFK: Beyond the Magic Bullet



The lateral x-ray after the throat marker was added. The ruler reflects a 17 degree descent.



A quick comparison of the lateral x-ray with the HSCA's trajectories, with matching descents of 30 degrees.



The angle of descent presented at the close of Zimmerman's segment. Now only 13 degrees.

Dr. Zimmerman's Magic Bullet

In March 2006, after being told for the third time in as many months by a friend or relative just how impressed they were by Beyond the Magic Bullet, I re-watched the program for the third time. Well, maybe the third time's the charm, because on this viewing I noticed that one of the worst segments in the program involved a man with whom I'd come in contact via the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup: Dr. Chad Zimmerman. I decided to review the segment and note its inaccuracies and/or deceptions, and record Dr. Zimmerman's responses to my observations. I thought it might prove informative to those wondering just how deceptive TV programs get made and how suspicion and distrust can be spread by these programs.

At the beginning of his segment, Dr. Zimmerman attaches a marker 4 inches from the collar of a striped shirt. This represents the entrance on Kennedy's shirt. Dr. Zimmerman then x-rays his JFK stand-in while the man is supposedly wearing this shirt. Problem: the shirt is now a solid color. When asked about this, Dr. Zimmerman explained that it was the same shirt but that the camera couldn't pick up the stripes from more than a few feet. On this I suspect he is correct. On 3-14, however, he volunteered: "We took many takes of almost everything we did. Let me explain further. For instance, when he (the director) asked me to glue the marker to the shirt, I didn't know he just wanted me to act as though I was. I actually did it. So, to retake the shot, he had me use a portion of the tail of the shirt in close up

to get a shot of me marking the shirt.” Thus, while the casual viewer would assume that the marker on the x-rays is the marker they just saw placed on the shirt, this is not so. The marking sequence has been re-staged. There is, in fact, nothing to indicate the marker on the shirt has been placed 4 inches down from the collar. The only shot of the stand-in getting x-rayed in this sequence shows the stand-in from the front with a jacket over the shirt.

Dr. Zimmerman then shows the result of this x-ray. The marker rests at the level of T2/T3, far down Kennedy’s back. This supports that Dr. Zimmerman has indeed placed the marker 4 inches down from the collar. He then has his stand-in sit down in a chair and elevate his elbow in an attempt to replicate Kennedy’s position in the car. Things get strange, however, when he x-rays the stand-in in this position and puts the x-ray up on the light box. For when the camera zooms in on Zimmerman examining the x-ray, it appears to be a different x-ray than the one he just put up on the light box! Furthermore, the marker on the x-ray has jumped from T2/T3 on the “standing” x-ray to C6/C7 on the “sitting” x-ray, a difference of more than two inches! Does it make sense that the clothing in the middle of a man’s back would rise almost 2 inches higher than the flesh beneath it, just by his lifting his elbow a bit? (The Anatomy of Deception slide will examine this more closely.)

Dr. Zimmerman then announces that the marker has been lifted to the “very lower cervical or neck portion of the spine. This is the same point that the House Select Committee on Assassinations placed the entrance wound.” Oh really? Dr. Humes’ autopsy report, to which Zimmerman usually defers, asserted that the wound was in “the upper right posterior thorax.” (Thorax means “the part of the body *between* the neck and the diaphragm”, last I checked; thus, by definition it is *not* the neck, but *below* the neck). Furthermore, the HSCA medical panel never wrote that the bullet entered in the lower neck and all the drawings they created showing the back entrance, HSCA Figure 24, HSCA Exhibit F-46 (Figure 12 in the final report), and HSCA Figure 65 depict the wound on the thorax, at the level of T1. When I pointed this out to Dr. Zimmerman, he responded “The entrance, imo, was at the junction of the neck and upperback-C7-T1. Conceivably, one could say lower neck or upper back to reduce confusion to the viewer/reader. This is based on the known autopsy findings and the x-ray findings.” Wishing doesn't make it so. There is no report of a C7-T1 entrance on any of the HSCA radiology reports that I can find. Doctors McDonnell and Davis both note air in the tissues around C7-T1 and a fracture of the T1 transverse process, but never mention observing an entrance at C7/T1.

Back to the program. At this point, the “standing” and “sitting” x-rays are shown side by side, demonstrating how far the marker has climbed with the slight lift of an elbow. But there’s a problem. The “after” x-ray is not the one Dr. Zimmerman just examined, but the one he originally put up on the light box. (This is discussed in more detail on the Pareidolia slide.) Dr. Zimmerman then attaches a marker to his stand-in’s throat. While his stand-in appears to have a longer neck than Kennedy, the placement of this marker appears to be accurate. Dr. Zimmerman then attaches (or appears to attach) a marker on the outside of the stand-in’s jacket. The stand-in’s hand blocks us from seeing whatever Zimmerman is doing. In any event, when next we see the jacket, there is a large piece of tape across its back. Zimmerman then takes a lateral x-ray of his JFK stand-in in the sitting position. (This is discussed in more detail on The Anatomy of Deception slide.) He then places a ruler below the locations of the jacket, shirt and throat markers on this x-ray. The ruler is at a 19 degree angle on the TV screen. The x-ray, however, is at a 2 degree angle on Zimmerman’s light box, meaning the downward trajectory on the x-ray is really only 17 degrees.

Zimmerman then says “If we were to draw a line on those 3 points we would get a line consistent with a trajectory published by the Warren Commission Report, and in a very similar portion of the neck.” As Zimmerman says this, however, the x-ray he’s discussing is inverted and presented side by side with a drawing from the HSCA’s trajectory analysis! This is undoubtedly confusing. The only depiction of the single bullet theory in the Warren Report, CE 385, depicted a 13 degree descent; the HSCA

trajectory analysis, on the other hand, portrayed a much steeper 25 degree descent. Even worse, with the inversion, Zimmerman's x-ray has been compressed laterally, so that the 19 oops 17 degree descent has now become a 30 degree descent. Even stranger, the HSCA trajectory drawing is depicted at an angle, so that its 25 degree descent now appears to match the x-ray's 30! When asked what he meant by saying that the x-ray matched the trajectory published by the Warren Report, Zimmerman responded "I never said it was the same as they drew. It was very close to the angle published in the WC from the sniper's nest at frame 225. I wasn't citing a drawing as proof of anything. The angle measured and published by the WC was 20 degrees. Subtract 3 for the decline of Elm St. and you get 17 degrees, which is very near what the x-ray demonstrated. Certainly, there is an allowable degree of error since we weren't trying to exactly duplicate anything. That would be impossible." When I asked him why the program's creators over-dubbed his comment about the Warren Commission onto an HSCA trajectory, he responded "Talk to them. I didn't have anything to do with the editing process. Not sure that it really matters, it appears to be quibbling over minutae (sic)."

(Years later, on March 25, 2008, when asked by Robert Harris the simple and relevant question of why the producers didn't show the back of the shirt or jacket as the stand-in sat down, so that the audience could see the upward movement of the marker for themselves, Zimmerman had a similar response: "Bob, perhaps you should write the Discovery Channel a letter. I wasn't doing the directing or filming, nor did I have anything to do with editing. Do you understand that?" When a persistent Harris countered by asking why such a "complex ritual" was performed to show the lifting of a marker as a man sat down, Zimmerman once again deferred "Ask the producer, Bob. I didn't have anything to do with the filming whatsoever.")

Zimmerman's segment then comes to a close. While a downward angle is drawn across a photograph of Kennedy, the narrator declares: "The angle of trajectory is clearly downward. It fits with a shot that came from the sixth floor of the depository." The problem with this is that the angle of descent drawn across Kennedy's photograph is 13 degrees, only slightly smaller than the 17 degree descent indicated on Zimmerman's uncompressed x-ray, but far smaller than the 30 degree descent just shown. Even worse, the back entrance depicted in this photo is just below Kennedy's collar, and almost on his neck. This is confusing when one considers that the program began with Zimmerman telling the audience that the entrance was 4 inches BELOW this collar. When I asked Dr. Zimmerman about this 13 degree trajectory, he was dismissive of its relevance. He wrote "Again, does that really matter that much? Not really."

Throughout our exchanges, he continued to defend the program, first writing about how good it was, and then, when I was able to point out how inconsistent it was, writing that these inconsistencies didn't really matter. On 3-8, he wrote "Trying to replicate something exactly is almost impossible. However, they've taken the closest look at it that I've ever seen and it certainly appears feasible, if you actually look at all the factors that explain why something happened on the show the way it did." On 3-13, he continued to defend the program, but in more muted tones, stating "They were just illustrating a concept of a downward trajectory." When I asked if he felt the mistakes and/or deceptions were deliberate, he said "Mistakes, probably. All programs have them. Deceptions? That is up to the viewer. Your (sic) quibbling about a couple of degrees here and there...I seriously doubt that anything was done to intentionally mislead the viewer. After all, how many are going to sit with a protractor and measure angles? Perhaps just you." He could very well be right on that point.



The Anatomy of Deception

Perhaps Zimmerman's right. Perhaps I'm quibbling over minutiae. But there are segments in the program and Zimmerman's segment in particular that just look wrong to me. So let this be a test. I'll present some things that look wrong to me, and I'll let you be the judge if I'm being too picky or not. This slide then can serve as either an examination of Beyond the Magic Bullet's deliberate deceptiveness, or my own susceptibility to self-deception, depending on your perspective.

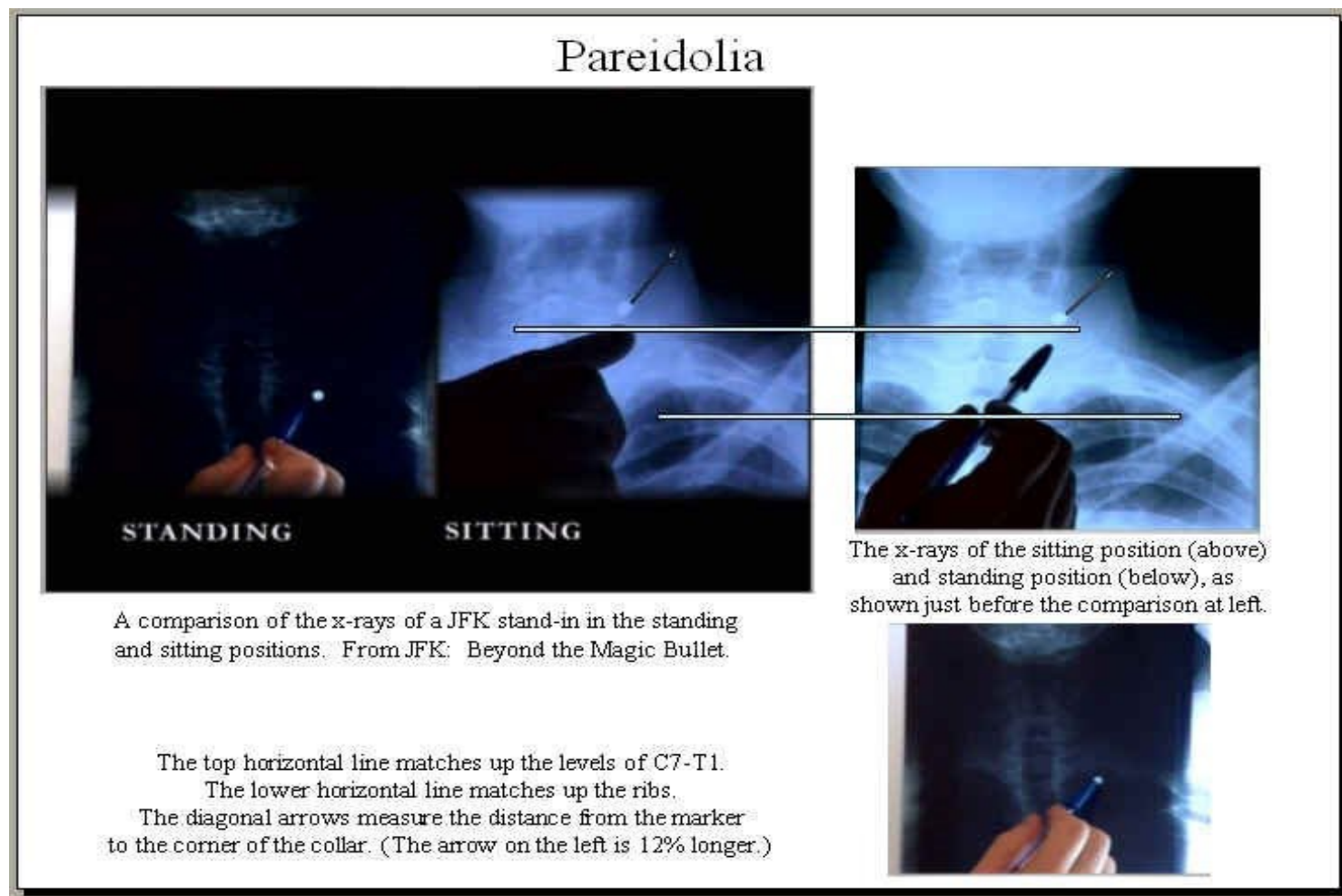
Possible deception #1: when I compare the image of the JFK stand-in preparing to receive the lateral x-ray, with the actual x-ray, my smoke and mirrors detector goes off. While the pre-x-ray photo depicts the stand-in at a slight angle, and the stand-in's back is slightly closer than his front to the camera, the resultant distortion should be relatively minor. When one compares the distance from the collar to the middle of the tape in the photo to the distance from the collar to the marker visible on the x-ray, however, it seems clear that the marker is either above the tape or near the very top of the tape; it is certainly not in the middle. When I project the 5 3/8 inch distance from the top of the collar to the bullet entrance onto the stand-in's jacket, moreover, it appears that the entrance on the clothing should, in fact, be near the *bottom* of the tape. Meanwhile, the throat marker appears to be the marker aligned with the middle of the tape. If this is so, then this is an indication that there was a flat trajectory through Kennedy, with the exit on his throat at the same approximate level as the entrance on his back. This was, of course, the finding of the HSCA medical panel. Did Dr. Zimmerman and the producers of JFK: Beyond the Magic Bullet "re-interpret" their results? Is the unnecessarily large piece of tape a device to fool us into believing the marker's beneath the middle of the tape? Or am I deceiving myself?

Possible deception # 2: when I compare the A-P (front to back) x-ray of the JFK stand-in in the sitting position, with the lateral x-ray of him in this same position, my smoke and mirrors detector goes off once again. Here we have two x-rays purportedly taken with the Kennedy stand-in wearing the same clothes and in the same position, and yet the collars apparent on the x-rays reside at drastically different levels. While the A-P view depicts the top of the collar at roughly C-5, the lateral view depicts it at C-3. From this one might assume someone pulled the collar up to the stand-in's hairline for the lateral view. In the set-up of this x-ray, Dr. Zimmerman is shown standing directly behind the stand-in, with his hands on his shoulders. When I asked Dr. Zimmerman about the variations in collar level between the two x-rays, he explained: "we filmed several series of setups and they did not show the same setup series as was x-rayed, hence the difference between them. However, I don't recall the collar being up in the hairline." I asked about x-rays and he answered about set-ups. Even so, is Zimmerman really admitting that the jacket didn't always "bunch" up the same distance, and that this distance varied from set-up to set-up? Doesn't that undercut the credibility of Zimmerman's experiment? Or am I deceiving myself?

(A 3-25-2008 discussion on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup confirmed that, at least in this instance, I'm not deceiving myself. When Robert Harris asserted that Zimmerman's marker and x-ray experiment, if performed by someone else, would have had a different result, Dr. Zimmerman readily agreed, admitting "The little metal marker didn't only have two locations that it could snap into. We weren't using Lego markers, Bob. Therefore, depending on any particular take, it could've ended up at a near infinite amount of locations from about C6 to T2-3. Do you actually believe that there were only two spots that the marker could end up?" By admitting to such a wide range of marker locations, Zimmerman thereby undercut the value of his experiment. Perhaps, in Zimmerman's mind, his experiment was designed to show only that it was *possible* to elevate the amount of clothing necessary for the single-bullet trajectory to align. But this was not communicated in the program, which implied the amount of clothing elevation depicted was the *expected* result.)

Possible deception #3: when I compare the marker in the two "sitting" x-rays, something smells wrong again. Even though the collar in the A-P x-ray rests at C-5, and the collar in the lateral x-ray rests at C-3, the markers are each at C-7! How can this be, if the position of the marker is related to the upwards

“bunching” of the collar? When one considers that the marker in the A-P x-ray resides but a vertical inch or so below the collar, and that this marker is purportedly 5 3/8 inches BELOW the top of the collar, then one should rightly wonder if this marker is even attached to the jacket. For how can 5 3/8 inches of material be crammed into 1 inch of vertical space while draped along a sitting man’s back, without the material doubling over? (We know the material didn’t double over because Kennedy’s shirt and jacket each had but one hole.) When one looks at the clip of the stand-in in this position, moreover, there is no “bunching” of material at the back of his neck visible. Either what appears to be a collar on the A-P view is not in fact a collar, or the marker was not 4” below the bottom of the collar. Some sort of deception has occurred. Or am I deceiving myself?



Pareidolia

Pareidolia is, according to The Skeptic’s Dictionary “a type of illusion or misperception involving a vague or obscure stimulus being perceived as something clear and distinct.” When I compare the “sitting” x-ray examined by Zimmerman on Beyond the Magic Bullet with the “sitting” x-ray shown side by side with the “standing” x-ray, I notice clear and distinct differences: the collar in the x-ray used in the comparison is at a much greater angle; the marker in the x-ray used in the comparison is slightly higher and of a different shape; the marker on the comparison x-ray is also further from the corner of the collar, proving that the x-rays are not the same x-rays seen at a different angles; furthermore, when one rotates the x-rays to make the collars match, one finds that the lower ribs no longer align with one another. The question then is whether these differences are real or purely in my mind. Perhaps the

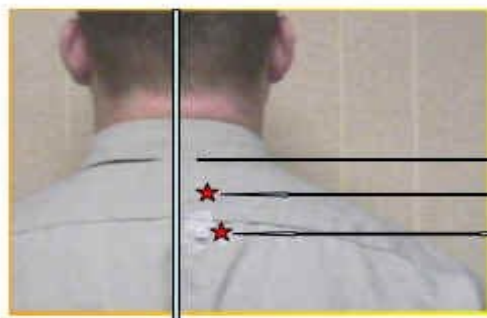
appearance of a pen in the photo of one x-ray but not the other set off my suspicious nature, and led me to micro-inspect the x-rays, and notice things that simply aren't there.

When I mentioned on alt.assassination.JFK my suspicion that these x-rays were not the same, researcher Anthony Marsh commented that this was "Misdirection." Dr. Zimmerman then responded to Marsh that "The truth is Pat doesn't really know what he is talking about here." Later, he responded directly to my suspicion by stating "Again, this is the difference of distance and the automatic controls of the camera. We took one AP neutral and one AP with the arm raised. They are the same film. However, the MA on the machine was different between the two exposures and one turned out lighter than the other. This produced problems with the camera when looking at the both of them. There was no trickery with the x-rays." When one compares the "standing" x-ray shown earlier in the program with the "standing" x-ray used in the program's comparison, one can see to what Dr. Zimmerman was referring: the comparison x-ray was indeed darker than the other. But this doesn't explain why the *content* of the two "sitting" x-rays differs, does it? The two "standing" x-rays, outside of the difference in contrast, appear to be identical. When one looks at them closely, however, one notices something else that is suspicious: there is no collar visible on this x-ray. Is this just a coincidence? Having a collar visible on the "standing" x-ray in a nearly identical location as the "sitting" x-ray would certainly have undercut Dr. Zimmerman's assertion that the jacket material bunched up two inches with the change in position...

On 3-14 2006, Dr. Zimmerman responded once again to my prodding. Apparently confusing my assertion that the collars in the AP and lateral "sitting" x-rays were at different levels (as discussed in The Anatomy of Deception section above) with my assertion of there being two AP "sitting" x-rays, he wrote "Since I don't have the films handy, I am not sure what you are talking about. However, clothing moves, Pat. That was the point of the demonstration." When I pointed out that I was not referring to the different collar levels of the AP and lateral x-rays, but to the differences between two separate AP "sitting" x-rays, he wrote "I don't know what you're talking about. We didn't take a plethora of x-rays. My guess is you aren't interpreting something correctly." When I asked if the producers took multiple takes of him examining the x-rays, some with a pen and some without, he responded: "I would assume so. We took many takes of almost everything we did.... As far as I recall, we only took a total of 4 x-rays. 2 AP—one neutral and one with the arm raised, 2 lateral films, one with the clothing bunched and one without. The one that did not have the clothing bunched was not used as we were testing the bunching theory." If Dr. Zimmerman had honestly forgotten what procedures he performed for a TV program only a few years before, then we should all be skeptical of the specific memories of the many witnesses to the President's body, both in Parkland and Bethesda. If, however, you believe, as he does, that the two "sitting" x-rays are the same, there's a word you can use to describe my contention that they are not...

Pareidolia: a type of illusion or misperception involving a vague or obscure stimulus being perceived as something clear and distinct.

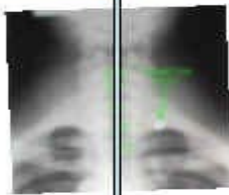
The Zimmerman Confirmation



At right: the trajectory of Robert Artwohl. Zimmerman uses this same trajectory, in which the bullet entered at level of C-5.



Location of nut after
Location of nut before



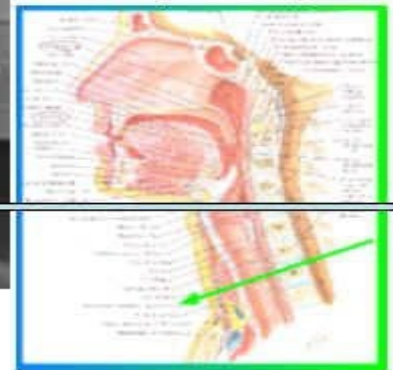
Location of nut before
elbow was raised



Location of nut after
elbow was raised.



Image at left from Zimmerman's own website. It refutes his claim that the trajectory below depicts a bullet entering at the level of C-7. Note also that the bullet passes the spine at T-1.



Images borrowed from the website of Dr. Chad Zimmerman.

The Zimmerman Confirmation

Since Marquette University political science professor John McAdams, creator of Google's favorite website on the assassination, endorses Dr. Zimmerman's work on the single-bullet theory, writing "Zimmerman has done some very interesting and informative work on this issue," I decided to go to Zimmerman's website and read all his articles on the subject. I was surprised to find, however, that the articles were filled with as much misleading information as his TV appearance. In fact, when one looks closely at these articles purporting to support the single-bullet theory, one finds they make a better argument *against* the single-bullet theory. That McAdams and other defenders of the single-assassin theory fail to see this is undoubtedly discouraging.

In Zimmerman's 2004 article *The Shirt Experiment*, for example, he details how he attached a nut to the back of his shirt at the approximate distance from the collar of the bullet entrance found on Kennedy's shirt. He then took an x-ray of himself and found that this nut rested at the vertical level of his second thoracic vertebra (T2). Zimmerman then raised his arm into the position he assumed Kennedy's arm was in and found that the nut now rested at the level of the seventh thoracic vertebrae (C7). This means the nut was lifted an inch and a half or more simply by Zimmerman's raising his elbow a short distance. (Clearly, these results impressed the producers of *Beyond the Magic Bullet* and led to Zimmerman's appearance on the program.)

A related experiment was conducted for the HSCA. The HSCA trajectory analysis report says that forensic anthropologist Dr. Clyde Snow conducted "laboratory tests on men of similar build" as Kennedy and that "Because the Zapruder film showed that Kennedy had raised his right shoulder slightly as to place his elbow on the side of the limousine, the resulting movement of skin at the in-shoot location was also assessed. It was found that the wound was approximately 0.1 centimeter higher

and 0.2 centimeter closer to the midplane than the post-mortem photographic observations by themselves indicated.” Taken in conjunction with Zimmerman’s experiment, then, we can use Snow’s results to safely assume that while the lifting of Kennedy’s elbow *may* have lifted his clothing, so that the bullet entrance *may* have been as high as C7, this entrance would have overlay an entrance on the body 0.1 cm lower and .2 cm further from the spine at autopsy than the bullet’s actual trajectory.

Zimmerman’s experiment thereby confirmed that the bullet hole on Kennedy’s body, if consistent with the holes on his clothes, would have been at the very highest the level of C7. In Zimmerman’s 2002 article Anatomy of the Back Wound he asserted that the wound was most likely at the C7/T1 level but appears slightly higher in the autopsy photos due to rigor mortis. Okay. To me the wound is clearly more in line with the T1 theorized by the HSCA pathology panel than C7, but we’ll play along.

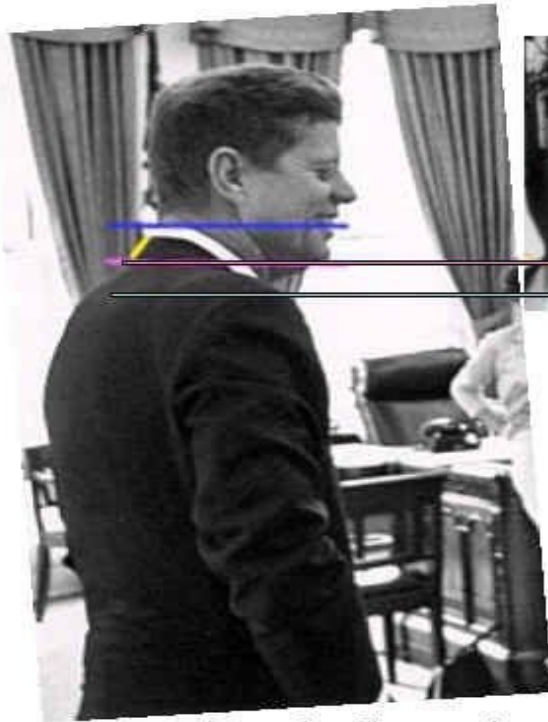
Zimmerman runs into a heap of trouble, however, when he attempts to prove that an entrance at this level supports the single-bullet theory. In his 2004 defense of the theory he introduces a profile of the neck taken from an anatomy book. He places an arrow descending at 22 degrees across this profile. Zimmerman writes “A bullet entering at the C7-T1 level of the spinous processes, at a downward angle of 22 degrees, will cross just below the C7 disc and out of a point in the neck and exit at the T1 disc.” This description doesn’t match the trajectory on the profile, however, as the arrow on the profile crosses the spine at T1 and exits just below T1. Even worse, this profile only shows the front half of a person. When one projects Zimmerman’s 22 degree angle back from the exit through a complete profile, one finds that the entrance of Zimmerman’s trajectory is really at C5, considerably higher than where Zimmerman’s analysis of the back wound placed the wound and considerably higher than where Zimmerman’s analysis of the bullet holes in the clothing placed the wound.

If you fail to believe that Dr. Zimmerman’s 22 degree trajectory actually tracks back to a C5 entrance, and not C7, you should consider that it was Dr. Zimmerman himself who convinced me of this. In his 2003 article The Case of the Bunched Jacket, Dr. Zimmerman presents Kennedy’s left profile autopsy photo (inverted) with a 22 degree trajectory through the neck. He does us the favor, furthermore, of adding in the levels of the cervical vertebrae. These demonstrate that the entrance proposed by Dr. Zimmerman, as well as our old friend Dr. Artwohl, is on the horizontal plane of C5/C6.

Somehow, he failed to notice this. Instead, beneath his proposed trajectory through Kennedy he writes “This wound track measures a downhill angle of 22 degrees, similar to a shot from the sniper’s nest in the TSBD building. An entrance at C7/T1 is easily conceived and fits perfectly with the description of the wounds in the autopsy report.” What? While one can “easily conceive” that this 22-degree trajectory entered at C7/T1, and not C5/C6, one can not do so without lowering the exit to Kennedy’s chest. And why, if Zimmerman wants his readers to conceive of a C7/T1 entrance, does he have his trajectory start at C5/C6? Is he being deceptive? Or is he actually contending that this C5/C6 entrance is at C7/T1?

Another intriguing aspect of Zimmerman’s shirt experiment is the left-right movement of the nut on his x-ray. While the photo with the nut at the T2 level shows the nut to be near the middle of Zimmerman’s spine, the x-ray of the nut in this position shows the nut to be noticeably further to his right. As the x-ray depicting the level of the nut after Zimmerman lifted his elbow demonstrates beyond a doubt that the nut was pushed closer to Zimmerman’s spine as his shirt “bunched” (a movement confirmed by his segment in Beyond the Magic Bullet), one can only wonder where the nut in the original photo would have moved. This makes me suspect that Zimmerman took the photos and the x-rays and then re-did the x-rays when the nut in the initial experiment ended up directly over his spine. After all, if the dramatic “bunching” of Kennedy’s clothes that Zimmerman asserts took place would also have lifted the entrance hole on the clothes to a spot overlying Kennedy’s spine, it destroys Zimmerman’s contention that a bullet entering at C7 could have exited Kennedy’s throat without striking bone.

Zimmerman Vs. Zimmerman



Images from Zimmerman's "The Case of the Bunched Jacket." Light blue lines added for ease of comparison.



How does C-4 on one Zimage end up as C5 on another Zimage and C-7/T1 on yet another Zimage?

Approximate trajectory of bullet

Blue arrows represent 17 and 22 degree trajectories through C7/T1.

According to Zimmerman, the pink line at left represents the level of C4. Within the same article he presents the images above and submits that Kennedy was hit at the "C7/T1 area of the back/lower neck." The lower blue line represents the actual "C7/T1 area".



Above: close-up of the middle image at top, demonstrating that the actual entrance in this trajectory is at C5.

Zimmerman Vs. Zimmerman

There are still other problems with Zimmerman's The Case of the Bunched Jacket.

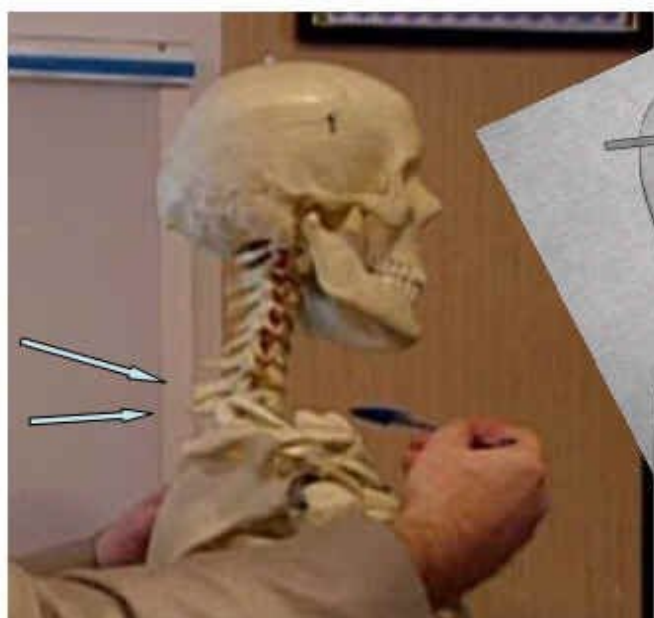
In the beginning of the article, when Zimmerman is attempting to demonstrate that a man's collar rests higher up on his neck than is often believed, he performs a study of various pictures of Kennedy, with blue lines representing the approximate level of the second cervical vertebrae and pink lines representing the approximate level of the fourth cervical vertebrae (C4). Later, he presents the (inverted) left autopsy photo with inserted levels of the cervical vertebra. This image demonstrates that a 22 degree trajectory would need to enter near C5/C6 to exit from Kennedy's throat wound. A few pages later, so he can show where the approximate entrance was on the jacket, Zimmerman presents this autopsy photo with a super-imposed jacket. Zimmerman then writes "With the base of his collar near the C4 level, about 3 inches of fabric would be between the base of the collar and the entry (the bullet entry on the clothes). However, we see that some 4 inches are needed. If the fabric had bunched up only an inch, which is highly probable given the photos we see of Kennedy in the motorcade, then it can be expected that the bullet would go through the suit some 4 inches below the collar and impact at the C7-T1 level."

Well, what's wrong with that, you ask? Only that Zimmerman's "C7-T1 entrance" on his trajectory, which he acknowledges is 3 inches below the collar at C4, is at the same level as the level of C4 and C5 on his other images! When one looks at the Kennedy profile with the inserted cervical vertebrae, moreover, one can project an entrance just below the C7 level onto Kennedy's clothed autopsy photo and see that a bullet descending at 22 degrees and entering at the C7/T1 level would exit from Kennedy's chest, inches below his throat. Not coincidentally, this is where the bullet exited from the Kennedy torso in the re-enactment performed for Beyond the Magic Bullet. The argument can be made,

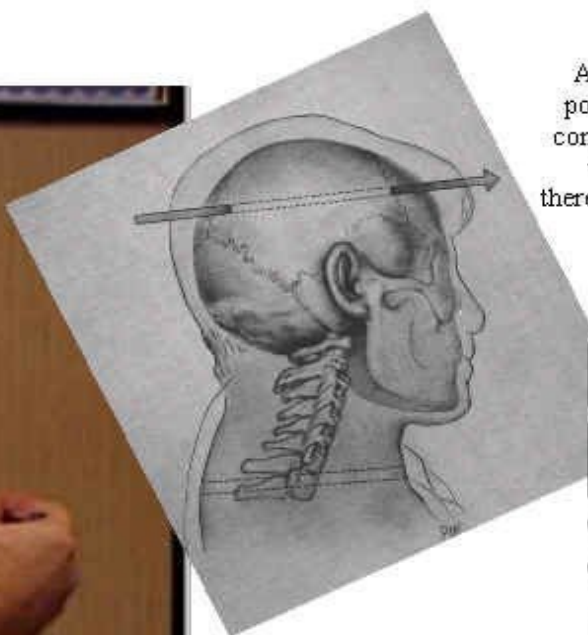
therefore, that Zimmerman's work and *Beyond the Magic Bullet* jointly demonstrate beyond any doubt that the single bullet trajectory does not work and can only be made to work if Kennedy was leaning forward to a greater degree than can be supported by the photographic evidence.

What's so upsetting about Zimmerman and his inconsistencies is that his website (which strangely went down as my report s on his inconsistencies went up) and TV appearance have deceived tens of thousands of people with an interest in the case, and have driven the two sides of the conspiracy issue further and further apart.

The Problematic First Rib



Above: Zimmerman pointing out the throat exit on *Beyond the Magic Bullet*. Blue arrows represent Zimmerman's trajectory (top) and the HSCA's Forensic Pathology Panel trajectory (bottom). Both head straight towards the first rib.



At left: HSCA Exhibit F-65, portraying the medical panel's conclusion that the bullet passed the spine at T-1. Note that there is no depiction of the first rib.



Above: a demonstration of the single-bullet trajectory by Dr. John Lattimer in his book *Kennedy and Lincoln*. The first rib appears to be missing, even though Lattimer proposes the bullet passed above it.

The Problematic First Rib

Well, why would Zimmerman consistently misrepresent the level of the back wound in his writings and on his trajectories? Why not just pretend there was no problem with an entrance at T1, and that Kennedy was slumped forward when shot, a la the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel? Well, as discussed in the last chapter, on *The Portable Hole* slide, such a trajectory smacks right into Kennedy's first rib.

Zimmerman undoubtedly knew about this rib, and almost certainly understood its significance. At one point, in his segment of *JFK: Beyond the Magic Bullet* he points to the exit location on a skeleton in his office. And there it is...right in the path of a trajectory heading from an entrance at the level of T1, the first rib. (That a bullet traveling this trajectory could not have passed lateral to this rib is confirmed by

HSCA Exhibit F-376, as well as every other reasonable depiction of a human skeleton.) Zimmerman, a chiropractor by trade and thus one well familiar with the spine and ribs, certainly knows the impossibility of this trajectory, and would find it necessary to believe the bullet entered above this rib before he could let himself get seduced by the single-bullet theory. (Thus, his constant assertion of an entrance at C7/T1 when the HSCA's exhibits make it clear the entrance was at T1.)

Apparently, Dr. John Lattimer was of a similar mind. In his book, *Kennedy and Lincoln*, Dr. Lattimer used a skeleton to depict his single-bullet trajectory. Strangely, however, the skeleton seems to be missing the problematic first rib. Just as curious, this would not be the only time problematic bones disappeared from a Lattimer simulation.

In 1994, Dr. Lattimer wrote an article for *The American College of Surgeons* in which he claimed to have duplicated the lapel bulge apparent on Governor Connally's jacket at frame 224 of the Zapruder film. He described an exacting re-enactment using a simulated neck for Kennedy, a clothed rib cage for Connally's chest, and an "array of radiuses (arm bones), encased in simulated forearms." He fired a 6.5 mm Mannlicher-Carcano bullet through these figures, filmed Connally's jacket bulging outwards, and compared the exiting bullet with CE 399, the so-called "magic" bullet. They appeared quite similar. He compared the damage to the rib cage and wrist of Governor Connally to the damage to his simulated rib cage and wrist. They were also roughly similar. He then fired a bullet through the "Connally jacket and thorax preparation without running it through the model neck first." Not surprisingly, he discovered that as this bullet exited the Connally torso, the bullet did not tumble and the jacket did not bulge. He took from this that in order for Connally's jacket to bulge as it did in Z-224 the bullet would first have had to have struck Kennedy. He then concluded "The bulge and the lapel eversion of the jacket worn by Governor Connally, starting in Zapruder frame 224, does indeed establish, beyond any shadow of a doubt, the exact moment when bullet 399 went through him...It also permits us to establish that there was plenty of time (three and one-half seconds) between the first two shots (frames 160 and 224) and even more time (five seconds) between the last two shots (frames 224 to 313), for Oswald to reload, reacquire his target (the head of President Kennedy) plus two full seconds to lock onto it."

Lattimer was grossly overselling his results, of course. For one, as demonstrated in chapters five through nine, there is nothing to indicate the first shot was fired at frame 160. For two, Lattimer is clearly insinuating he's proved the likelihood of the Single Bullet Theory merely because he shot straight through a clothed rib cage and its jacket didn't bulge! There's no evidence that either of the bullets striking the rib cage in Lattimer's experiment struck it in a manner similar to the bullet striking Connally. In fact, as Connally's rib was shattered for 10 cm and as the first bullet fired in Lattimer's experiment shattered only 4.5 cm, it would appear they did not.

Lattimer's description of the second shot offers further confirmation of his simulation's inaccuracy. He writes: "With the bullet going straight ahead, wounds to the rib, shirt and jacket were punctuate and the rib fragments were not enough to bulge out the front of the jacket." This "punctuate" entrance is a clear indication that the bullet was *not* fired in an effort to recreate Connally's wounds, as a bullet striking Connally at the angle required for a bullet to travel along his rib, as proposed by his doctors, the WC, and the HSCA, would not be "going straight ahead" and would be unlikely to create a "punctuate" entrance under any circumstances. It's clear, then, that Lattimer had no idea whether a bullet striking Connally *in the manner he was actually struck* without first striking Kennedy would have created a visible bulge on his jacket, and had no desire to actually find out.

Final support that Lattimer's article was designed to sell the single bullet theory without actually testing it comes from his description of the simulated neck: "A size 16 neck simulation was created, using fresh pork muscle, *with the bone removed* and the skin still in place." Thus, having the right-sized neck was important, but accurately representing the internal structures of the neck was not. Perhaps

Lattimer was afraid of a bone even more problematic than the problematic first rib: the spine.

But as deceptive as Lattimer's work and Zimmerman's work have been, they come in a distant 2 and 3 to the number one myth-maker of recent times, and the number one salesman for the single-bullet theory: animator Dale Myers.

Chapter 12c: Animania

Searching for Truth in Dale Myers' House of Mirrors

Murder by Cartoon: Old Crone Analysis



Above: Kennedy's actual profile on Elm Street in the Towner photo. His chin is over his chest. At right: Myers' 2003 depiction of Kennedy at Z-224. Here his chin is over his lap.



Above: Myers' 2004 depiction of Kennedy and Connally. Note the drop in Kennedy's collar from 2003. Note also that Kennedy's neck is 20% or more longer than Connally's. Is that accurate?



Across bottom: three different faces of the back entrance, all by Myers. Above image from early 2003.



Above and at right: 2004. Note the moving collar.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Murder by Cartoon: Old Crone Analysis

In recent years, the work of digital animator Dale Myers has repeatedly been used to demonstrate the feasibility of the single bullet. The problem: his work is deliberately deceptive at best, and an absolute fraud at worst. Since his animation has so effectively re-invigorated the single bullet theory for so many, we need take a closer look at his work, and clearly demonstrate its deceptiveness.

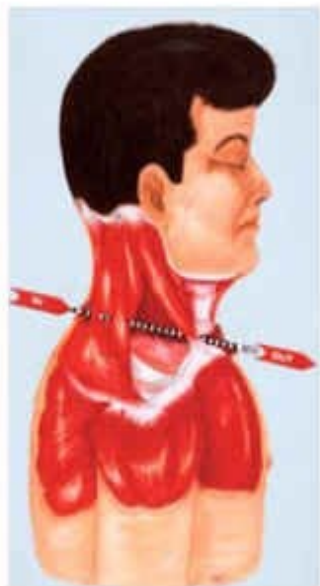
We'll start by examining what appears to be a contradiction. On the 2003 version of his website, before he decided to single-handedly turn the single-bullet theory into what he has since called the single-bullet fact, Myers portrayed the back wound above his animated figure's shoulder line, in the discredited location of the Rydberg drawings. He even acknowledged he derived this location by projecting Connally's wounds back through Kennedy's throat wound, and that this entrance didn't match the location of Kennedy's back wound on the autopsy photos. Within the next year or so, however, around the time he began supplying ABC with animation for their Beyond Conspiracy special, Myers' website was changed to state that the back wound location used in his animation had

been established through exact measurements, etc.

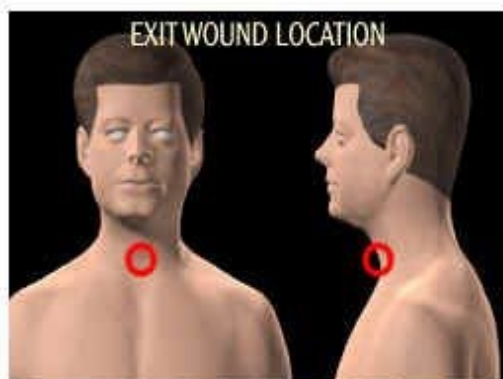
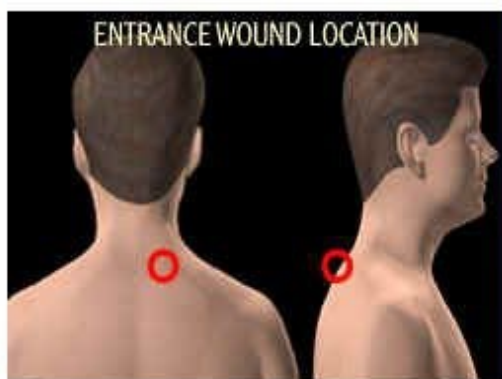
Now this was not surprising, seeing as the views of Kennedy from behind in Myers new animation demonstrated beyond any doubt that the back wound was now on the back.

When one compares the animation of the moment of the single-bullet's impact created by Myers for 2003's Beyond Conspiracy, with the animation of this moment he created for 2004's Beyond the Magic Bullet, however, there is a surprise. In 2003's Beyond Conspiracy on ABC, a program which, horrifyingly, received an Edward R. Murrow Award for best documentary, Myers' animation depicted Kennedy's collar bunched up at his hairline. In 2004's Beyond the Magic Bullet on the Discovery Channel however the collar was well below the hairline and not bunched up at all. Even more surprising, in 2004's Beyond the Magic Bullet, Myers depicted the bullet entering well down from the collar in one segment and just below the collar in another. So much for consistency.

Murder by Cartoon: Birth of the Crone



Above: Warren Commission CE 385 with its discredited bullet entrance on the base of the neck. The HSCA proved the bullet entrance was 2 inches lower.



Above: Myers' interpretation of the bullet entrance and exit. Although he lifts the back wound from the HSCA entrance, he nevertheless agrees with the HSCA that the entrance was at the same level as the exit, or lower.



HSCA Exhibit F-46, showing the forward lean necessary to have Kennedy's wounds project back to the sniper's nest.



Above: Kennedy in Z-225, with his head erect.



Above: the Myers solution: Kennedy's neck is leaning forward, but not his head! Compare the neck of this Kennedy to the neck of the profile above.

Murder by Cartoon: Birth of the Crone

And so much for accuracy. On his website, on a depiction of the back wound location beneath the

clothing, Myers depicts the back wound above Kennedy's shoulder line, at the base of the neck, exactly where it was in his original animation, the animation he'd openly admitted was inaccurate.

This location is clearly inconsistent with the back wound location used in his depictions of the shooting.

There is an even more surprising aspect to the single-bullet theory depicted on Myers' website. Unlike the majority of neo-single-bullet theorists, he acknowledges that the back wound was at the same level or lower than the throat wound, and that the bullet did not descend within the body. He even depicts this on his animated model of Kennedy. So how does he get around this? How does he have a bullet descending twenty degrees or more through the air enter Kennedy's back and exit his throat at the same level? As this bullet is, in Myers' estimation, the near-pristine CE399, it couldn't have struck bone. Furthermore, as the Zapruder film showed Kennedy's head to be upright within a tenth of a second of the moment Myers believes Kennedy was shot, Myers can't just pretend Kennedy was simply leaning forward at the moment of the shot. So how does he make it work?

Well, he distorts Kennedy's body into the body of a crone, so that Kennedy's neck is leaning forward, but not his head. This distortion can be demonstrated by comparing a photo of Kennedy in Dealey Plaza with Myer's figure of Kennedy, and by comparing Myers' figure of Connally with Myers' figure of Kennedy. (This was demonstrated on the previous slide.) The angled neck of the Kennedy figure is not apparent in any photo of Kennedy that I am aware of, nor is it seen in the Zapruder film. This Myers invention, not surprisingly, lifts the location of Kennedy's back wound considerably above his throat wound, and makes it appear possible for a shot to hit Kennedy in the shoulder line from the sniper's nest and still come out somewhere near his throat. (Myers' exit, in fact, seems to be from the very bottom of Kennedy's throat, a half inch or more below the actual exit.)

But this was not the end of his deceptions.

Murder by Cartoon: Midget Analysis

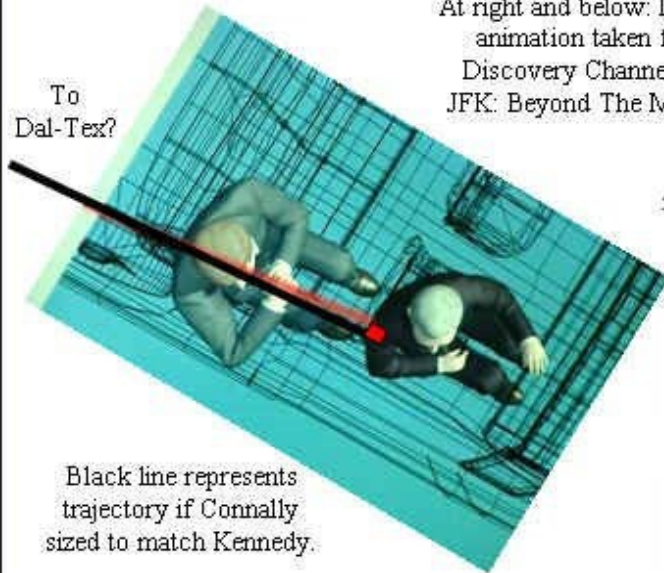


At left: Zapruder frame 226



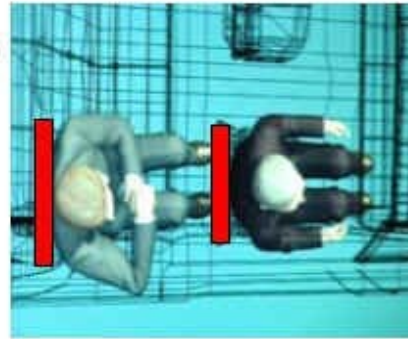
At right and below: Dale Myers' animation taken from the Discovery Channel program JFK: Beyond The Magic Bullet.

To Dal-Tex?



Black line represents trajectory if Connally sized to match Kennedy.

Red bars added to demonstrate relative sizes of Kennedy and Connally.



Below: photograph showing the actual size of the two men.



Murder by Cartoon: Midget Analysis

As Dale Myers' animation depicts Kennedy stooped forward at the moment of the magic bullet's impact, in the approximate posture of an old crone, one would think an overhead shot of this pivotal moment would show his head out in front of his body. But once again, Myers' animation fails the consistency test. The overhead view of Kennedy in 2004's *Beyond the Magic Bullet* shows him to be sitting straight up, with his head barely forward of his back. What me, consistency?

When one looks closer at this overhead view, the integrity of Myers' work is once again called into question. When viewed from above his characters seem to have entirely different proportions than the real Kennedy and Connally. Clearly, Myers uses different measurements for his animated figures depending on how he wants them to be seen. How else can he explain the fact that Connally, who was 6'2" 205 lb.s to Kennedy's 6'0" 170 lb.s, is depicted as a much smaller man than Kennedy? It certainly appears to be more than a coincidence that by depicting Connally as a midget Myers was able to place Connally's armpit, the site of the bullet entry, several inches further in from the side of the car, and more in line with the pre-determined trajectory from the sniper's nest through JFK.

While Myers has done some valuable research, particularly when it comes to the head wound trajectories and the Tippit shooting, his deception regarding the single-bullet theory is simply inexcusable. He would have to know that when people see computer simulations they believe the proportions are consistent from angle to angle—otherwise it's just a cartoon. By changing the body

shape of Kennedy to accommodate the bullet trajectory through his body, and by shrinking Connally 20% or more to accommodate the bullet trajectory in the car, Myers moved on up to the high rent neighborhood of Thomas Canning: deliberate deceptionville.

His depiction of Kennedy's position in the car is also in error. While the Zapruder film shows Kennedy's arms inside the car, as there's no shadow on the side of the car, Myers' animation always depicts Kennedy's right elbow hanging over the side, a position Kennedy had abandoned seconds before. Not surprisingly, this misrepresentation by Myers puts Kennedy more in line with the pre-determined sniper's nest—JFK--Connally trajectory.

In sum, while it may have been created to accurately depict a murder, the only murder accurately depicted in Myers' cartoon is the murder of the truth.

(NOTE: so that no one stopping here is deceived. As we progress in this chapter, I include a number of responses by Myers, in which he offers explanations for the diminutive Connally. He eventually offers one that makes sense (well, sorta). He admits the images used in *Beyond the Magic Bullet* were distorted, but insists this was done inadvertently. He insists as well that this has no bearing on the feasibility of the single-bullet theory. Read on and decide for yourself.)

Murder by Cartoon: Birth of the Midget

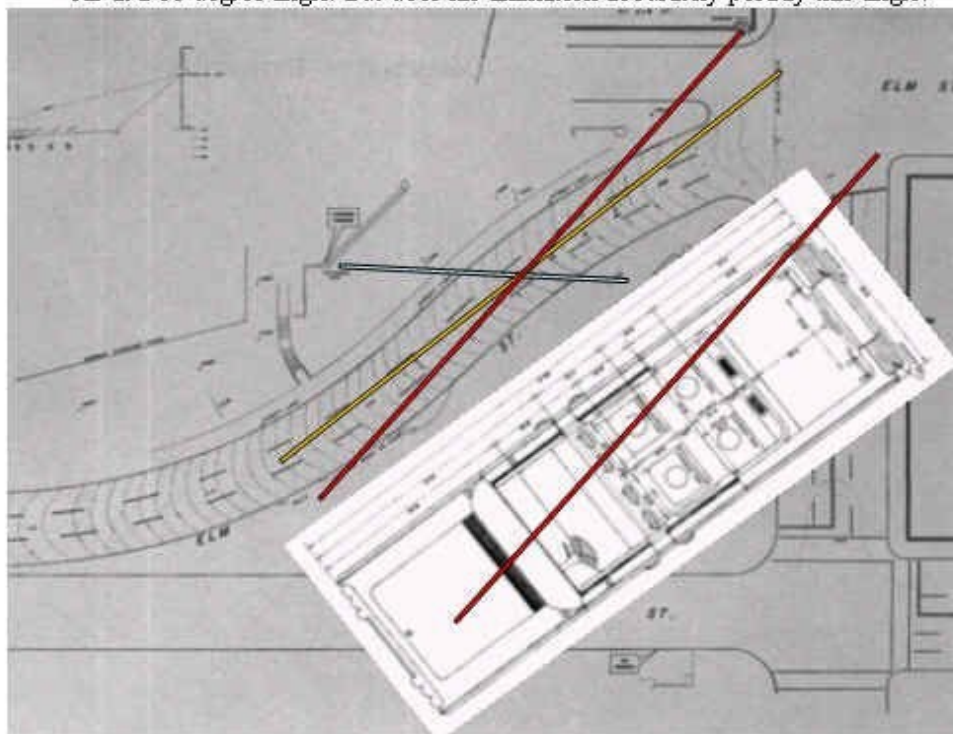
On his website, Dale Myers acknowledges the bullet at Z-224 came into the car at a 10 degree angle. But does his animation accurately portray this angle?



Above: Dale Myers' animation in 1998's *Live By the Sword*. Below: his animation in 2004.



Gold star represents the bullet entrance if Connally was the correct size. Added line is at a 10 degree angle to the car. Myers' line is at a 6 degree angle.



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 883, a surveyor's plat of Dealey Plaza. Blue line depicts the view of Zapruder along the edge of the Stemmons Freeway sign. This establishes Kennedy's position at Z-224. Gold line reflects the center-line of the limousine at Z-224. Red line reflects the 10 degree angle from the sniper's nest. Insert: HSCA Figure II-19, with the 10 degree angle from the sniper's nest added.

Murder by Cartoon: Birth of the Midget

In June 2006, while looking through a website devoted to debunking the film JFK, I noticed yet another inaccuracy in Myers' animation. In a section of the website devoted to proving that Oliver Stone was a liar was an early Myers depiction defending the single bullet theory that grossly misrepresented the single bullet theory. This same depiction was featured in Gus Russo's 1998 book, *Live by the Sword*, a book devoted to the "Oswald-did-it" theory. Precursing ABC News and the Discovery Channel by a full 5 years, Russo grossly overstated the value of Myers' work, and grossly oversold its accuracy. The caption to Russo's depiction reads: "when the car blueprints, body sizes, surveyor's maps, and exact measurements are considered, it is clear that Connally's wounds track back through JFK to Lee Harvey Oswald's perch in the Book Depository, as the Myers computer renderings clearly demonstrate." When one looks closely at this Myers "computer rendering," however, two inaccuracies are abundantly clear: 1) the bullet goes from Kennedy to Connally in a straight line within the car; and 2) the car is driving directly away from the school book depository! Well, a close look at the surveyor's plat of Dealey Plaza that Myers is purported to have studied will show you that this did not happen. Elm Street has not curved that far to the left by frame 223, when Myers claims the shot was fired. Consequently, I decided to see if Myers had corrected this mistake on his website. Sure enough, when discussing his analysis of the limousine's location at frame 223 of the Zapruder film, Myers confirms "The result shows the bullet moving at a 10 degree angle, right to left, relative to the middle of the limousine."

When I double-checked Myers' words against the overhead view he created in 2004 for the Discovery Channel, however, I found out his words were rather hollow. On the overhead view, already deceptive due to its "shrinking" of Connally and the resultant moving of his armpit closer to the middle of the car, the right to left angle within the car was but 6 degrees! I also noticed at this time that the car itself was angled 2 degrees in the overhead view, creating the appearance that the bullet trajectory was coming in at 8 degrees. It seemed obvious from this that Myers, aware that his early depictions were incorrect, tried to straighten the car up on Elm Street, so that a bullet heading into the car at a 10 degree angle would hit Connally in the armpit. Apparently unwilling to simply slide Connally over in his seat, ala the HSCA trajectory analysis, Myers instead began to tweak things a little. First, he down-sized Connally to move his armpit in a little. Then, he minimized the angle of the bullet coming into the car so that the bullet could strike paydirt in Connally's newly pint-sized armpit.

If I'm reading too much into this, I apologize to Mr. Myers. It's certainly possible I am mistaken or that his mistakes were honest mistakes. But take a look for yourself and see what you think. It seems obvious to me that an honest depiction of Connally's size, when coupled with an honest projection from the wound in his armpit back through Kennedy's wounds, would point back to the Dal-Tex Building, and not the sniper's nest. Based upon the behavior of Arlen Specter, the Warren Commission, and the HSCA, it seems that this thought is unthinkable. If Myers has been deliberately deceptive on this issue, he's but one of the latest in a long line of deceivers, many of whom have been honored and rewarded for their deceptions..

As we've seen, the Discovery Channel built an entire program around such deceptions.

The Defense of Dale Myers

(In February, 2008, I discovered that Myers has indirectly responded to a number of my criticisms. On his website, he asks himself a question, and then responds by discussing how such awful questions get asked in the first place. In the interest of fair play, I include his response. In the interest of what I perceive to be the truth, I include my response to his response.)

Myers responds by asking: "Isn't it true that you admitted a key flaw in your recreation: the incorrect positioning of the president's back wound?"

Myers answers: *"No. One critic has repeatedly made this false claim on number of Internet newsgroups. The charge stems from a preliminary 1995 version of my computer recreation which employed generic humanoid figures to represent Kennedy and Connally and determine the locations of their bullet wounds. When a trajectory line was connected from the entrance wound at the back of Connally's right armpit with the exit wound on the front of Kennedy's throat, and projected rearward, that line passed a bit high of the presumed location of the entrance wound on Kennedy's upper-right back. I explained that the generic nature of the humanoid figures, which were not exact matches of either man's physique, was probably responsible for this visual effect. I also pointed out that because the medical evidence shows that Kennedy had only one bullet wound in his upper-right back, and the projected trajectory nearly intersected that exact location, there could be little doubt that the discrepancy was attributable to slight inaccuracies in the generic models.*

In the recreation broadcast on ABC Television in the fall of 2003, I used new human skeleton models to more accurately pinpoint the wound locations in both men and also used new high resolution human models, though still generic in physique, to "skin" the underlying skeletons. Both of these model upgrades resulted in more accurate wound placement and improved trajectory analysis which effectively demonstrated that the earlier inaccuracies were in fact due to the generic models, as I surmised."

My response: nonsense. As demonstrated by his depiction of the back wound location, included on the Birth of the Crone slide above, Myers has clearly moved the back wound well above the back wound shown in the autopsy photos and measured by the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel. His assertion that his cartoon characters are based on high resolution human models, and that this improvement in technology led to his discovery that the actual wound was where he assumed it to be to begin with is garbage of the smelliest kind. While he is telling the truth when he notes that he attributed the discrepancy in his earlier work to "slight inaccuracies in the generic models," he is not telling the whole truth. As of 9-20-2003, his website claimed "The minimal discrepancies between the renderings and the photographs are anticipated in a model of this type and are due to (a) the use of generic humanoid models that do not necessarily match the muscular physique of the victims, and (b) the potential errors (up to 2 degrees at Z223) inherent in positioning computer models based on the Zapruder film." It's not at all funny how Myers now forgets his acknowledgment of an "up to 2 degree error" in his positioning, and blames the earlier discrepancy entirely on those darned generic 1995-era humanoid models.

Myers responds by asking: "Isn't it true that you distorted the size and position of your models of President Kennedy and Governor Connally in order to fit your simulation to the single bullet theory?"

Myers answers: *"No. One critic charged that "Myers depicts Governor Connally's body as considerably smaller than JFK's body" - 25% according to one of this critic's measurements, and later 15% smaller, after a second measurement - and that "by depicting Connally as a midget it allowed Myers to place Connally's armpit, site of the bullet entry, at a point several inches further in from the side of the car, and more in line with the predetermined trajectory from the sniper's nest through JFK." According to this critic I also distorted Kennedy's size and position, writing "In order to make the trajectory work, however, Myers had to distort Kennedy's body shape. Kennedy suddenly had a crookneck, which curves forward and then up, like the neck of an old crone. This is not apparent in any photo of Kennedy. This Myers invention made it possible for a shot to hit Kennedy in the shoulder line and still come out his throat. When viewed from above, however, this distortion should have been obvious, with Kennedy's head a half-foot forward of his shoulder. In the Discovery Channel program Beyond the Magic Bullet Myers' animation was shown both from behind and above, and the two depictions of Kennedy's shoulders and his back wound were completely at odds with one another. Clearly, Myers uses different measurements for his animated figures depending on how he wants them*

to be seen."

The critic also charged that "While the Zapruder film shows Kennedy's arms inside the car, as there's no shadow on the side of the car, Myers' animation always depicts Kennedy's right elbow hanging over the side...Not surprising, this misrepresentation by Myers puts Kennedy more in line with the pre-determined [single bullet theory]. When JFK is put in his proper position the trajectory traces back to the Dal-Tex Building."

What does the critic conclude from all of this? "While Myers has done some valuable research...this deception regarding the single-bullet theory is inexcusable...He lures you into thinking that because he's using a computer the proportions and angles are the same from frame to frame and shot to shot when they're not...I've come across three different depictions by [Myers] of the single-bullet shot which move the President's position and the wound itself depending on what would look plausible to the viewer from that angle...It's all smoke and mirrors...[H]is animation is blatantly dishonest and demonstrably inaccurate...The bottom line: it's okay to misrepresent the evidence as long as you do it to PROTECT the government."

Hogwash. This is a common refrain from critics of my computer work. The truth, of course, is that my computer reconstruction of the Kennedy assassination is based on a single model put in motion. The mistakes this particular critic made in his analysis of my work are numerous.

First, his claim that the relative sizes of Kennedy and Connally change according to the angle at which they are presented is apparently based on the critic's measurement of the final rendered image. Performing an analysis in this manner fails to take into account photogrammetric effects as well as the size distortions produced by the computer's virtual camera. Photogrammetry describes how three-dimensional spatial relationships can be extracted from two-dimensional photographs or images. Without taking into account these relationships, accurate interpretations of two-dimensional images are impossible. In short, you cannot simply draw or overlay lines on a two-dimensional image (as this theorist has claimed) and extract three-dimensional measurements. This is a common amateur blunder. In addition, each rendered viewpoint is generated by a virtual camera whose focal length characteristics are akin to real-world cameras. For instance, a wide angle focal length in both virtual and real-world cameras will produce images in which identical-sized objects appear at different sizes depending on their relationship to the camera. In the case of my computer reconstruction, wide angle overhead-view renderings of Kennedy and Connally in the limousine will produce images in which the model of Kennedy appears slightly larger than the model of Connally if the virtual camera is positioned closer to the Kennedy model. Clearly, this was the case in the rendered images used by this critic for his "analysis".

Second, the critic's claim that I distorted Kennedy's neck in order to produce a position favorable to the single bullet theory is equally invalid. The computer model of Kennedy was matched to the position dictated by the Zapruder film - the only complete filmed record of the event. This filmed record records the three-dimensional position of Kennedy's head, neck, shoulders, upper torso, arms and hands relative to his surroundings. The computer reconstruction tracks the dimensional changes of Kennedy's body as recorded by Zapruder's camera. Those positional changes are not "inventions" created by me in order to validate the single bullet theory. Rather, the Zapruder film, and consequently my computer reconstruction based upon it, are a definitive record of what actually occurred in Dealey Plaza.

Third, the critic's charge that my computer reconstruction falsely depicts Kennedy's right elbow hanging over the right side of the car, while the Zapruder film shows Kennedy's arm inside the car, and that this "misrepresentation" puts Kennedy more in line with the single bullet theory is also invalid.

The critic apparently bases his claim on the fact that the Zapruder film doesn't show Kennedy's arm casting a shadow on the car. The critic fails to consider whether a shadow from Kennedy's arm would even be visible on the limousine's surface given the quality of the film and the highly reflective nature of the limousine body. More importantly, despite the critic's claim, the position of Kennedy's torso, as determined by the shoulder-line, and the length of his upper arm, make it a certainty that Kennedy's right arm would have extended over the side of the limousine. In fact, numerous photographs of the Kennedy motorcade show this to be true. Incidentally, the critic never offers any facts to support his claim that positioning Kennedy properly in the limousine would result in a trajectory that traced back to the Dal-Tex building.

Finally, the overall charge that I re-positioned Kennedy and Connally and the location of their wounds from rendered sequence-to-sequence in order to validate the single bullet theory and/or hide the truth about their actual positions during the shooting is completely false and without foundation. I find it quite entertaining that critics of my computer work are perfectly comfortable embracing the portions of my work that support their own theories (this particular critic agrees with my reconstruction of the trajectory of the fatal head shot), while rejecting those portions they disagree with. Evidently, it's okay to use the work of a "blatantly dishonest" individual as long as you can pick and choose your own truth."

My My My My-rebuttal: I'm sorry. I didn't mean to hurt his feelings by agreeing with him some of the time. I'll be sure and disagree with him on everything in the future. No, seriously, he makes a valid point in that it's best to criticize the integrity of someone's work without passing judgment on their character. It's just hard for me to do so under these circumstances, when his depiction of the single-bullet theory is so incredibly misleading. As for his assertion that I "use" his work, he should get over himself. When his findings correspond with my own, I pass this information on to the reader, so that the reader can better judge what is evident to researchers on both sides of the fence. I fail to see how this amounts to my "using" his work. If the reader disagrees, please let me know.

As for his explanation on why Connally appears to be under-sized, it leaves a lot to be desired--chiefly, the truth. By stating that Connally only appeared to be a midget due to blah blah blah photogrammetry blah blah blah, he is as much as admitting that his overhead depiction of the left-right trajectory between Kennedy and Connally was deceptive. Did he forget that I didn't cherry-pick an image from his animation, and claim he used this image to say Kennedy and Connally were in alignment, but instead analyzed the image HE chose to "demonstrate" the alignment between Kennedy and Connally? And why, if as he states, *"you cannot simply draw or overlay lines on a two-dimensional image (as this theorist has claimed) and extract three-dimensional measurements. This is a common amateur blunder"* did he use a three-dimensional image to demonstrate the bullet trajectory? I mean, why not just use a schematic, free of distortion? He was using a computer. How hard could it have been? And is it really possible that he fails to realize that by asserting his image was distorted by his use of a wide-angle "virtual" camera, he was as much as admitting that his demonstration was a charade? And does he really expect us to believe that his use of a "virtual" camera would distort the size of Connally's head, less than 2 inches below Kennedy's head, but not Kennedy's feet, several feet below? I mean, why are Kennedy's feet not only proportional to his head but so much larger than Connally's, when they're on the same floor as Connally's feet, and are the same distance from this ultra-high-tech "virtual" camera? Methinks he's blowing smoke.

The uncomfortable feeling of having smoke blown in my direction, led me to take an even closer look at the smoke-blower. And I didn't like what I saw.

Shadows and a Doubt



Images from *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, at left, and *Beyond Conspiracy*, at right, demonstrate Myers' use of shadow to suggest Kennedy's right arm was above the side of the limousine.



But was it? Myers image at far left, from *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, shows shadow on the side of the limousine at a point where Myers acknowledges no shadows can be seen in the Zapruder film (as seen at left).

Shadows and a Doubt

When I looked back at Myers' animation, I found he was right about a few things. First, he was right about the shadows I thought should be apparent on the side of the limousine should Kennedy's arm be extended over the side of the limousine. Myers stated "*The critic fails to consider whether a shadow from Kennedy's arm would even be visible on the limousine's surface given the quality of the film and the highly reflective nature of the limousine body.*" What Myers failed to understand, however, is that it was his animation that made me believe the shadows should be apparent in the first place. That's right, Myers' animation invariably depicts the shadow of Kennedy's arm on the side of the limousine. Since Myers, by his response, now acknowledges that he didn't see these shadows, one can't help but wonder why he decided to include them in his animation. As many objects in the films are not depicted in Myers' animation (including Jacqueline Kennedy), one can't help but wonder why Myers decided to include something he admits he could not see.

Hmmm...could it be that the depiction of shadows corresponding to Kennedy's right arm on the side of the limousine helped sell that Kennedy was hanging over the side of the limousine?

Have a Cigar!



At left: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 895, showing the view from the sniper's nest at Z-225. At right: Myers' near-lateral depiction of the single-bullet theory, about 1/10th of a second before Z-225. Why are the crosshairs at left below the impact on Connally at right?



Above: a lateral view of the single-bullet theory, with a full-sized Connally at right. Does the bullet exit Kennedy's throat, or chest?



Images above and at left from Beyond the Magic Bullet. (Red lines added on the lateral view.)

Why did the identical bullet trajectory lead to Connally's armpit in the animation, but the middle of his back in the tests?

Have a Cigar!

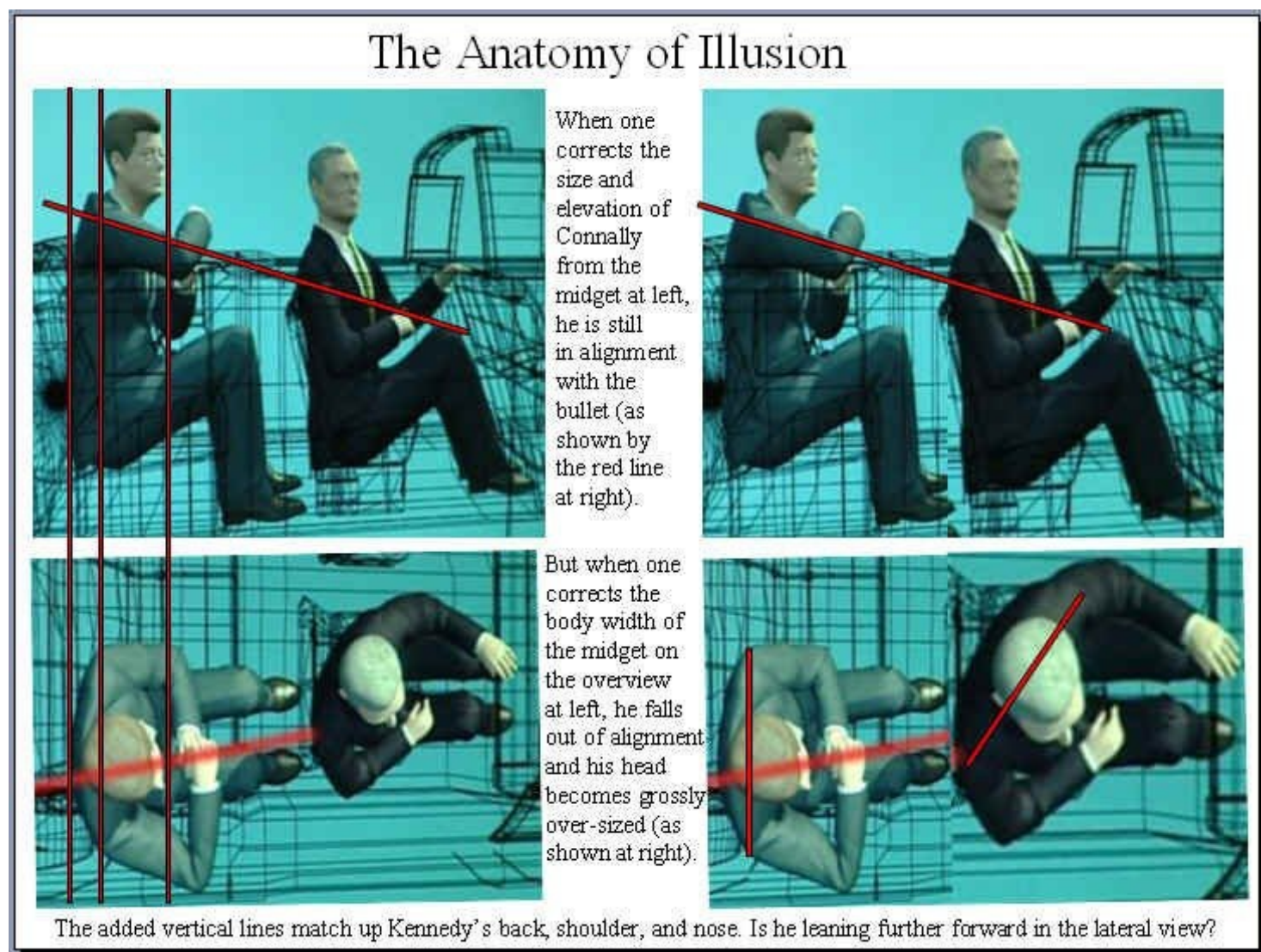
Myers is correct on another point as well. In earlier versions of this webpage, when I discussed the overhead "midget" view, I asserted that Connally was not a midget on the lateral view, but only became one when the angle changed to looking straight down on the limousine. This was incorrect. Myers, in fact, depicts Connally as a midget on the lateral view as well.

At first, I thought his depiction of a lateral midget was designed to lift the wound from the Connally figure's back up to its armpit. The sniper's nest view at frame 225 published by the Warren Commission, and the trajectory of the bullet in Beyond the Magic Bullet, after all, demonstrated that a bullet leaving Kennedy's neck at the moment of Myers' proposed single-bullet event would go on to strike Connally's middle to lower back, and not his armpit. Ultimately, however, after correcting the size and position of the Connally model, I found that the bullet still hit Connally in the armpit.

If this is so, I wondered, why did Myers shrink his Connally model on the lateral view? If, as Myers asserts, Connally appeared to be smaller than Kennedy on the overhead view because he used a wide-angle "virtual" camera and Connally was 2-3 inches further from this lens, then why doesn't Connally appear even smaller on the lateral view, when he was six inches further from the side of the limousine than Kennedy? Did Myers "change lenses" deliberately as the cyber camera panned from the lateral shot to the overhead shot? If so, why?

The thought occurred that Myers had picked his cyber lenses and "virtual" camera locations to create the illusion of consistency, without his actually being consistent.

I asked my girlfriend, a photographer well-familiar with the effects of wide-angle lenses on an image, if it was possible that Myers had used wide angle "lenses" to create this illusion and she immediately responded in the negative. She said that a lens so distorting the size of Kennedy in comparison to Connally, when Kennedy was at best 2-3 inches closer to the lens in one view, and 6 inches closer to the lens in the other, would have grossly distorted other elements of the image as well. She disputed that such a "lens" was used in either the overhead view or lateral view and suggested instead what I'd already surmised--that Connally was deliberately down-sized in both images. (Input from other photographers welcome.)



The Anatomy of Illusion

It then occurred to me that one could lift the the bullet trajectory hitting Kennedy and Connally from the middle of Connally's back (where it impacted in the WC and Discovery re-enactments) up to Connally's armpit simply by having Kennedy lean forward off the back of his seat. A close look at Myers' animation confirmed that, yes, indeed, he has Kennedy leaning forward, with his back off the seat, at the moment of impact. As the films and photos taken just before Kennedy went behind the sign

in the Zapruder film show him leaning back in his seat, one must ask Myers at what point did Kennedy lean forwards?

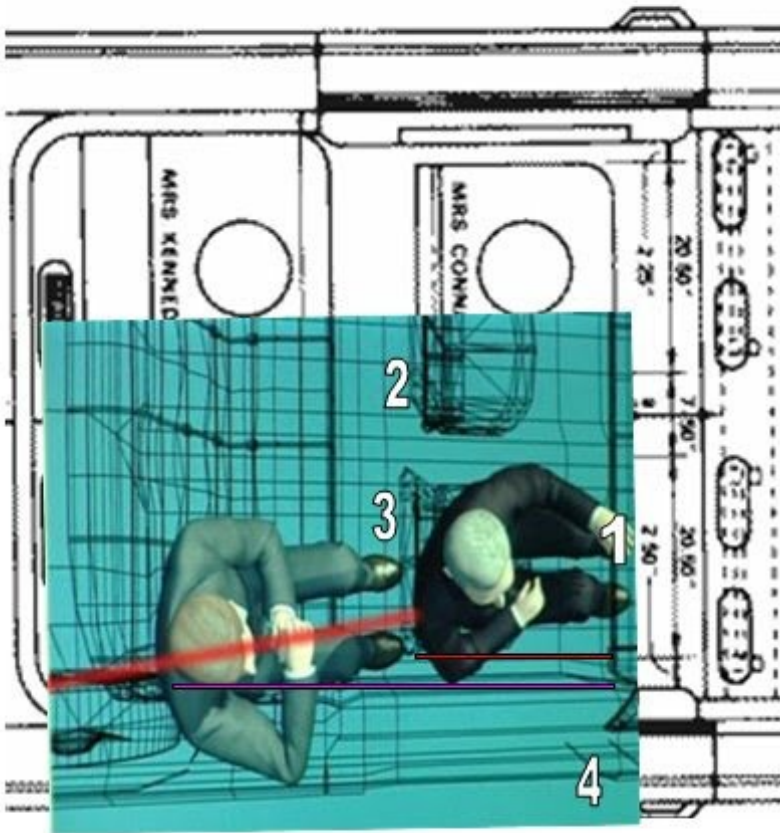
While looking at Myers' depiction of Kennedy's forward lean, I once again grew suspicious that his overhead view fails to depict this lean. On the slide above, I attempt a comparison of the overhead and lateral views of the single-bullet theory presented by Myers in *Beyond the Magic Bullet*.

While performing this comparison, I decided to correct the size of Connally on the overhead view and see if this confirmed my earlier suspicions. Sure enough, I found that making Connally's shoulders full-sized brought the entrance on his back several inches further to his right than the trajectory through Kennedy. This trajectory now entered Connally squarely on his back, probably on his shoulder blade, and headed straight for his heart.

Also intriguing was that, by correcting the size of Connally's shoulders to match Kennedy's, one made his head far larger than Kennedy's. This demonstrated that the head on the Connally midget was disproportionately large in comparison to the rest of his body, but that the head on the Kennedy model was not. One can only suspect that this was done to conceal that Connally's body width had been down-sized.

At this point it occurred to me that, even though the Connally figure had been down-sized, it still appeared to fill up its seat. This meant the seat had also been shrunk. And yet Myers' animation had a series of straight lines on the floor of the limo, suggesting that all was in perfect alignment with the back seat.

Seat of Government



Above: HSCA Exhibit II-19, with the limousine used in *Beyond the Magic Bullet* super-imposed. The added red line represents the right edge of Connally's seat back on the schematic, the added pink line the inside of the door. Was Kennedy really hanging that far over the side of the limo? With not only his arm over the side, but his shoulder?



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 353, a photograph of the limousine taken on the day following the assassination. The "jump seat" is 2.5 inches in from the door, as on the schematic for the limousine (by number 1 at left).

When one super-imposes Dale Myers' overview of the limousine onto the HSCA's schematic, some of Myers' improvements become clear. (2) The jump seats are smaller. (3) The Governor's seat is closer to the back seat. (4) The sides of the limo are tapered.

Seat of Government

At this point I went back to Myers' website, to see what he'd used to determine the size of Connally's seat. Myers claims "The original body draft of the modified 1961 Lincoln convertible, prepared by The Hess & Eisenhardt Company, served as a guide in modeling the presidential limousine." He later claims "The presidential limousine began as a digitized model of a 1961 Lincoln convertible. The resulting computer model was then modified to match the dimensions of the presidential limousine's original body draft, provided by Hess and Eisenhardt. Details were created based on a multitude of photographs taken during the 1963 Dallas motorcade. Particular attention was paid to the seating arrangement as depicted in photographs taken by the Secret Service and FBI in the White House garage the night of November 22, 1963."

The problem is that the HSCA printed this "body draft" as Exhibit II-19, and a close comparison of this exhibit with Myers' overhead view reveals that the actual jump seats occupied by John and Nellie Connally on 11-22-63 were approximately twice as large as the seats depicted by Myers. This supports my suspicion that Myers shrunk the seats to disguise that he'd shrunk Connally. This comparison also reveals that the Governor's seat is slightly closer to Kennedy's seat in Myers view than on the "body draft." Along with the forward lean of Kennedy depicted by Myers, this helps explain why Myers' proposed bullet trajectory through Kennedy aligns with Connally's armpit when the Warren Commission re-enactment photo of the alignment a split second later shows it aligning with his lower

back.

Equally disturbing, a close look at Exhibit II-19 reveals that Connally's seat was but 2.5 inches in from the right door. This short distance is confirmed by the Secret Service photos purportedly relied upon by Myers. In Myers' animation sequences in both *Beyond Conspiracy* and *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, the seat is shifted 6 inches inboard from directly in front of Kennedy, in order to put it into its "actual" location. While the Connally seat back in Myers' overhead view appears to be around 2 1/2 inches from the door, the seat bottom at this point is nowhere to be seen, suggesting the position of the seat back is an illusion created by Myers' use of a wide-angle "virtual" camera. Equally alarming, if the seat is really only 2 1/2 inches from the door, then Myers' Kennedy model is dangling over the side of the limousine, with not just its elbow resting on the side of the car, but its shoulder. This inspired me to take a closer look.

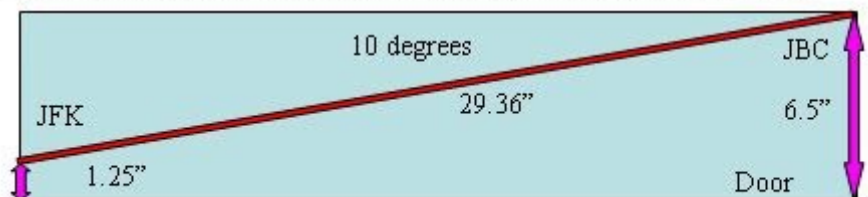
A Tale of 2 1/2 Inches



The Powers film, above, and Myers' own animation, at above right, suggest that JFK's backwound location was at least 5 inches inside the limo at the moment of impact. And yet, the impact on Connally on Myers' over-view, at bottom left, is only 4 inches in from the edge of a seat that is purportedly 2 1/2 inches in from the side of the door... 6 1/2 inches.



When we project 10 degrees back from this impact location, as at bottom right, it becomes clear the impact on Kennedy would occur about 1 1/4 inches inside the door. This suggests that Connally's seat at left is really more than 2 1/2 inches in from the door.



A Tale of 2 1/2 Inches

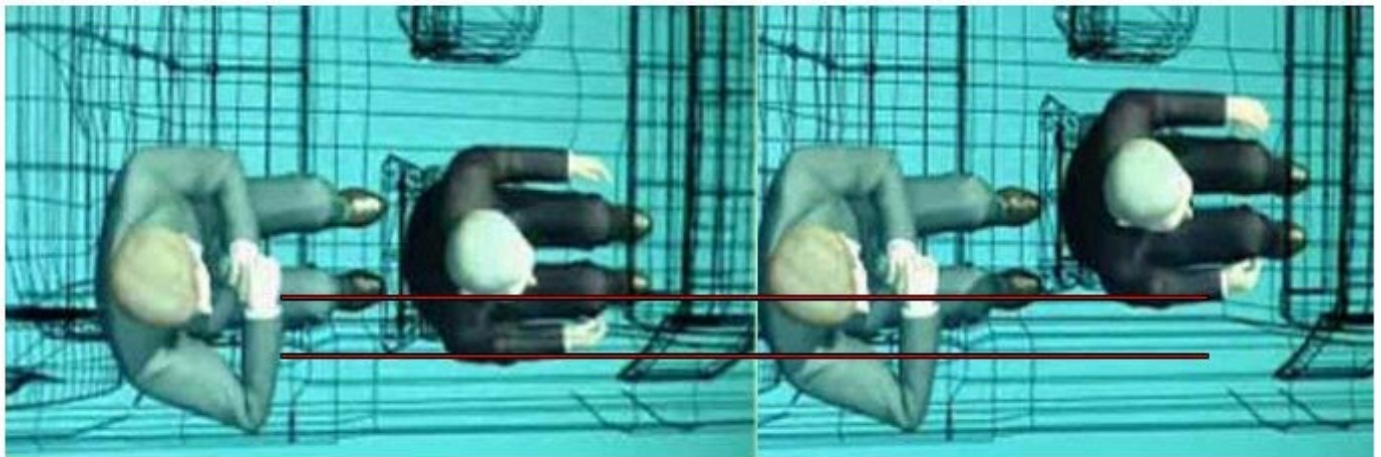
Since Myers depicts the impact location on Connally about 20% across the width of his seat, and since Myers claims the seat is 20.5 inches wide, it seems fair to assume the bullet strikes 4 inches in from the edge of his seat on Myers' animation. Since Myers claims this seat was 2 1/2 inches in from the right door, moreover, we can venture, should Myers be telling the truth about this seat being 2 1/2 inches

from the door, that he believes the bullet impacted 6 1/2 inches in from the door.

I decided to put this to a test, and see if Myers could possibly have believed this. I decided to project back 29.36 inches (74 cm...the HSCA's 14 cm distance through Kennedy's back/neck plus the HSCA's 60 cm distance from Kennedy's throat to Connally's back) at 10 degrees (Myers' accepted horizontal angle of trajectory from the sniper's nest to the limo at Z-224) from 6 1/2 inches from the door, and see where this would impact on Kennedy. While the Dave Powers film of Kennedy in the motorcade suggests the impact on Kennedy was 8-10 inches in from the side of the limo, and Myers' own animation suggests the impact on Kennedy's back was about 5 1/2 inches (the distance from his shoulder tip to the back wound) in from the side of the limousine (which would make it about 4 3/4 inches in from the side of the door, which appears to be about 3/4 of an inch inboard from the right side of the back seat on the schematic), the impact on Kennedy would have to have been about 1 1/4 inches in from the side of the door, if Connally's seat was really 2 1/2 inches in from the door. This meant that Myers had placed Connally's seat around 3 1/2 inches too far inboard, and confirmed for me that he'd placed it 6 inches in from the door, and not 2 1/2, as on the schematic.

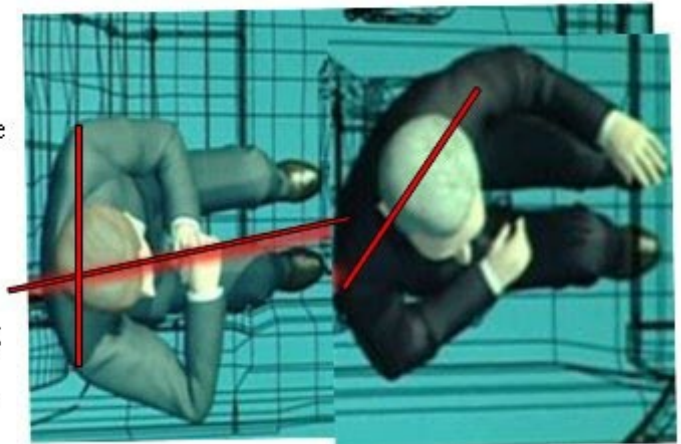
So how does Myers explain this mistake?

If 6 Were 2 1/2



Presto Chango! In Beyond the Magic Bullet, Myers slides his Connally model inboard six inches to reflect his "actual" position (as shown in the images above). He now insists that Connally's seat "was correctly located 2.5 inches in from the inside of the right hand door" in the second image. If so, the seat in his first image was 3.5 inches OUTSIDE the inside of the door. Does that make any sense? (The added red lines demonstrate the location of the right edge of Connally's seat in each image, and thus the distance of the inwards shift.)

Image at right is a depiction of a full-sized Connally, sitting on a seat 2 1/2 inches to the right of the door, with a bullet exiting Kennedy's throat on a true 10 degree R-L trajectory. (This is, in other words, an overhead view after Myers' "mistakes" have been corrected.) The bullet doesn't hit Connally in the armpit.



If 6 Were 2 1/2

On his website, Dale Myers asks: "Isn't it true that you incorrectly modeled the presidential limousine, positioning Connally's jump seat six inches from the inside of the door rather than the actual distance of 2.5 inches?"

Myers answers: *"No. One critic claimed that I "used the incorrect limo measurement of a 6 inches clearance between JBC jump seat and door. The actual measurement was 2.5 inches. So whatever trajectory [Myers] thought he proved was not what 'a single bullet' could have taken."*

"This particular criticism stems from a comment made during the ABC News broadcast. At one point in the program, a computer animated sequence compares a diagram of how conspiracy theorists believe Kennedy and Connally were seated in the limousine with how they actually were seated as seen in the Zapruder film. Peter Jennings notes in voiceover narration that Connally was not seated directly in front of Kennedy, as some conspiracy theorists believe, but was "six inches" to Kennedy's left. However, the six inch figure mentioned in narration did not refer to the distance between the jump seat and the inside of the limousine door, as presumed by this critic, but instead referred to the distance between the center of Kennedy and Connally's body. Kennedy was seated to the extreme right side of the limousine. Connally was turned to his right and had shifted left on the jump seat in front of Kennedy. Projecting an imaginary line forward from the center of the both men shows that the difference between their two center points is six inches. Connally's jump seat, which was about 20.5 inches wide, was correctly located 2.5 inches from the inside of the right-hand door."

Godzilla! I'd accepted the possibility that Myers felt his animation was "close enough" and had, step by step, made it more and more convincing, without his fully realizing that it was now yards if not miles away from an accurate depiction of the shooting. But I hadn't fully expected him to LIE in such a manner. I figured he would say that he'd mistakenly trusted the Warren Commission testimony of Secret Service Inspector Thomas Kelley, but that this mistake was of no importance.

After all, on June 4, 1964, during the sworn testimony of Thomas Kelley (5H129-134, the same Arlen Specter-orchestrated testimony in which Kelley falsely stated that CE 386 was used to mark the back wound during the re-enactment), the following exchange took place:

Mr. SPECTER. On the President's car itself, what is the distance on the right edge of the right jump seat, that is to say from the right edge of the right jump seat to the door on the right side?

Mr. KELLEY: There is 6 inches of clearance between the jump seat and the door.

When blaming his mistake on Kelley, moreover, Myers could also have pointed to the 1979 HSCA trajectory report, in which Thomas Canning claimed : "Connally, on the other hand, was seated well within the car on the jump seat ahead of Kennedy; a gap of slightly less than 15 centimeters separated this seat from the car door." (As Canning was a NASA scientist, and meticulous in the presentation of his findings, his representation of a gap of 2.5 inches (roughly 5 cm) as only "slightly less" than 15 cm (roughly 6 inches) is thoroughly out-of-character and suggestive that he, or the committee itself, was trying to hide that Kelley had testified incorrectly to the Warren Commission.)

But no, Myers never even mentions these deceptive assertions in his response. Apparently, we're to believe it's just a coincidence that Kelley falsely testified that the seat was six inches in from the door, Canning helped cover up that Kelley falsely testified, and that Myers' animation just so happened to shift Connally's seat inboard 6 inches to its "actual" location.

Even more troublesome is Myers' own deceptive assertion that he bears no responsibility for the inaccurate perception that he placed the seat six inches from the door. No, he claims, it stems not from anything he'd said or done but from a misinterpreted voice-over by the now-deceased Peter Jennings on

2003's Beyond Conspiracy.

Nothing could be further from the truth. When discussing Oliver Stone's movie JFK, Jennings says: "In the Stone film diagrams have Governor Connally sitting directly in front of the President, facing forward at the time of the second shot. Not true. Governor Connally was sitting 6 inches inboard of the President, and turned sharply to his right." (During this pronouncement we see an animated Governor Connally sitting in front of an animated President, then slid inboard, and turned to his right.) Now compare this to Myers' exact words from Beyond the Magic Bullet, a year later. (Note: he's looking at the overhead view on the slide above): "Here's the position that most critics believed they were occupied at the time of the single bullet, with Connally directly in front of Kennedy. But that's not true. Actually, Connally's seated about six inches inboards (Here, he slides Connally over, as depicted on the second image in the slide up above). And turned to his right."

It is therefore Myers who is responsible for the mis-perception that his animated jump seat was six inches inboard of the door, and not Jennings!

Even worse, and as already discussed, it is not actually a mis-perception! When one compares the edge of the jump seat in Myers' overhead views of the seat before and after he slides it inwards, it's absolutely and devastatingly clear that he slides the SEAT inwards six inches in both Beyond Conspiracy and Beyond the Magic Bullet. He does not slide the middle of Connally's body over six inches on the seat. He slides the seat. Unless one is to believe that Connally's seat, in Myers' first image, is actually 3 1/2 inches outside the interior of the limousine, it is strikingly clear that Myers moves the seat 6 inches in from the door, and not 2 1/2. This fabrication by Myers--blaming his own deception on a dead man--in my opinion, marks a new low and reveals the depths that he will travel before he will admit the obvious--that his animation deceptively depicts an under-sized Connally model on a seat 3.5 inches further from the door than the seat occupied by the flesh and bone Connally, and that, when these mistakes are corrected, the bullet exiting Kennedy's neck strikes Connally in the middle of his back.

In Myers' defense (I can't believe I'm doing this) it's clear he's in a trap. He can't admit his "mistake" without risking all he's worked for. He sold his animation to large entertainment corporations under the assurance it was accurate. He then snowballed this success to become a semi-visible ghost writer for Vincent Bugliosi's Reclaiming History. In the acknowledgments section, in fact, Bugliosi writes "no one helped me as much as Dale Myers, the Emmy Award-winning computer animation specialist...Dale helped me in the writing of several sections of Book One." Included in Book One is Bugliosi's section on the single-bullet theory. Not surprisingly, he (or Myers) condemns conspiracy theorists for assuming that Connally was sitting directly in front of Kennedy by writing "In fact, Connally's jump seat not only *was situated a half foot inside* and to the left of the right door, but also was three inches lower than the backseat." This assertion has a footnote. As one might guess, it refers back to the inaccurate testimony of Thomas Kelley on June 4, 1964.

Such a mistake would be bad enough, but Bugliosi ended up compounding this mistake during the 2007 promotional tour for his book. In appearance after appearance, from a video interview put online in April 2007 through the many interviews that followed, Bugliosi accused conspiracy theorists of telling an "unbelievable lie" when they depicted Connally sitting directly in front of Kennedy on drawings designed to discredit the single-bullet theory, and then told his audience, over and over, the all-too believable lie that Connally was actually "seated on a jump seat 6 inches in from the door."

By 8-20-07, Bugliosi was still engaging in this embarrassing regurgitation of misinformation. On that day, he echoed his earlier statements and told George Mason University's History News Network:

"If you start with an erroneous premise, everything that follows makes a heck of a lot of sense. The only problem is that it is wrong. There's no question that Connally was not seated directly in front of

*Kennedy in the presidential limousine. He was seated to his left front. I have a photograph in Reclaiming History showing exactly where they were seated, and right along side of it I show sketches that they put in conspiracy books, [with Connally] right in front and the bullet is making a right turn and a left turn. But he was seated to [JFK's] left front **in a jump seat a half-foot in** so the orientation of Connally's body vis a vis Kennedy's was such that a bullet passing on a straight line, through Kennedy, would have no where else to go, except to hit Governor Connally."*

Should we tell Bugliosi that his defense of the single-bullet theory was in large part based on the "erroneous premise" that the jump seat was 6 inches inboard of the door? Or should we assume that Myers, who, after all, was on Bugliosi's payroll, has already set him straight?

Bugliosi Vs. Myers



A comparison of Myers' Beyond Conspiracy overview, at left and above, with the single-bullet trajectory in Vincent Bugliosi's Reclaiming History, at left, demonstrates that at least SOMEONE working with Bugliosi knew the jump seat was 2 ½ inches from the door. The red lines illustrate the bullet trajectory. The pink lines illustrate the distance between the two jump seats. The dark blue lines illustrate the inside of the door. The green lines illustrate 2.5 inches in from this door. Note how much further inboard Myers places the seat than Bugliosi's illustrator. Note also how both animators have JFK's right shoulder draped over the side of the limo, when, as shown above, photos of the motorcade show it to have been well inside the limo.

Bugliosi Vs. Myers

Maybe someone has already told Bugliosi that the seat was only 2 1/2 inches from the door, but he forgot. When looking back through his book, in order to learn more about his connection to Myers, I came across yet another depiction of the single-bullet theory, this one courtesy Animation of Arizona. This depiction differed both from his semi-visible ghost-writer and "Emmy Award-winning computer animation specialist" Dale Myers' animation, and the text of Bugliosi's book, in that it presented the jump seat in its proper location, 2 1/2 inches from the door.

It differed in other ways as well. While the first part of Bugliosi's book describes a 4.9 second gap between the second and third shots, roughly 90 frames, and this indicates the second shot came around frame 223, 90 frames before the head shot at frame 313, the illustration section declares: "No one knows the exact Zapruder frame at which the president and Governor Connally were hit by Oswald's second bullet, but it was somewhere within a split second of frame 210. This is a three-dimensional overhead rendering of Kennedy and Connally as they were seated in the limousine at approximately frame 210, with the single-bullet's trajectory." This image, as demonstrated on the slide above, depicts Kennedy hanging over the side of the limo. This, in my opinion, is totally inconsistent with the motorcade photos depicting Kennedy's position in the limo. These show his elbow to be resting on the side of the limo but his shoulder to be well inside. And it's not just my opinion that Kennedy jerked to the left by 210. Let's recall that the HSCA photographic panel concluded:

70) At approximately Zapruder frame 200 , Kennedy's movements suddenly freeze; his right hand abruptly stops in the midst of a waving motion and his head moves rapidly from right to his left in the direction of his wife. Based on these movements, it appears that by the time the President goes behind the sign at frame 207 he is evidencing some kind of reaction to a severe external stimulus.

So where does Bugliosi get off pretending that Kennedy's draped over the side of the limo at 210? First, Kennedy's behind the sign and no one can tell exactly where he is, and second, when last seen his head was moving from right to left. There's absolutely no reason to believe he's in the position depicted.

Which brings me to a related point. In Dale Myers' TV appearances, and on his website, he preaches the gospel of Connally reacting to a shot at frame Z-224. (I pretty much agree.) He even claims Kennedy and Connally were in a position to receive their wounds for but a split second, between frames 217 to 224. So how could he have sat by while Bugliosi dismissed or ignored his evidence for this hit, and pretended instead that the shot could have come as early as frame 210? It must have been extremely frustrating for him.

Something tells me it was. In the acknowledgments section of Reclaiming History, where Bugliosi lavishes praise upon Myers and thanks him for all his help, he writes "*Even though he worked with me for a relatively short part of my long journey, no one helped me as much as Dale Myers.*" David Lifton, whom Bugliosi praises in Reclaiming History for his thorough research, while at the same time criticizing him for his unorthodox conclusions, decided to do some digging on this previously secret Bugliosi/Myers connection.

On March 11 2008, on historian John Simkin's Education Forum, Lifton reported:

With the 1998 ARRB releases, and the advent of the Internet, Bugliosi needed assistance to complete his project. This brings us to the second phase.

ENTER Ghostwriter #2 –DALE MYERS

Bugliosi (and/or his publisher) hired another writer--this time, one with expertise in the area of the shots, the medical evidence, and the acoustics. Dale Myers—the JFK researcher who appeared with Bugliosi on a Discovery Channel documentary—was solicited, and agreed. Once again, as was the case with Haines, a formal contract was drawn up. Furthermore, it was agreed that the credit for the book would now read "by Vincent Bugliosi," but "with Dale Myers."

Unfortunately for Bugliosi (and perhaps because both of these fellows have outsized egos), the collaboration between Dale Myers and Bugliosi didn't work out. Consequently, and similar to a marriage that doesn't work, a "literary divorce" now had to be arranged (i.e., another contract had to be drawn up—this one spelling out the terms of their "separation.") One of the provisions of this second

contract was that Myers agreed that he would never divulge the existence of the original arrangement, or its dissolution. In other words, Myers is bound by contract not to talk about the writing he did for Bugliosi, what he contributed, how much he was paid for his contribution, or the circumstances of their "divorce."

Consequently, Dale Myers has TWO contracts with publisher W. W. Norton:

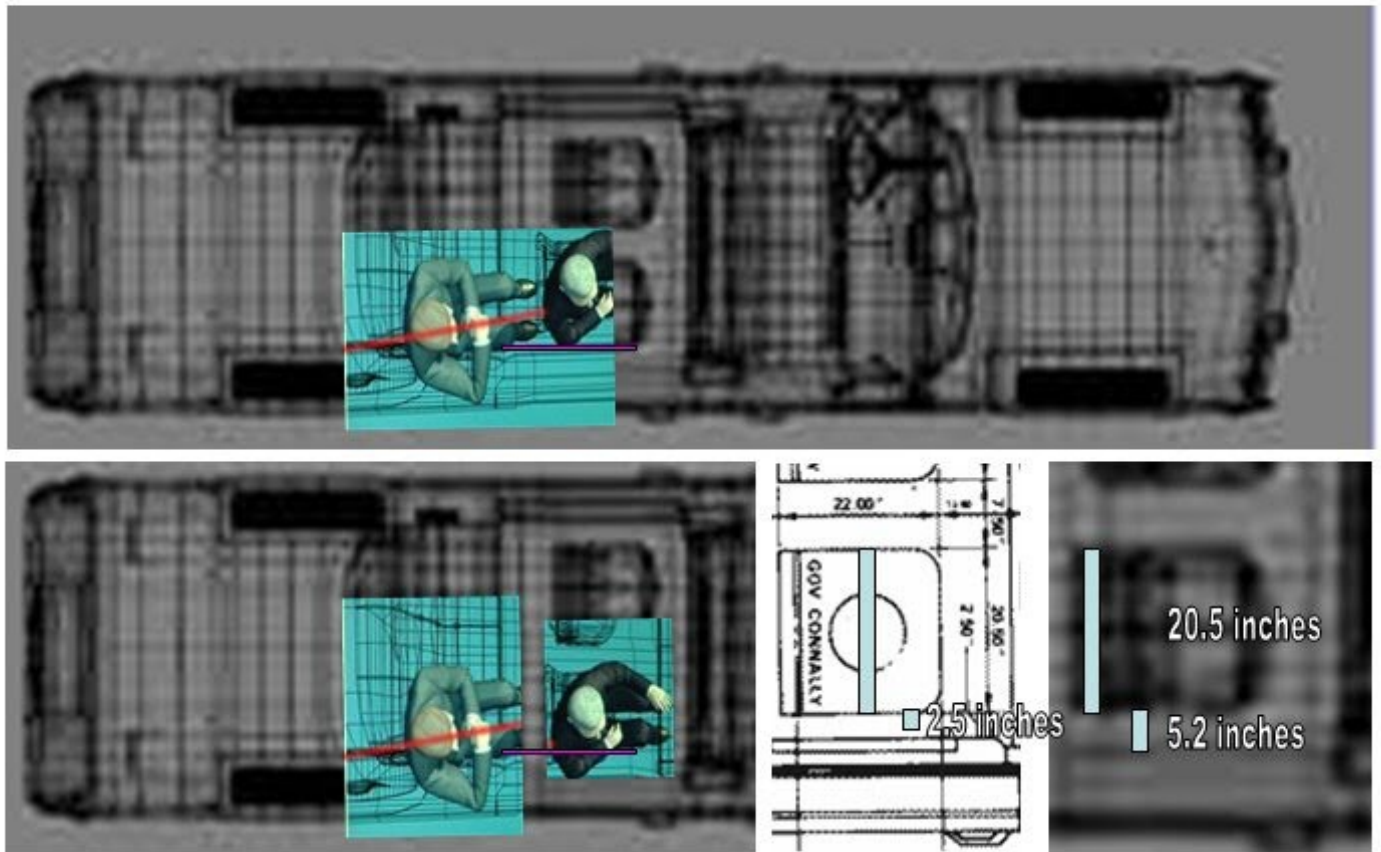
--the first, when his writing deal was originally formalized, and the book was to be published with the authorial credit reading by Vincent Bugliosi "with Dale Myers";

-- the second, when their collaboration didn't work as planned and their separation had to be formalized.

So now, addressing the issue of ghostwriting and counting up the signed contracts for ghostwriting, here's where we stand: there's one (and probably two) with Fred Haines (one for the original arrangement, and one for the separation); similarly, there were two contracts with Dale Myers—one for the original arrangement, the second for the "literary divorce."

Since single-assassin theorists routinely criticize conspiracy theorists for 1) trying to make money off the assassination, and 2) not having a uniform theory, it's more than a little ironic that Bugliosi and Myers, possibly the two highest-profile single-assassin theorists of recent times, couldn't see eye to eye and develop a uniform theory, and had to get Bugliosi's publisher to pay Myers off.

Modeling 101



Above: a comparison of the single-bullet theory over-view on Beyond the Magic Bullet (blue) with the limousine model on Myers' own website (gray). The jump seats on Beyond the Magic Bullet are under-sized, and Connally is further inboard on the program than he would have been had Myers used his original model. A comparison of the jump seat on HSCA Exhibit II-19 (white) and Myers's model is at bottom right, revealing that his original model was reasonably accurate.

Modeling 101

When I looked back at Myers' website, to see what else I'd missed, I noticed that he illustrated his schpiel about the construction of his limousine model, quoted back in the Seat of Government section, with an early version of his limousine model. When I compared this early version of his model with the completed model used in Beyond the Magic Bullet, it confirmed once again that he had shrunk Connally's seat for his single-bullet theory depiction. When I compared this early model to the schematic purportedly used in its creation, however, it held a few surprises. Surprise number 1 was that the schematic was not drawn to scale, as the space between the seat and the door purported to be 2.5 inches, was much larger than that when compared to the seat, which was purportedly 20.5 inches wide. (The measurements are considered to be definitive, and not the schematic itself.) Surprise number 2 was that, even though Myers depicts the seat on this model too far from the door, he depicts the door thinner than on the model. This puts the seat at almost the exact same spot, relative to the outside of the limo, as on the schematic. (As the 2.5 inch distance from the door on the schematic is inaccurately depicted as only slightly more than 2.5 inches, relative to the size of the seat, Myers' seat is probably within an inch of the seat's actual location.)

This brings up the question: if Myers' early limousine model depicted the seat (almost) in the right place, why'd he move it for his finished animation? Well, when one puts Beyond the Magic Bullet's

Connally model on the jump seat of Myers' early limo model (as on the slide above), one can see the probable answer. The bullet hits Connally in the back, and not his armpit. While this was already demonstrated on The Anatomy of Illusion slide, it has to be considered more than significant that Myers' early models demonstrate that this is true, and not just my correction of his finished model. It's hard not to conclude from this that Myers deliberately fudged his animation to portray what he knew to be untrue.

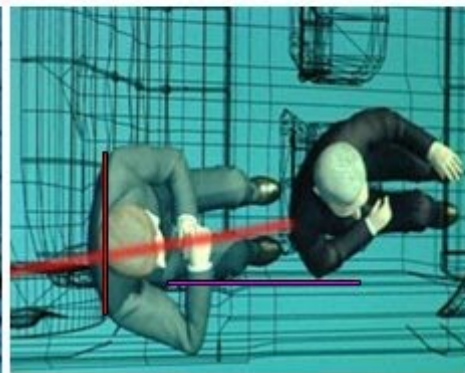
(NOTE: so that no one stopping here is deceived. As we progress in this chapter, I include a number of responses by Myers, in which he offers explanations for the diminutive Connally. He eventually offers one that makes sense (well, sorta). He admits the images used in Beyond the Magic Bullet were distorted, but insists this was done inadvertently. He insists as well that this has no bearing on the feasibility of the single-bullet theory. Read on and decide for yourself.)

Squeezing Out the Truth



A close look at a single-bullet theory over-view found on Myers's website (at left), confirms not only that the jump seats used in his televised over-views are deliberately under-sized, but that his trajectory originally hit Connally in the middle of his back, and not in his armpit.

At right: a comparison of the bullet trajectory from 2003's Beyond Conspiracy (at right) with 2004's Beyond the Magic Bullet (at far right). The angle changes, the side of the limo gets tapered, Connally gets closer to Kennedy, and the bullet impact moves from Connally's back to his armpit. (The matching pink lines demonstrate the distance from JFK.)



Incredibly, when one compares the grids on the limo's floor (as at bottom left), it becomes clear that the square behind Connally's seat in 2003 had become a rectangle by 2004, and that Myers had compressed his image laterally to move Connally closer to Kennedy and change the impact location (as further demonstrated at right). (The matching red lines demonstrate that the width of Kennedy's shoulders had not changed.)



Squeezing Out the Truth

On this visit to Myers' website I also found a small overhead image depicting the single-bullet shot. Not surprisingly, this early depiction had a full-sized Connally sitting on a full-sized seat, and the bullet heading into the middle of his back. This gave foundation to my suspicion that Myers created his

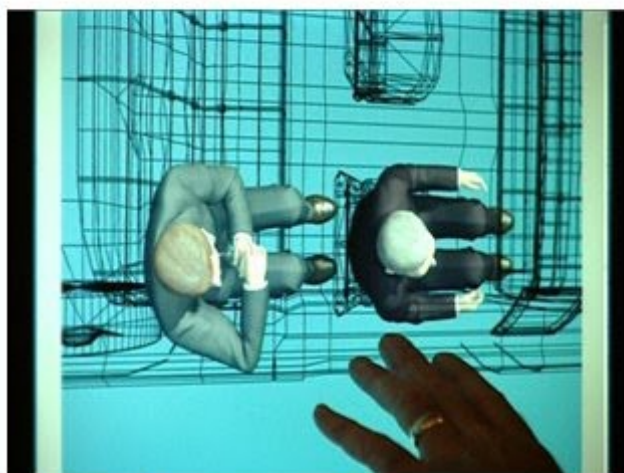
simulation using an incorrect seat location, saw that it still didn't support the single-bullet theory, and then "fine-tuned" it by shrinking his Connally model, and tapering the side of the limo to make an 8 degree trajectory look like a 10 degree trajectory, etc.

A few days later, while watching Myers' animation on Youtube, I came to an even more surprising realization. When one compares his single-bullet theory over-views on Beyond Conspiracy, from 2003, and Beyond the Magic Bullet, from 2004, it becomes clear that it was not until the latter program that he changed the impact location from Connally's back to his armpit, and that, to do so, he had moved the bullet trajectory coming out of Kennedy's neck a few inches to its right, and compressed the overall image, bringing Connally closer to Kennedy.

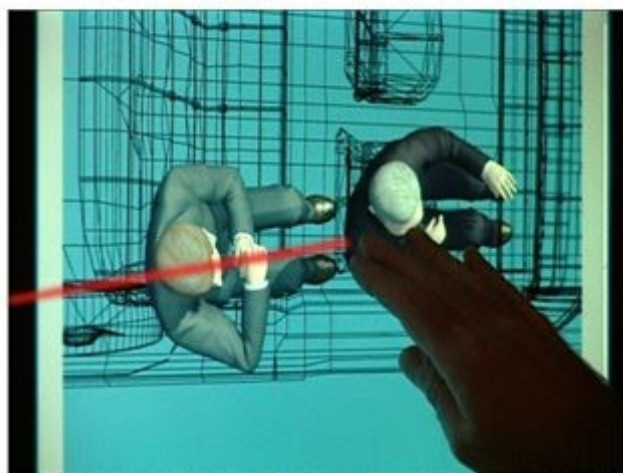
Assuming that Myers "squeezed" his image to make the bullet trajectory he believes is true more palatable to the public, we should ask ourselves, at what point does making the truth more believable become an outright lie? At what point does squeezing out the truth become an exercise in deception, with no truth left to squeeze?

These questions finally squeezed some "truth" out of Myers...

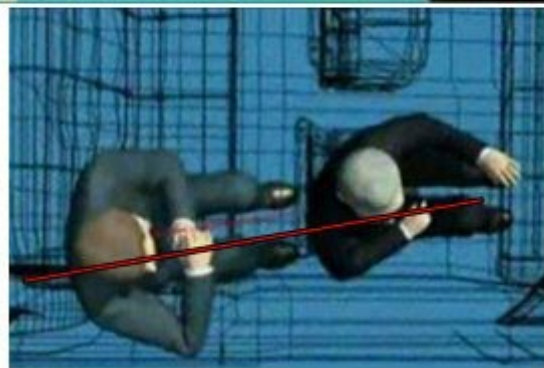
Of Fast Food and Emmy Awards



Images at left and right are from JFK: Beyond the Magic Bullet. (2004)



At right: Myers' over-view from Beyond Conspiracy, with a 10 degree line drawn back from Connally's armpit. It runs to the right of Kennedy's throat wound.



Myers now contends the distortion of his animation in Beyond the Magic Bullet was caused by the camera crew's filming it at an angle (as seen above) But if that is true than the trajectory line (at top right) was a deliberate deception.

Of Fast Food and Emmy Awards

On May 1, 2008, in an email posted on a newsgroup, Myers responded to some of my criticisms. He attempted to cut off my criticism of his squeezing his image by explaining that the image in Beyond the Magic Bullet was filmed on a monitor at an angle. This took me by surprise. Before, Myers had explained that the distortion of the images was caused by photogrammetry blah blah blah but now he was saying it was the fault of the Beyond the Magic Production team. Here is his email and his explanation:

You're obviously referring to the website and rantings of Pat Speer, one of many conspiracy theorists who pretend to know the truth about my reconstruction work on the Kennedy assassination. The only thing obvious about these folks is their distain for the truth and honest research. As you noted, Mr. Speer has made no attempt to contact me and get answers about my work from the only source who could answer him - which should tell you all you need to know.

As Mr. Speer himself has noted on his website, I pointed out the fallacy of his arguments on my FAQ page. He has failed to address those fallacies and continues promoting falsehoods about my work which include the newly minted, ridiculous assertions you mentioned. For instance, he continues to claim that the Connally (JBC) figure was shrunk (as was the jumpseat) to accomodate the SBT. He now uses images of my work culled from the Discovery Channel program "Beyond the Magic Bullet" to promote this nonsense. Even a cursory look at the images should tell anyone with a brain that the images used by Mr. Speer are at an angle to the viewer (i.e, the right side of the image is falling away from the viewer). This is due to the fact that the images are being filmed directly off my computer monitor and that the camera filming these images is viewing the monitor at a considerable angle. This can be seen in any of the wide angle shots in which I am visible alongside the monitor (none of which, BTW, are included in Speer's presentation). If Mr. Speer had shown his viewers those wide angle views, it would be obvious that the reason JBC (and the jumpseat) appears smaller is because of the camera/monitor relationship.

Mr. Speer compounds this nonsense by overlaying the images from the Discovery program with those culled from the ABC/History Channel program and claiming that because they do not align I have made wholesale changes on a frame-by-frame level in order to sell a "lie" to the networks and the American public. This is obviously false.

Mr. Speer also attempts to demonstrate his theories about my work by drawing lines on two-dimensional images I have produced and pretending that these lines of "alignment" can be projected into three dimensional space. This is false, as I have already demonstrated on FAQ page when addressing equally silly accusations made by self-proclaimed photo expert Bill Miller, another conspiracy theorist who's concept of photo interpretation is equally bankrupt.

None of these self-proclaimed experts have retracted their false accusations about my work (on the contrary, they act as if their methods haven't been shown to be false and irrational), nor do I expect them to in the near future. If it isn't Mr. Speer or Miller perpetuating these myths, it would be someone else. Who has time for all this nonsense?

Mr. Speer's claims about the jump seat location have no bearing on the issue at hand - again, as I have already answered and addressed in my FAQ page. The figures of JFK and JBC were matched to the Zapruder film perspective, not to the location of the jumpseat. Frankly, you could eliminate the entire limousine from the reconstruction and the alignments of JFK and JBC would still be valid since their position in space is based on Zapruder's view of the scene and the relationship of JFK to JBC and their combined relationship to the TSBD and the surrounding buildings. In short, the position/size of the jumpseat has no bearing on the SBT. Mr. Speer might as well be arguing that the side mirror is misplaced, therefore, the reconstruction is invalid. How much sillier are all these accusations going to get?

The movements of JBC and the jumpseat (as shown in the ABC/ History Channel program and the Discovery Channel program), demonstrating the differences between prominent conspiracy-based illustrations and reality, were done in unison for clarity. Any charges to the contrary are false.

The differences in the height of the JFK and JBC were accounted for in the reconstruction. Again, any charges to the contrary are false.

The location of JBC relative to JFK (i.e. approximately 6 inches to the left of JFK's midline) and JBC's rotational position relative to the midline of the limousine (i.e. turned approximately 37 degrees to the right) as reported on my website at www.jfkfiles.com is correct. Any charges to the contrary are false.

The locations of the wounds of both JFK and JBC were marked according to medical data culled from the WC and HSCA (including photographs and X-rays) as reported on my website at www.jfkfiles.com. Any charges to the contrary are false.

Anyone who wants to pretend my reconstruction work is false or doesn't matter is free to do so. In the final analysis, the truth doesn't require anyone's belief.

I don't respond to posts on the many newsgroups because of the sophomoric nature of the vast majority of the postings (and I know many respected experts on the assassination who feel the same way). It is the insipid name-calling and disrespect for honest research that I (and others) find the most appalling. It is worse than a kindergarten sandbox. Too bad. The Internet promised to bring people of common interests together. Instead, it gives a global soap box and a megaphone to those who have the least to say.

I appreciate your thoughtful question - it is rare - and hope this answers your question.

Feel free to post my response, if you think it will help. Personally, I think you'll only see the nuts come out of the woodwork again. It's a never ending cycle of lunacy; one argument after another to see who can be the top fool.

"Best regards, Dale K. Myers" [April 2008]

Well, Dale, in the words of that old fast food commercial--have it your way. On the slide above, I've placed the "wide-angle" views of you from Beyond the Magic Bullet next to the close-ups of your animation.

That mission accomplished, I must admit I did not realize the close-up footage on Beyond the Magic Bullet was shot at an angle. I mean, why would they do that? Filming the trajectory from the side would both bring Connally closer to Kennedy and move him slightly inboard. While the interview portion with Myers was filmed at an obvious angle, I assumed this was so they could get his Emmy Award in the picture (real subtle, by the way). When they then moved in for the close-up, they cropped off the top and bottom of the screen. This made it hard to discern that one side of the monitor was taller than the other, and that the rectangular monitor was still being filmed at an angle. They also showed both Myers' left and right hands against the image. This gave the illusion the camera was over his left shoulder. As a result, there was little reason to suspect they were showing us a grossly distorted image taken from a "considerable angle".

Still, when one looks closely at Myers' hands, it's clear the camera was slightly to his left. But was this enough to grossly distort the image? I'm not sure.

What I am sure about is if, as Myers contends, the image viewed in Beyond the Magic Bullet was his original Beyond Conspiracy animation, only viewed at an angle, then someone--in the fast food lingo--sold us a Whopper.

You see, during Myers' appearance in Beyond the Magic Bullet, he glides his right hand over the image

he now admits is distorted, and a 10 degree angle follows. 10 degrees is the R-L angle from the sniper's nest into the limo at frame 223/224. On this distorted image the 10 degree angle connects Kennedy's throat wound and back wound, and hits Connally in the armpit. There is a huge problem with this. If you take this same 10 degree angle and place it on Myers' Beyond Conspiracy animation, and match it up with Connally's armpit wound, it's clear a bullet hitting Connally's armpit, as depicted on Beyond the Magic Bullet, would pass considerably to the right of Kennedy's throat wound. If you take this angle and have it exit Kennedy's throat wound, on the other hand, it hits Connally in the middle of his back.

As the angle on Beyond the Magic Bullet starts to the left of Myers' monitor, it's obvious it was added in post-production. This suggests that one of the following is true:

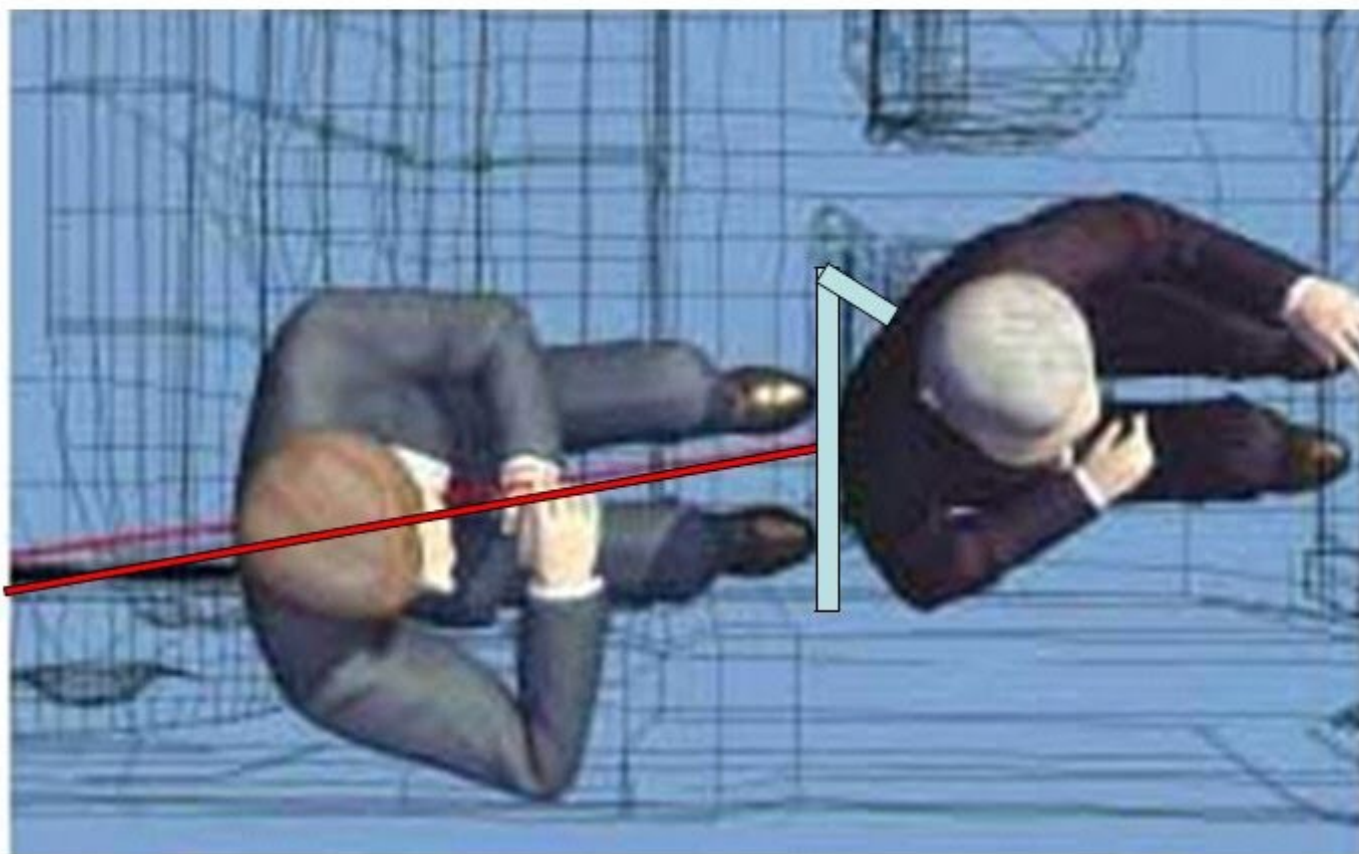
(a) The Beyond the Magic Bullet team added the trajectory in post-production, and it was just a coincidence that the trajectory connecting Kennedy's back wound with Connally's armpit wound, which, on an undistorted image, would have been 7 degrees, just so happened to be 10 degrees, the actual angle from the sniper's nest. (I suspect you'll agree this is doubtful.)

(b) Myers' original animation was consulted, whereby the Discovery team noted that it had the bullet entering Connally's back and proceeding into the middle of his chest. The Beyond the Magic Bullet producers then proceeded to "fix" this problem by having a properly-angled trajectory strike Connally in the armpit on an image shot from a specific angle, and distorted to their specifications.

(c) Myers himself was in on this deception, and collaborated with the producers in adding a 10 degree angle onto a distorted image in order to make his trajectory "work".

No matter what, someone sold us something that wasn't good for us.

Cutting the Crap



Above: since Myers now insists that his Connally model is exactly where Connally is in the Zapruder film, no matter where the seat was, he is not only admitting the seat in his animation is in the wrong location, but is proposing that Connally was slid way over on his seat (the blue lines), as above. When one projects the 10 degree cross-angle (the red line) he insists is the accurate angle on his animation, moreover, it projects towards the middle of the properly-placed seat, and Connally's heart.

Cutting the Crap

As part of his May 1, 2008 response to my criticisms, Myers asserted:

Mr. Speer's claims about the jump seat location have no bearing on the issue at hand - again, as I have already answered and addressed in my FAQ page. The figures of JFK and JBC were matched to the Zapruder film perspective, not to the location of the jumpseat. Frankly, you could eliminate the entire limousine from the reconstruction and the alignments of JFK and JBC would still be valid since their position in space is based on Zapruder's view of the scene and the relationship of JFK to JBC and their combined relationship to the TSBD and the surrounding buildings. In short, the position/size of the jumpseat has no bearing on the SBT. Mr. Speer might as well be arguing that the side mirror is misplaced, therefore, the reconstruction is invalid. How much sillier are all these accusations going to get?

As he was now asserting that the limousine model had nothing to do with his positioning of Connally, only measurements taken from the Zapruder film, I decided to put the seat in (as near as I could determine) the correct location on Myers' undistorted over-view, and see how it matched up with Connally. Not surprisingly, he has Connally scooted way to the left in his seat, so much that his left leg is draped off the left side of the seat.

I also put a 10 degree trajectory on this over-view to see how it all lined up. Sure enough, it hit Connally near the middle of his seat, several inches to the left of his right armpit. Sure enough, it projected into the middle of Connally's chest, through his heart, inches to the left of its actual trajectory along the right side of his rib cage. Myers has Connally so far to his left he's falling off his seat, and it's still not far enough.

Myers undoubtedly knows this. Which fuels my suspicion that the distorted animation used in Beyond the Magic Bullet was no "mistake".

The Defense of Dale Myers II

On May 8, 2008, my ongoing suspicion that Myers was party to a deliberate deception brought about the following response, posted on his website. It was subsequently posted on the alt.assassination.jfk newsgroup by David Von Pein.

Con Job: Debunking the Debunkers (by Dale Myers):

"It's been thirteen years since I released my preliminary computer-generated JFK assassination reconstruction and five years since an updated version was broadcast world-wide, although you'd never know it given the frequency with which the History and Discovery Channels re-broadcast the two programs my work appeared in.

And consequently it's no wonder that conspiracy theorists continue to hammer at my work in the hopes of convincing mainstream America that my computer reconstruction is nothing more than a carefully constructed sham designed to further a supposed cover-up in the murder of President Kennedy.

The newest crop of debunkers push their warped ideas about my work with graphic illustrations and self-produced YouTube videos which purport to show the "obvious" lies and distortions these theorists have supposedly discovered among sequences of my work aired by the History and Discovery Channels.

One of the more vocal and equally off-base debunkers is Patrick J. Speer, a self-acknowledged wanna-be poet, turned wanna-be-musician, turned record buyer for the music industry who eventually became "obsessed with recent American history."

Mr. Speer's graphic intensive website promises "a new perspective on the Kennedy assassination" and while some newcomers to the subject may be impressed with the eye-candy, there's nothing really there that rises above the same old, tired arguments and misinformation kicked around by conspiracy theorists for better than four decades.

It's the same old shoe with new laces.

There are plenty of identical websites that offer up the same kind of misinformation for those who don't know any better and if visitors to these kinds of websites are willing to get their facts about American history from wanna-be poets and the like, who am I to spoil the party?

In fact, I've largely avoided confronting this army of wackiness, outside of addressing a few of their more frequent allegations, because doing so proves time and again to represent a colossal waste of time.

It doesn't take long to figure out that one could waste a lifetime attempting to hammer a little common sense into these people who for one obsessive reason or another find it their calling to opine about something they know very little about, or in the case of Mr. Speer, know absolutely nothing about.

I'm referring of course to the multitude of vile and reckless charges concerning my computer

reconstruction of the Kennedy assassination which are featured as part of Mr. Speer's "new perspective" on the case.

Utilizing screen grabs lifted from the two television programs I participated in, Mr. Speer pretends to debunk my work using graphic overlays that break every rule of photogrammetry accompanied by childish headlines like Dale Myers' House of Mirrors; Murder by Cartoon; and Cutting the Crap.

I pointed out Mr. Speer's photographic follies on my FAQ page over three years ago (without using his name in order to save him embarrassment), yet Speer continues to use the same deceptive photographic techniques to – get this – claim that he has evidence of my deception.

For instance, Speer uses overlays of images taken from two different angles and claims that because they don't align I am being deceptive; or, Speer draws lines of trajectory on a two-dimensional image of a three-dimensional scene and claims that because the two-dimensional line doesn't line up with the three-dimensional scene (an impossibility due to the basic rules of photogrammetry) that I am being deceptive.

Forget about convincing Mr. Speer that one cannot draw a rational conclusion from an irrational premise; I've tried. Suffice it to say that Mr. Speer prefers to live in a land of illusion where physical realities don't hold a candle to obsessive conspiracy theories.

I'm not going to spend a lot of time here pointing out the ridiculous nature of each and every one of Mr. Speer's goofy assertions. But here are just two to make the point, as well as the truth of the matter:

Charge: Myers shrunk the model of Governor Connally and his jumpseat 25% in order to get the single bullet theory to work.

Truth: Mr. Speer used a frame grab from the Discovery Channel's "Beyond the Magic Bullet" to make his point, but failed to note that the image he used was taken from a portion of the program in which my computer work was being displayed on a computer monitor which was at a significant angle to the camera – the effect being that the computer images of Kennedy and Connally were compressed horizontally and consequently the Connally image appeared smaller than the actual model.

When Mr. Speer was informed that wide-angle sequences from the Discovery program showed the relationship of the computer monitor to the program camera (and therefore the fallacy of his argument), he wrote on his website, "I must admit I did not realize this footage was shot at an angle. I mean, why would they do that?" Believe it or not, Mr. Speer then proceeded to claim that the producers of the program and I conspired to deceive viewers (and presumably the hapless Mr. Speer) about the true alignment of the single bullet theory by purposely shooting the monitor on an angle!

Can it get any sillier? I'm afraid it can.

Charge: Myers misplaces Connally's jumpseat in order to ensure the alignment of the single bullet theory.

Truth: The location of the jumpseat has no bearing on the alignment of any trajectory plotted in my computer reconstruction. The figures of JFK and JBC were matched to the Zapruder film perspective, not to the location of the jumpseat. Frankly, you could eliminate the entire limousine from the reconstruction and the alignments of JFK and JBC would still be valid since their position in space is based on Zapruder's view of the scene and the relationship of JFK to JBC, and their combined relationship to the TSBD and the surrounding buildings. In short, the position and size of the jumpseat has no bearing on the single bullet theory.

All of this means little to Mr. Speer who now writes, "As he is now asserting that the limousine model had nothing to do with his positioning of Connally, only measurements taken from the Zapruder film, I

decided to put the seat in the correct location on Myers' undistorted over-view, and see how it matched up with Connally...."

Does it matter that Mr. Speer cannot really move the jumpseat to the "correct" location within my computer rendering (i.e., move a two-dimensional image in three-dimensional space)? Apparently not, because Mr. Speer then proceeds to once again break the Cardinal Rule of photogrammetry (i.e., draw two-dimensional lines on a three-dimensional image) to "demonstrate" that Connally doesn't align with the single bullet trajectory, concluding, "Myers undoubtedly knows this. Which fuels my suspicion that the distorted animation used in 'Beyond the Magic Bullet' was no 'mistake'."

One can only feel sorry for Mr. Speer after reading such nonsense. The only one being conned by such addled thinking is Mr. Speer himself who despite all efforts is determined to prove just how thick-headed conspiracy theorists can truly be.

Anyone who wants to pretend my reconstruction work is false or doesn't matter is free to do so. As I've said before, in the final analysis, the truth doesn't require anyone's belief.

I don't respond to posts on the many Internet newsgroups because of the sophomoric nature of the vast majority of the postings (and I know many respected experts on the assassination who feel the same way). It is the insipid name-calling and disrespect for honest research and work that I (and others) find the most appalling. It is worse than a kindergarten sandbox.

Too bad. The Internet promised to bring people of common interests together. Instead, it gives a global soap box and a megaphone to those who have the least amount to say.

On occasion, I feel the need to defend my work against these childish armchair detectives if only to plant a little sanity in a field of nonsense. Unfortunately, whenever I speak up, it only seems to bring more nuts out of the woodwork for yet another round.

It's a never ending cycle of lunacy; one ridiculous argument after another to see who can be the top fool.

Congratulations, Mr. Speer! You're TOPS with me."

-- Dale K. Myers; May 8, 2008

On May 10, 2008, Myers responded again, by adding on to the above message. This response was once again posted on the alt.assassination.jfk message board by David Von Pein.

"In a recent post on the UK's Education Forum, Mr. [Patrick J.] Speer writes, "No one to my knowledge, including Myers, until this response, had ever suggested the images were distorted because the animation – the animation shown round the world to convince people the single-bullet trajectories worked, mind you – was shot at an angle from a computer monitor."

Mr. Speer doesn't seem to understand that in the real world there is no need to acknowledge something that is self evident--namely, that Discovery Channel viewers were watching a presentation being given from a vantage point that was not perpendicular to the presentation screen. This is obvious from the Discovery program sequences that show a wide-angle view of the studio in which the presentation was being given. Mr. Speer failed to note that fact and now claims that the Discovery Channel and yours truly conspired to deceive everyone about the single bullet theory.

The so-called distortions Mr. Speer refers to are of course the unintended result of the Discovery Channel photographing the presentation monitor at an angle and have nothing to do with the alignments depicted in the actual images appearing on the monitor. And the trajectory path superimposed over the videotaped sequence by Discovery editors after the fact has no more relevance

or accuracy to the images below it (other than to illustrate, in very broad terms, the path of the bullet) than Mr. Speer's own attempts to project two-dimensional lines into three-dimensional space.

It's unfathomable to me that anyone could swallow Mr. Speer's illogical rationale for dismissing the breadth of my work on the single bullet theory, but in the world of conspiracy theorists bent on embracing anyone and anything critical of the single bullet theory, such idiocy is common place. (The UK's Education Forum's administrator, John Simkin, applauded Speer writing, "Congratulations. I am sure all members have been very impressed with your work in this area.")

[Later....]

Mr. Speer further complains that the animated sequence I produced in which Connally is shown sitting inboard of Kennedy by six inches is equally deceptively because it shows Connally and the jumpseat moving in unison. I explained in a recent email that Connally and the jumpseat were moved as one for clarity.

According to Mr. Speer, "This is as good as a confession that Myers knew the jumpseat was not 6 inches in from the door when he created animation showing it to be 6 inches from the door... I wonder how many [millions of viewers] would feel deceived to find out that Connally's sitting comfortably in the middle of his seat was merely a Myers invention designed to 'clarify' things for them? Some might call this an out-and-out fraud perpetrated on the public."

I don't know how many ways to say it, but Connally was situated six inches inboard of Kennedy at the time they were both hit. Connally's jumpseat, however, was fixed to a track in the floor of the limousine, the outside edge of the jumpseat cushion measured at 2.5 inches from the inside door panel, according to body drafts produced by Hess & Eisenhardt Company.

To demonstrate the difference between a rather common (and inaccurate) drawing purporting to show Connally seated directly in front of Kennedy at the time of the single bullet shot and their actual positions as deduced from the Zapruder film and other photographs, the models of Connally and the jumpseat were moved as a single unit during presentations for ABC News and the Discovery Channel.

The relationship between Connally and the jumpseat are identical in both positions. Moving Connally and the jumpseat in unison was simply easier than moving the two separately given the television time available – especially given the fact that the position of the jumpseat had absolutely no bearing on the single bullet theory.

But for Mr. Speer, focusing on inconsequential minutia is better than acknowledging his own obvious mistakes in photographic analysis and logic. It also allows him to play the martyr for his fellow conspiracy theorists and pretend he has actually proven something."

-- DALE K. MYERS; ADD-ON SECTIONS TO HIS MAY 8TH ARTICLE

Let's recall here that, on Myers' website, he defends the accuracy of his animation by stating:

Connally was turned to his right and had shifted left on the jump seat in front of Kennedy. Projecting an imaginary line forward from the center of the both men shows that the difference between their two center points is six inches. Connally's jump seat, which was about 20.5 inches wide, was correctly located 2.5 inches from the inside of the right-hand door."

Now let's point out that, as a response to my demonstrating that this last statement is untrue, and that the seat on his overhead views is in fact 6 inches in from the door, rather than refute my demonstration, Myers now claims:

The location of the jumpseat has no bearing on the alignment of any trajectory plotted in my computer reconstruction. The figures of JFK and JBC were matched to the Zapruder film perspective, not to the location of the jumpseat. Frankly, you could eliminate the entire limousine from the reconstruction and the alignments of JFK and JBC would still be valid since their position in space is based on Zapruder's view of the scene and the relationship of JFK to JBC, and their combined relationship to the TSBD and the surrounding buildings. In short, the position and size of the jumpseat has no bearing on the single bullet theory.

He has also offered this explanation for his placing the seat 6 inches from the door when, as he now admits, it was not:

I don't know how many ways to say it, but Connally was situated six inches inboard of Kennedy at the time they were both hit. Connally's jumpseat, however, was fixed to a track in the floor of the limousine, the outside edge of the jumpseat cushion measured at 2.5 inches from the inside door panel, according to body drafts produced by Hess & Eisenhardt Company.

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The relationship between Connally and the jumpseat are identical in both positions. Moving Connally and the jumpseat in unison was simply easier than moving the two separately given the television time available – especially given the fact that the position of the jumpseat had absolutely no bearing on the single bullet theory.

So...according to Myers, it was "easier" to depict Connally incorrectly on the middle of his jumpseat, than to depict him sitting leftward in his seat, where Myers insists he was actually sitting. That this deliberate misrepresentation deceived people into believing Kennedy and Connally were in "perfect" alignment for the single-bullet theory to be true, was, according to Myers, never a consideration. Apparently, he believes an overhead view demonstrating the single-bullet theory with Connally sitting on the left side of his seat would be just as believable to the viewers of Beyond Conspiracy and Beyond the Magic Bullet as an overhead view of Connally sitting comfortably in the middle of his seat.

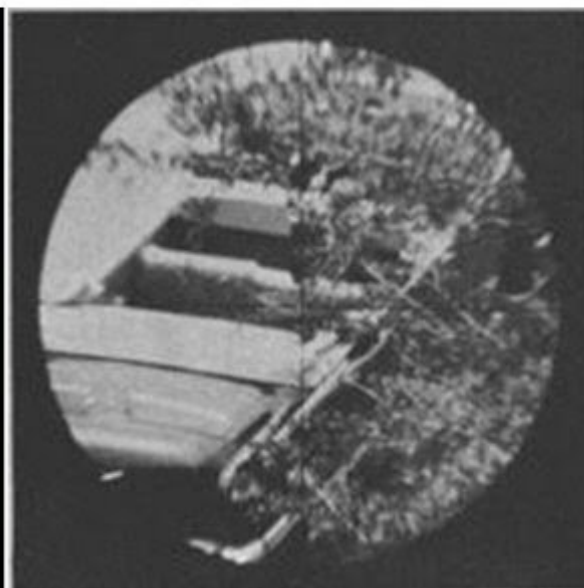
Myers, who claims to have studied the Zapruder film intensely, and to have figured out Kennedy's and Connally's locations in the film with precision, never even offers us the frame number in which Connally suddenly slides to the left in his seat. If he had isolated such a moment, one would think he would mention this on his website or on his television appearances.

Methinks the boy's been caught with his hand in the cookie jar.

Lost in the Trees



Above: Myers' depiction of the sniper's nest view circa 160, courtesy a Youtube video claiming his animation as proof the first shot would have been deflected by a tree.



PHOTOGRAPH THROUGH RIFLE SCOPE

Above CE 888: a photo taken by the FBI through the scope on Oswald's rifle on May 24, 1964. This particular photo demonstrates the limousine's location at Z-161.

A close look at the Warren Commission's exhibits and testimony demonstrates that Myers' depiction of a first shot is a false one. Not only does he exaggerate the magnification of Oswald's scope, but he depicts the shot coming when Kennedy was well-hidden by the foliage of a tree. The Warren Commission held that Kennedy was, in fact, sitting 10 inches lower in the limousine than the stand-in used in their re-enactment, and that, as a result, Kennedy's back wound location was not obscured by foliage until frame 167.

Lost in the Trees

In March 2008, I came across yet another link on a Kennedy assassination internet forum to Myers' work, this one claiming that Myers' animation demonstrated that the first shot would have been likely to hit a tree and be deflected. After taking a look, I realized that the creator of the thread was right: Myers' animation DID present the first shot heading into a tree. But he was also wrong: this didn't demonstrate that the bullet would have been deflected, but that Myers is not a researcher but a propagandist, with little concern for the historical record or the truth.

Anyone claiming to have studied the shooting in the detail necessary to create a simulation would have to know that on May 24, 1964, during the Warren Commission's re-enactment of the shooting, FBI agents Robert Frazier and Lyndal Shaneyfelt took a series of pictures from the sniper's nest, through the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle's scope, and correlated these photos to exact moments in the Zapruder film. In *Beyond Conspiracy*, Myers articulates "Around frame 160 is approximately the time of the first shot." On May 24, 1964, the FBI took a picture of the limo at frame 161. This SHOULD have been the basis for Myers' animated depiction of the limo at the time of the first shot. This photo shows the President's stand-in just heading behind a tree. The FBI, in fact, concluded that Kennedy's back wound location was not obscured by the tree until frame 167. And yet, at the moment of the first shot in his animation, Myers has the limo almost completely hidden by the tree, all the way down to the

limousine's trunk. (It appears he also exaggerates the magnification of the scope.)

Even Myers' cohort Vincent Bugliosi knows this is a deception. On page 471 of *Reclaiming History*, Bugliosi writes, if the first shot "was fired between Z143 and Z160, it would not have hit any significant twig or branch of the oak tree (from the sniper's nest only a few leaves and branchlets are visible, at the edges of the tree, around frame 160) as some have theorized, since the bullet would have been fired before the limousine disappeared under the branches."

Myers' depiction of the limousine behind the tree at this point, then, convinces me that the *raison d'être* behind his animation was not to demonstrate anything but to SELL something, namely, that the magic bullet theory is the single-bullet fact. By having the first shot ring out when Kennedy was behind the tree, after all, Myers was able to explain why, according to the currently popular single-assassin scenario, the first shot missed and wounded James Tague on the other side of the plaza. Never mind that Kennedy was not yet behind the tree. Never mind that Tague felt he was hit by the second shot.

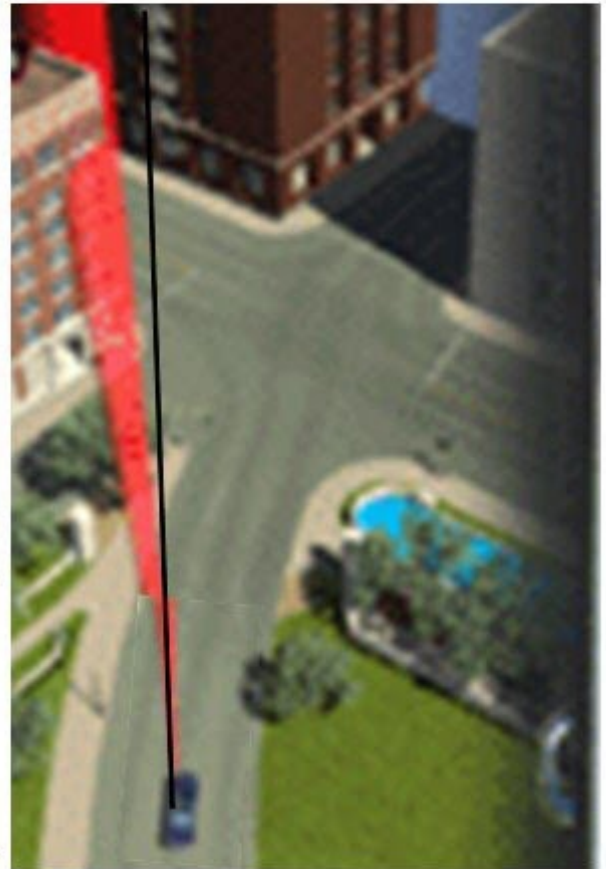
An article in the May 28, 2007 Provo, Utah Daily Herald about Vincent Bugliosi's book *Reclaiming History* quotes Myers extensively, and gives us some insight into his possible motivations. It concludes: "Myers points to a 'false history' encircling the assassination and says that, as a culture, we have already incurred 'tremendous damage, which has a bigger impact on this country than most people realize. We are now thoroughly and unthinkingly a conspiracy culture. We embrace conspiracy far quicker than we're willing to weigh facts. The Kennedy assassination has become the granddaddy of all conspiracies, and it saddens me. I wonder, really, if we'll ever get beyond it.'"

Presumably, just as he insisted that he misled people about the position of the jump seat "for clarity," Myers' additional misrepresentation of the facts has been designed to help people get beyond their unwillingness to weigh facts. Hopefully we can still "get beyond" the "tremendous damage" caused by his deliberate presentation of a "false history," but I have my doubts. I mean, when was the last time a major television network admitted that one of their award-winning programs was a deliberate deception? It just doesn't happen.

Dale and the Dal-Tex



Above: an over-view by Myers on his website. The trajectory cones mark his margin of error. Although Myers admits the R-L angle of the bullet into the car was 10 degrees the angle on his close-up is only 4 degrees. (A blue line, at 10 degrees, has been added).



When one looks closely at the limo on Myers' long view of the trajectory, at bottom left, other deceptions become clear. For one, Myers starts this trajectory from the middle of the limousine, and not its right side. For two, he has the limousine turned leftward in its lane. When these mistakes are corrected, as at right, the trajectory (black line) points to the Dal-Tex.

Dale and the Dal-Tex

In April 2008, one of Myers' supporters argued online that Myers has the jump seat in its proper location on an image on his website. Naturally, I took a closer look at this image. I concluded he was wrong. As shown on the slide above, the top of the jump seat is in line with the right side of Kennedy's neck, and the top part of Connally's arm. This would be unlikely if it was only 2 1/2 inches from the door.

While looking at this image, an overview of Dealey Plaza, showing Myers' trajectory cone of possible error projected back from the limo, with an insert of the overview within the limo, a few more deceptions became apparent. While one might wish to call them mistakes, it's truly hard to believe these "mistakes" were purely accidental.

Deception #1 is that the angle of trajectory on the inserted close-up does not match the 10 degree R-L angle Myers admits was the actual angle. The angle of trajectory appears to be more like 4 degrees. While the image appears to have been taken from slightly right of the limousine, the resultant distortion would make the angle appear greater than its actual angle, not significantly smaller. When one inserts a 10 degree line of trajectory onto this image, furthermore, the bullet striking Kennedy's back from 10 degrees to its right, impacts on the middle of Connally's back, and not his armpit. By now, this should hardly be surprising.

Deception #2 is that the angle on his over-view of the plaza starts off from the middle of the limousine, not its far right side, which Myers holds is the location of Connally's armpit

Deception #3 is that, not unlike Court TV before him, Myers has the limo swerving to its left just as the shot is fired. This swerve is not apparent on the Zapruder film, nor was it reported by any of the witnesses.

When one corrects the position of the limo within its center lane, and begins the trajectory from Connally's right armpit and not the center of the limo, the trajectory points back to the Dal-Tex Building. This is not surprising, and is precisely as concluded previously. (While some will no doubt claim I'm distorting the facts to push my own agenda that this shot came from the Dal-Tex, I don't believe that the bullet creating Kennedy's back wound and the bullet creating Connally's back wound were the same bullet, so the alignment of these wounds is relatively unimportant.)

Let's recall here that Myers, in his online defense to my criticisms, wrote:

Incidentally, the critic never offers any facts to support his claim that positioning Kennedy properly in the limousine would result in a trajectory that traced back to the Dal-Tex building.

That's right, Dale. I let you do it for me.

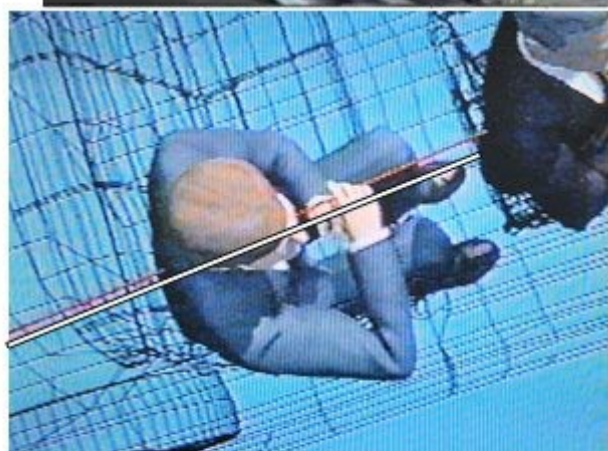
Myers vs. Myers



If the image at left, the basis for the trajectories below, is also the basis for the moment of impact in the completed shooting segment (at right), why is the back seat at a different angle? And what happened to Kennedy's knee?



And if the bullet is heading in a straight line left to right, why does the bullet travel parallel to the grid lines of the limo (as at left), and then change angles after exiting JFK (as at right)?



These images, from Beyond Conspiracy, lead me to doubt that Myers' animation is locked in space, and consistent from frame to frame. The white line added on to the image at bottom right is an attempt to demonstrate the angles of the trajectory heading into and out of Kennedy and that they differ slightly. They shouldn't.

Myers vs. Myers

When I re-watched my video of Beyond Conspiracy, to take a closer look at Myers' pre-distorted animation, I noticed something that made me suspect that Myers' computer models are not even fixed in space. On a view of the single-bullet shot from in front of Connally, in which one can see the exit location on his jacket, one can see Kennedy behind Connally, and slightly to his left. The problem is that in order for the trajectory from the sniper's nest to work Kennedy needs to be sitting to Connally's right. I've stared and stared at this image (in the top left corner on the slide above) and have been unable to convince myself the figure is to Connally's right. (If anyone reading this thinks I'm being daft about this, please let me know.) Even more confusing, however, is that when I watched the completed animation of the single-bullet sequence, it became apparent that Kennedy and Connally were in this same position, but that the back seat was now at a different angle. This led me to suspect that the Kennedy and Connally figures used in Myers' overhead trajectories were not fixed in space, and attached to the limousine model in a consistent manner.

With these doubts in my mind, I watched his animation again, and noticed other apparent anomalies. At one point in Beyond Conspiracy, it shows the single-bullet shot from above and to the right. The bullet trajectory runs parallel to the grid lines of the limousine. Since the bullet, by Myers' own admission, was heading 10 degrees right to left, this appeared to make no sense. Upon further reflection, however, I realized that the bullet's descent would, at certain angles, give the appearance of a left to right trajectory, and that there would be an angle where the descent would counter-balance the actual right to left trajectory, and make it all look like a straight line.

Just a split second later, however, I noticed something that I still can't explain. As the camera changes angles to view the shot from directly above Kennedy and Connally, the bullet trajectory heading into Kennedy, for just a brief moment, appears to be at a different angle than the bullet trajectory heading out of Kennedy. When I captured this image I found that the red line heading into Kennedy was indeed incongruent with the red line heading out of Kennedy. If the bullet was on a straight trajectory, as purported, this makes little sense.

As a result, I continue to suspect that Myers' animation was, in fact, a cartoon, with ever-changing angles and proportions, only designed to look consistent from frame and frame, and somehow scientific. People tend to trust technology. Remember that scene in the Wizard of Oz, where the wizard uses his machines to belch out smoke and fire, and tells everyone to never mind the man behind the curtain? I think that's Myers, only he's the...Wizard of Oswald. (Yeah, yeah, I know.)

It's the Shirt, Stupid



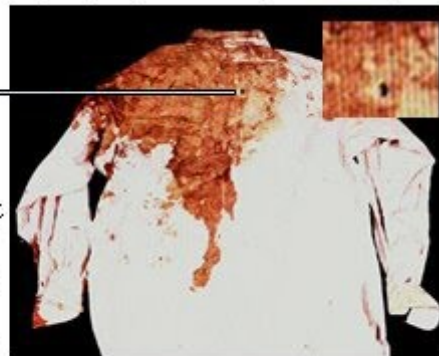
By stretching JFK's neck, and lifting the jacket to JFK's nose, as in the images at left and above, Myers was able to lift the jacket hole well above the throat exit. But what about the hole on the shirt? Why didn't he even try? (Images from Beyond Conspiracy.)



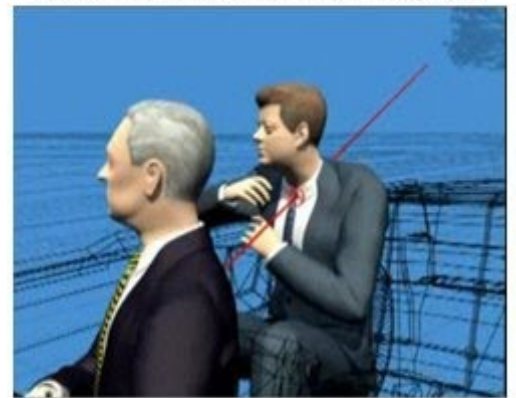
The above photo, by Phil Willis, shows JFK's shirt to be at the level of his jacket.



Well, perhaps Myers saw that his location for the backwound was still too high to align with the jacket hole, (as shown in the images above) and could never be made to align with the hole in JFK's shirt, well below his shoulders (as shown by the blue line).



National Archives photo of JFK's shirt.



In any event, by 2004's Beyond the Magic Bullet, Myers had given up and had lowered the jacket back down to match the shirt.

It's the Shirt, Stupid

As I re-watched Beyond Conspiracy, I noticed something else I hadn't noticed before, which led me to further doubt Myers' honesty. When showing the single-bullet trajectory from a point in front of Kennedy, the animation briefly becomes see-through, so that one can see the bullet trajectory in Kennedy's neck. The bullet on this trajectory impacts well below Kennedy's jacket collar. The problem is that Kennedy's jacket collar is depicted well above Kennedy's shirt collar, and the bullet appears to have entered just below Kennedy's shirt collar. This gave me pause.

The hole on Kennedy's jacket, as testified to by FBI agent Robert Frazier before the Warren Commission, was $5 \frac{3}{8}$ inches below the top of his jacket collar. The hole on Kennedy's shirt, as testified to by Frazier, however, was $5 \frac{3}{4}$ inches below the collar. This means there was more shirt above the bullet hole than jacket. Which means Myers' animation is clearly inaccurate on this point.

I tried to put myself in Myers' position. By stretching out the neck on his Kennedy model, and having the jacket creep up the back of the neck to almost the level of the nose, Myers had successfully lifted the bullet hole on the jacket to align with his proposed trajectory. But how could he do this with a shirt? How could he make the argument that Kennedy's shirt had slid inches upwards on his body, and that a bullet hole undoubtedly inches below the shoulder line on this shirt had in fact overlay the base of Kennedy's neck? I mean, how does one slide that much material up above Kennedy's shoulders,

without it becoming obvious, and appearing ridiculous?

One doesn't.

Myers almost admits this on his website, in his usual question and answer style.

Myers responds by asking: "Isn't it true that you blatantly misrepresented the shape of Kennedy's back to get the single bullet theory to work?"

Myers answers: *"No. Several critics have pointed out that Kennedy's posture appears distorted in the animation. One critic wrote, 'I still cannot figure out why Myers made JFK a hunchback. Was that the only way to achieve a downward trajectory projection between the back injury and the neck wound?' Another critic wrote, 'The blatant misrepresentation of the shape of the back is the sort of thing which makes me dismiss everything that Myers tries to 'prove' with his animation. If he's willing to lie to his audience to make his point, then he deserves no consideration whatsoever.'"*

This criticism stems from some modeling and animation issues that were not fully resolved at the time of the ABC Television broadcast. The issue is ultimately a cosmetic one and has nothing to do with the trajectory analysis or its conclusions, as these critics falsely suggest.

Photographs and films taken during the course of the motorcade show that the president's suit jacket had ridden or bunched up, making his shoulder line appear to be higher than it actually was. When shot, the president's elbows rose dramatically, increasing the effect. While animating the shooting sequence, the shoulders and collar of the president's computer generated "clothing" was raised off the shoulder line of the human model beneath to mimic what is seen in the film. Due to modeling constraints, the collar could not be returned to its proper position without affecting the shoulder line. To get the clothing to "look right," the model would have to be redone, a luxury I did not have time to complete given the production schedule. That's showbiz. While the position of the collar was not a perfect match with the film (in fact, it is too high in its current position), the shoulders, as defined by the "clothing," did fit better with what is seen in the Zapruder film. In the end, because of time constraints, it was decided to leave the "clothing," including the collar, in the raised position throughout the animated sequence. Contrary to the criticism levied by my detractors, the position of the president's clothing in the recreation has nothing to do with the validity of the single bullet theory. That's because the human model representing Kennedy, which is positioned beneath the "clothing," and therefore hidden from view, has not been moved. Only the "clothing" has been tugged around. As explained elsewhere on this page, it is the location of the wounds on the body, not the "clothing," that is the basis for defining the trajectory path of the bullets."

Note that Myers' doesn't even bother to pretend the entrance holes on the clothes of his Kennedy model are accurate.

Since Myers' 2004 animation in Beyond the Magic Bullet failed, for the most part, to even depict the bunching of the jacket collar, it seems apparent that he realized the futility of his situation and decided to just ignore the hole on the shirt and the uncomfortable fact that it casts doubt upon his theories.

The Head Snap That Never Was



Across the top, from L to R: Kennedy in 4 frames from Myers' cartoon.

Across the bottom: Zapruder frames 188, 198, 206 and 224.

When one compares the actual frames of the Zapruder film before and after Kennedy heads behind the sign to Myers' depiction of Kennedy during this period, one can't help but notice that something is missing. Myers fails to reproduce Kennedy's rapid head snap to his left between frames 193 and 198, and instead shows Kennedy leisurely turning to his left as he drops his hands. Still, look at Kennedy's hands in Myers' frame 224. This man is reacting to a hit.

The Head Snap That Never Was

Since Myers had admitted his lack of interest in accurately depicting the bullet holes on Kennedy's clothes, it occurred to me that he would deliberately ignore other aspects of the shooting as well, should they not fit in with his agenda. I decided to watch his animation in slow mo and see if it depicted Kennedy's head snap between frames 193 and 198 of the Zapruder film. Not surprisingly, it did not. The sequence of the film of which HSCA photographic panel spokesman Calvin S. McCamy had noted "At this point there is considerable blur, and by here, it appears as though his head is beginning to turn quite rapidly to the left. His head is now to the left. That is only one-eighteenth of a second from one frame to the next" was left off Myer's animated version of the shooting, and replaced by Kennedy smoothly waving to his right and calmly turning to face straight ahead just before being shot.

That's right. I wrote "smoothly waving." While one might try to explain Myers' excising the head snap by claiming he failed to notice it, and was convinced Kennedy's right ear in frame 198 was his nose, one cannot possibly defend his failure to note that by frame 198 Kennedy's right wrist and shirt have shot up out of his jacket. (This is readily apparent on the slide above.)

I re-read Myers' website to see if this incredibly obvious omission had an explanation. Like most people, I'd assumed he'd created his animation by drawing over the frames of the Z-film, and had meticulously compared his animation to the film in order to spot any inaccuracies. In his award-

winning program Beyond Conspiracy, Peter Jennings had, after all, spouted that "Myers has generated an exacting computer simulation of the Zapruder film. He began by constructing a 3-Dimensional scale model of Dealey Plaza...On top of the Zapruder film, he then animated the movements of President Kennedy and Governor Connally, frame by frame." Computer Graphics World, in January 2004, had, after all, said much the same thing, reporting: "After building the models and the background, Myers worked frame by frame..." and then quoting Myers' claim that, once he determined the precise positions of Kennedy and Connally in the car, and enlarged the portion of the film showing both men in center frame, "we had a frame-for-frame digital match of the Zapruder film."

And these were not the only claims that the film was re-produced frame for frame and was exact. In March 2004, Broadcast Engineering jumped on board, informing its readers that, as early as 1995, Myers' wire-frame models "matched each frame of the only real-time visual record of the event"...the Zapruder film. The importance of this "exactness" to the popular acceptance of Myers' work, and the programs in which it's been featured, moreover, can not be overstated. To this day, Tivo summarizes the program Beyond Conspiracy as "An exact computer simulation of the famous Zapruder film offers surprising results."

Well, it turned out that this "exactness", like so much of the hype about Myers' animation, was not exactly true. On his website, Myers admits:

"The clearest frames of the Zapruder film were sought for positioning JFK and JBC in order to minimize any errors. Key frame positions were generally placed at half-second intervals throughout the recreation, although tighter keying patterns (1-5 frame intervals) were employed during Zapruder frames 220-238, and 312-330.

The resulting animation was spot checked against the original Zapruder film to insure an accurate representation. Where "drifting" was detected, additional key frames were used to nail down the action.

It took six weeks to complete the key frame process, after which a test render was produced. The resulting animation was a computer generated "hand-held" version of the Zapruder film. In essence, the key frame process had created a motion file of Zapruder's camera in 3D space. Stepping through each frame of the animation revealed how Zapruder held his camera while trying to follow the limousine as it moved down Elm Street."

Yes, you got that right. Myers' supposedly precise re-creation was only compared against the film every nine frames (or "half second") prior to frame 220! My, ain't that convenient! The HSCA photographic panel said they believed Kennedy was hit just before he went behind the sign, well before frame 220, but Myers either never saw fit to intensely study this part of the film or deliberately avoided studying it because it would destroy the illusion he'd tasked himself with creating.

It's not as if Myers was unaware of the HSCA's conclusions. As pointed out by Milicent Cranor in her excellent essay on Myers entitled Lies for the Eyes, in 1994 Myers wrote an article for a magazine called Video Toaster User, and claimed "*The House Select Committee on Assassinations interpreted the blurry images between Z-189 and Z-197 as an indication that JFK had been shot... It appeared... that JFK's right hand 'froze' at this point. However, the computer re-creation reveals something else -- a sharp, abrupt continuation of JFK's turn to his right... it is clear that the president was tracking the women at curbside.*"

This is not only hard-to-believe, it is truly disgusting. Apparently Myers was so intent on studying individual frames of the film--Kennedy's right ear in frame 198 can indeed be confused with his nose--that he forgot to study the pictures in motion--which make it abundantly clear Kennedy suddenly turned to his left (and NOT right) at this point. That Myers attributed this non-existent turn to the right

to Kennedy's womanizing is, furthermore, suggestive of a dislike for JFK, and indicative that perhaps this dislike had clouded his vision and led him to conclude the HSCA photography panel had simply been seeing things.

Speaking of seeing things... Myers' discussion of his methodology makes it clear that he picked out a frame from sometime before Kennedy went behind the sign, and then another as Kennedy emerged, and created a nice, flowing, COMPLETELY IMAGINARY depiction of what happened in between. He then convinced the media that this depiction, pulled straight from his imagination, somehow debunked the HSCA's conclusion that Kennedy was hit before he went behind the sign. Simply incredible!

Follow the Bouncing Pink Hat



180



188



193



198



207



208



209



210



211



212

When one compares Zapruder frames 180 and 207, 1 ½ seconds apart, one can see that First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy has turned her head sharply to her right. When one inspects Zapruder frames 207-212, moreover, it's clear that she has looked directly at her husband, just after he has jerked to his left. What made her look at him? What did she see?

Follow the Bouncing Pink Hat

While discussing Myers' use of shadow in his animation, and noting that Myers used shadows that he admittedly did not see to demonstrate that Kennedy's arm was above the right side of the limousine, I mentioned that it seemed strange that Myers would include unseen shadows in his animation, and unimportant trees and bushes, while failing to depict Jacqueline Kennedy. An article about Myers in the January 2004 edition of Computer Graphics World reflects that he left the other limousine occupants off his animation for "visual clarity and to streamline the modeling/animation process." One might wish to believe him.

Upon closer study of the film, however, I believe that his omission of Mrs. Kennedy was no accident. When one studies the movements of the first lady as she heads behind the sign, including her behavior in frames 208-211, removed from the original film by Life Magazine, it is clear that she turns her head to look at her husband. This is, according to Myers, BEFORE Kennedy has even been shot.

In the October 1971 Journal of Forensic Sciences, Don Olson and Ralph Turner noted Mrs. Kennedy's movements during this period, and correlated it to the testimony of four witnesses.

They quoted Mrs. Kennedy herself (5H180): "I was looking this way, to the left, and I heard these terrible noises...So I turned to the right. And all I remember is seeing my husband, he had this sort of quizzical look on his face, and his hand was up...I used to think if I had only been looking to the right, I would have seen the first shot hit him." (Hmmm..."His hand was up." Is it a coincidence that Kennedy's hand--singular--is up as he heads behind the sign, but not after he comes out from behind the sign, when both hands are rising up to his neck?)

Olson and Turner also quoted three supporting witnesses. First, Phil Willis (7H496): "Mrs. Kennedy was likewise smiling and facing more to my side of the street. When the first shot was fired, her head seemed to just snap in that direction..." (This snap can be seen between frames 188 and 207.) Second, S.M. Holland (6H243): "about that time he went over like that and put his hand up, and she was still looking off...His right hand; and that was the first report I heard...she turned around facing the President and Governor Connally. In other words, she realized what was happening." (Again, with Kennedy's hand being up.) Third, Kenneth O'Donnell, riding in the follow-up car (7H449): "she appeared to be immediately aware that something had happened. She turned toward him."

In light of Mrs. Kennedy's recorded movements on the Zapruder film, and the eyewitness statements correlating these movements to the aftermath of a first shot hit, it seems mighty convenient that Myers left the first lady off his animation. After all, her appearance may very well have led some to think Kennedy was hit before Connally, and that his single-bullet "fact" is a sham. That Myers' animation leaves off both Kennedy's head snap, and Jacqueline Kennedy's turning to look at him just after this head snap, is undoubtedly suspicious. While I regularly argue against conspiracy theorists purporting that someone is a disinformation agent or some such thing, I find it incredibly hard to believe Myers never noticed Kennedy's head snap, or Jackie's looking at Jack, or that his animated back wound location is inches above the back wound location on the autopsy photo, etc.

On his website, Myers boasts:

"It is important to note the distinction between this computer study and other similar work done in this area. Past computer studies - produced by PBS/Nova and Failure Analysis Associates (FAA) - were illustrative renderings of various theories about the assassination. In other words, they demonstrate what might have happened in Dealey Plaza. This is the first computer study to examine Abraham Zapruder's filmed record in three-dimensions, allowing precise measurements of the motion recorded on film. In essence, this computer study allows us to examine the actual event with an incredible degree of accuracy never before possible. In addition, the dimensional nature of this project presents the opportunity to test various theories against the facts of the shooting as revealed by this study."

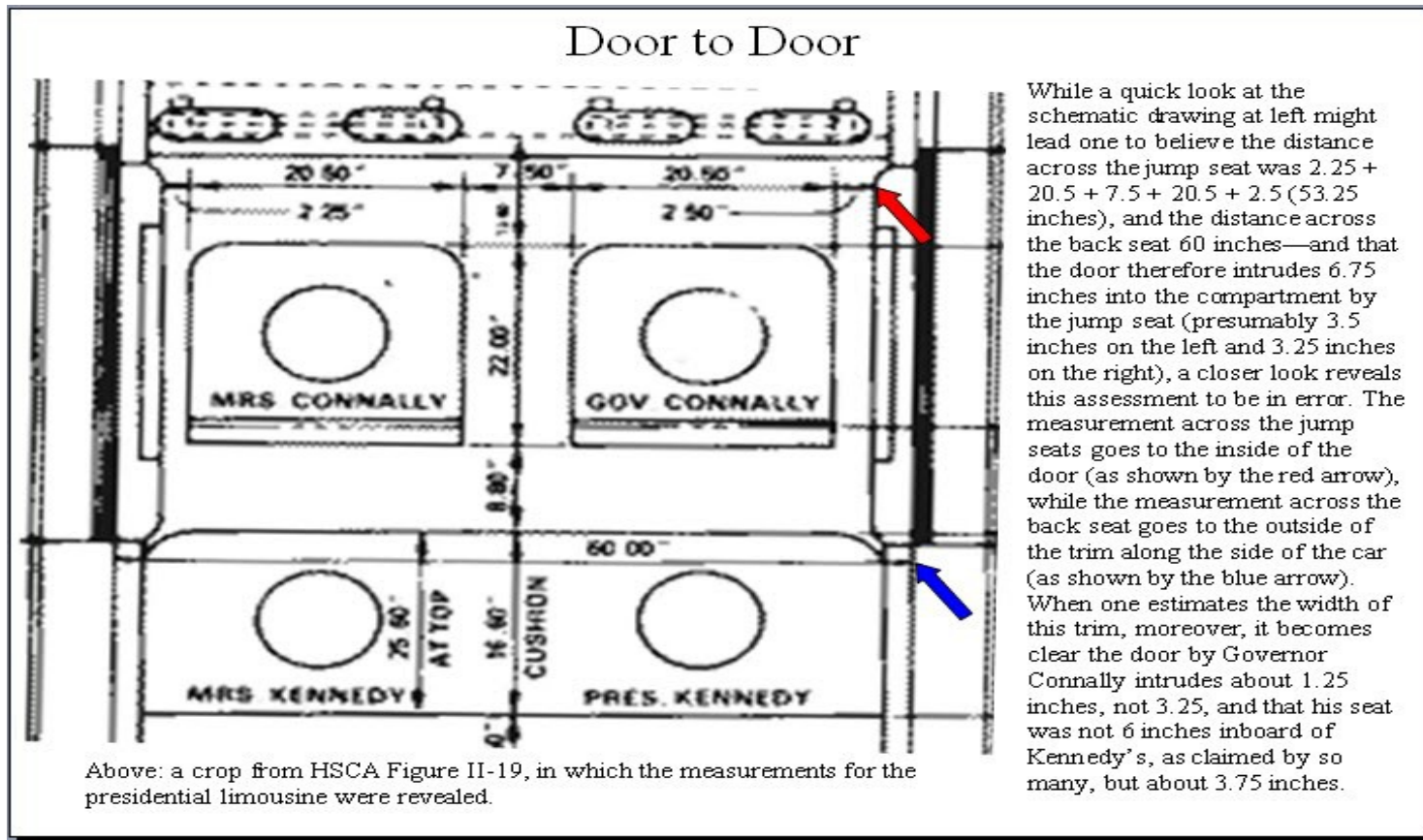
I find my standard response of "Hogwash!" to be grossly inadequate. I find my more active response of "Bullshit!" nearly as inadequate. Words simply fail me in the face of such toxic malarkey.

Yes, I find that Myers' animation and his assertions of its accuracy are truly BEYOND BULLSHIT.

In the interest of fairness, however, I'll let Myers have the last word. From his May 8, 2008, response to this website:

Forget about convincing Mr. Speer that one cannot draw a rational conclusion from an irrational

premise; I've tried. Suffice it to say that Mr. Speer prefers to live in a land of illusion where physical realities don't hold a candle to obsessive conspiracy theories.



Door to Door

And so it rested...until April 2012, when conspiracy theorist Anthony Marsh tried to convince me Kelley and Myers etc were not lying when they said the jump seat was 6 inches inboard of the door, but were simply incorrectly representing the reality that the door by the jump seat intrudes into the passenger compartment alongside the jump seat, and that, as a result, the right side of Connally's seat was 6 inches to the left of the right side of Kennedy's seat.

Well, this caught me by surprise. This wasn't how Myers had defended himself when this was all fresh in my mind. Myers had as much as acknowledged that Connally's seat was but 2 1/2 inches to the left of Kennedy's, but had insisted that Connally had slid to the left in his chair, so that he was sitting 6 inches to the left of Kennedy at the time of the shooting.

Still, curious, I just had to go back and take another look at HSCA Figure II-19, in which the measurements for the limo were provided. Well, for a second I was concerned. As demonstrated and explained on the slide above, the measurement across the jump seats is 6.75 inches less than the measurement across the back seat. This led me to briefly conclude that the door does in fact intrude into the passenger compartment to the degree claimed by Marsh. I then took another look, and realized I was comparing apples with oranges. The measurement across the jump seats measures the distance to the inside of the door, while the measurement across the back seat measures to the trim on the outside

of the limo, several inches outside the inside of the door.

This led me to conclude that the right side of Connally's jump seat, while being but 2.5 inches from the inside of the door, was about 3.75 inches to the left of the right side of the back seat.

While I briefly considered going back and changing all the slides in which I presented Connally's seat as being 2.5 inches to the left of Kennedy's seat to reflect this more accurate assessment, I soon decided against it. While I now believe Kennedy's seat extended 3.75 inches to the right of Connally's seat, I have never been convinced Kennedy availed himself of every last inch of this space. In fact, it's counter-intuitive to assume such a thing. I don't know anyone who sits in a car, of any type, with their butt slid all the way up against the side of the car. And I bet you don't either.

As a result, we can only assume this extra inch or two of space along the right side of the back seat was...dead space, unoccupied by the lower half of Kennedy's body, at least while he was alive.

Chapter 13: Solving the Great Head Wound Mystery **Making sense out of nonsense**

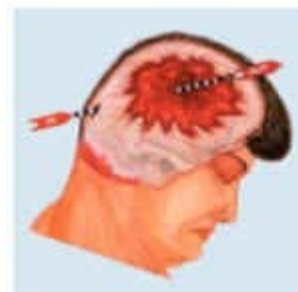
Warren Commission Exhibit CE 388/ Zapruder Frame 312 Comparison



Warren Commission
Exhibit CE 388



Zapruder frame 312



Warren Commission
Exhibit CE 388 corrected to
match Zapruder frame 312

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Warren Commission Exhibit 388/Zapruder Frame 312 Comparison

While the early critics of the Warren Commission focused on discrediting the single-bullet theory, and using the location of the back wound on the clothing and face sheet to achieve this goal, by 1967 they'd begun questioning the official interpretations of the head wounds as well.

With perspective, it's easy to see that there was something suspicious about the head wounds from the get-go. To prepare for their testimony before the Warren Commission, the doctors who'd performed Kennedy's autopsy were asked to prepare drawings depicting the trajectory of the bullet through the President's skull. They did this by verbally describing the locations of the entrance and exit on the skull to medical illustrator Skip Rydberg, who then drew Kennedy bent over in the manner required so that his wounds could be connected by a straight line from above and behind. This drawing became Exhibit 388. What is wrong with this scenario is that the Warren Commission had blown up prints from the Zapruder film at their disposal, and Rydberg could have been given these in order to make his drawing as accurate as possible. Instead, the ever-wiley Arlen Specter, the Warren commission counsel leading this area of inquiry, flashed head autopsist Dr. James J. Humes the prints of Zapruder 312 and 313 in the middle of his testimony, after 388 was already entered into evidence, and asked him if the prints depicted Kennedy's head in "approximately the same position" as it had been in 388. To this, Dr. Humes replied "yes, sir." As if to drive home the Commission's lack of concern for accuracy, Commissioner Dulles continued in this vein moments later by asking Humes, who was never sworn in as a photographic expert, by the way, if the posture of Kennedy's head was "roughly the inclination that you think the President's head had at the time." To this, Humes repeated his response--"Yes, sir." Amazingly, there is no evidence anyone on the Commission thought to compare the drawing to the photos themselves.

The testimony of Dr. Pierre Finck was equally odd. As the wound ballistics expert on the autopsy team, his testimony was needed to shore up that the bullets came from above and behind. As the drawings presented by the doctors depicted the back wound much higher than the exit in the throat, it was not hard for him to say as much regarding those wounds. As the skull entrance was, by the doctors' own admission, lower than the exit at the top of the skull, however, there was no way he could reasonably assert that the fatal bullet would have to have come from above. When Finck testified that the exit wound was "so large that we can only give an approximate angle. In my opinion, the angle was within 45 degrees from the horizontal plane," Specter immediately saw that this opened the door for a shot from someplace other than the sniper's nest, even someplace on the ground. He immediately interjected "Is that to say that there was a 45 degree of declination from the point of origin..." to which Finck ultimately responded "I think I can only state, sir, that he was shot from above and behind." This echoed the autopsy protocol's over-zealous statement that "the projectiles were fired from a point behind and somewhat above the level of the deceased." On what purely medical basis could these claims be made? If one ignores the eyewitnesses, the Zapruder film, and the rifle found in the school book depository, none of which belonged in the testimony of a doctor unfamiliar with such evidence, there was no reason for Finck to say the fatal bullet came from above. That Finck himself was uncomfortable with his testimony on this point can be inferred from the fact his report to his superior officer General Blumberg stated simply "I testified that Kennedy was shot from behind."

But the lack of evidence indicating that the shot came from above didn't stop it from becoming part of the official myth, mind you, or the script repeated ad nauseum by Warren Commission defenders. In late 1966, as a response to Mark Lane's best seller *Rush to Judgment*, former Warren Commission Counsel Wesley J. Liebeler took to the lecture circuit. An October 19, 1966 article in the *L.A. Times*, however, suggests that, in defense of the Commission, Liebeler, a UCLA Law Professor, was willing to also assault the truth. Liebeler was reported to have told 650 students at a Stanford University law forum that "autopsy x-rays of assassinated President John F. Kennedy showed 'all shots' fired at him

were 'from behind and above.'" Well, if Liebeler actually said such a thing, he was full of malarkey. The x-rays gave no indication whatsoever that the shots were fired from above. No one testified to as much; in fact, Dr. Humes discussed a trail of fragments leading from low on the back of the head to high on the head, suggesting the exact opposite. So what was Liebeler talking about? Not only had the radiologist present at the autopsy, Dr. John Ebersole, not been asked to testify before the commission, but the doctors who were asked to testify were prevented from reviewing the x-rays beforehand. Such was the secrecy regarding these x-rays, in fact, that the doctors were not even allowed to study them while writing the autopsy report. By October, 1966, moreover, NO ONE had studied the x-rays beyond looking at them in hopes of finding missing bullet fragments. One can only conclude then that Liebeler was either grossly misquoted, or desperately making stuff up. I propose we suspect the latter.

But I digress. The point I've been trying to make is that, while few had questioned the Warren Commission's conclusions regarding the head wound prior to November 1966, it wasn't long before the former members and counsel of the commission felt the need to clarify and revise their findings. Researcher David Lifton had written an article, subsequently published in Ramparts Magazine in January 1967, expressing doubt that the descriptions of Kennedy's head wound made by those viewing him in Dallas--which placed the exit wound on the back of Kennedy's head--could "be reconciled with the findings of the Bethesda autopsy"--in which the bullet entered the back of his head, and exited from the top of his head. He had shared his reasons for coming to this doubt, moreover, with his college professor, former Warren Commission counsel J. Wesley Liebeler. This then led Liebeler to write an 11-16-66 letter to Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin listing Lifton's reasons. Liebeler then mailed this letter to pretty much all the former counsel and members of the commission, along with a few other persons of interest, most significantly Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

While Rankin ultimately responded to Liebeler, on 12-1-66, and made clear that no further investigation would be undertaken...by the former employees and members of the Warren Commission...it would be naive to accept that no response was forthcoming...by anyone.

Indeed, we should accept the opposite.

While the drawings created for the Warren Commission, consistent with Dr. Humes' testimony that skull fell to the table as he reflected Kennedy's scalp, depicted a large skull wound at the top of the head extending somewhat onto the back of the head, and while a report signed by Dr.s Humes, Boswell, and Finck in January 1967 confirmed the accuracy of these drawings, it wasn't long before someone decided something more supportive of Oswald's sole guilt, and more responsive to the points raised by Lifton, was needed. A May 29, 1967 memo written by Director of Public Information Cliff Sessions--outlining "talking points" that Dr. Humes should touch upon during his upcoming televised interview with Dan Rather--was sent to the Justice Department's Acting Assistant Attorney General Carl Eardley, and forwarded to Dr. Humes. Among these talking points was something new, that had not been previously touched upon; when asked about the bullets striking Kennedy, Dr. Humes was told to say that one of them "entered the back of the skull and exited through *the front*." The "front." The exit wound was no longer on the top of Kennedy's head, as depicted in CE 388, the drawing created for the Warren Commission under Dr. Humes' direction, but the "front" of the head. Dr. Humes was, in effect, being told to change his testimony.

So, did he follow his orders? You betcha. Loyal soldier to the end, when asked the location of the large exit wound by Rather, Dr. Humes said nothing about a wound on top of the head which could be an exit for a bullet entering from the rear *or the front*, and instead told the nation that the "exit wound was a large irregular wound to the *front* and side--right side of the President's head."

This verbal movement of the wound, however, proved too little, too late. With the publication of Josiah Thompson's Six Seconds in Dallas in late 1967, and its demonstration that the Zapruder film shows a

wound on the top of the head, and not the front of the head, as claimed by Dr. Humes months earlier, the problem with the bullet's trajectory reached an even greater audience.

There was an exhibit in Thompson's book that was particularly troubling. Thompson placed frame 312 of the Zapruder film, the last frame before Kennedy's skull exploded, on the same page with the Warren Commission exhibit depicting the supposed path of the bullet through Kennedy's skull, CE 388. The effect was devastating. From a comparison of these two images it was obvious that Dr. Humes' testimony was inaccurate, and that Kennedy's head was actually bent further forward in the drawing than in the film and that, when the drawing was corrected to the actual forward tilt of Kennedy's head, the path back from his exit wound through his entrance wound led to the rear trunk of the limousine, a long, long way from the supposed sniper's nest. This proved that either the bullet fired from above and striking Kennedy low in the back of his head suddenly and illogically exploded upwards, or that the entrance wound was not as reported.

This led the Justice Department, now functioning as a de facto cover-up department, to take even more drastic measures. Putting Dr. Humes on TV to tell the public what the government thought they should hear would clearly no longer suffice.

In late February 1968, even though it had been but a year since the autopsy doctors had signed a report saying the wounds in the autopsy photos confirmed the accuracy of the drawings they'd created for the Warren Commission, a four-man secret panel supposedly made of random experts but actually made of close colleagues (Dr. Alan Moritz had been a mentor to the panel's leader, Russell Fisher, at Harvard, and Dr.s Morgan and Carnes had been professors together at John Hopkins University) re-reviewed the photos and x-rays on behalf of Attorney General Ramsey Clark. This was supposedly done at the urging of the autopsy doctors themselves, but there is reason to doubt this is true. (Dr. Boswell's testimony before the ARRB suggests that he was, in fact, manipulated by Clark's assistant Carl Eardley--the same Carl Eardley who'd forwarded the "talking points" to Dr. Humes--into making this request).

This panel, commonly called the Clark Panel, then, not only made tremendous mistakes in its assessment of Kennedy's back wound location, which served to support the then-under-fire single-bullet theory, but also solved the problem of the head bullet's trajectory, by "finding" a wound of entrance high on the back of Kennedy's head that had apparently been missed by everyone who saw the President in Dallas and Bethesda, including the autopsy doctors. This new "find," moreover, made Thompson's comparison of CE 388 with Zapruder frame 312 irrelevant.

One might wish to think this a coincidence.

That this was not a coincidence was confirmed, moreover, by Clark panel ring-leader Russell S. Fisher when he told the Maryland State Medical Journal in March 1977 that Attorney General Ramsey Clark had seen the proofs of Six Seconds in Dallas, and that the Clark Panel report was released *"partly to refute some of the junk"* in the book. Apparently, their way of "refuting" Thompson's comparison of CE-388 and Z-312 was by confirming he was right and by declaring instead that their esteemed colleagues, Dr.s Humes, Boswell and Finck, were badly mistaken as to the actual location of the entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's skull, and were off by roughly 4 inches! Even more amazing, Fisher told the Maryland State Medical Journal that this was only a "minor error." What the??? One ponders what Fisher would consider a "major error" in such circumstances...

Or if he was just blowing smoke... When one considers that, in the March 13, 1970 edition of Medical World News, in which it was noted that the Clark Panel was convened "to allay public skepticism over the Warren Report," Fisher ran down a laundry list of excuses for the "errors" made at the autopsy, it seems likely he was more concerned about these "errors" than he would subsequently acknowledge.

These excuses, moreover, were not real excuses, but entirely false ones made up from either Fisher's incredible ignorance, or his fertile imagination. He told the medical world that, among the reasons for the "confusion" at the autopsy, were:

- *"The original x-rays and photos were not seen by the autopsy team in Washington or even by the Warren Commission until the time that our committee was convened..."* (While it's true the doctors were unable to look at the x-rays and photos while writing the autopsy report, they had inspected the x-rays and photos in November 1966 and January 1967, prior to the Clark Panel's inspection, and had publicly proclaimed that these inspections had confirmed both the findings of their report, and the testimony and exhibits provided the Warren Commission. As Warren Commission counsel Arlen Specter had similarly admitted in both U.S. News (in 1966) and the Saturday Evening Post (in 1967) to seeing a photo of Kennedy's back wound on the day of the assassination re-enactment, furthermore, Fisher was doubly in error.)
- *"skull fragments found on the street, which would have permitted a more accurate reconstruction of the skull and hence a clearer notion of the path of the bullet, were not seen by the Washington examiners..."* (This claim is equally bogus. The recovered skull fragments seen by Fisher were x-rays taken at the autopsy of fragments studied and handled by the doctors during the autopsy. It was beveling on the largest fragment, moreover, that convinced the autopsy doctors the bullet exited from the top of the head--the exact same conclusion reached by Fisher. While there were two fragments found in Dealey Plaza not returned in time for the autopsy, one being the Harper fragment, neither of these fragments were seen by the Clark Panel, and neither of these could have convinced the autopsy doctors a bullet entered high on the back of Kennedy's head, where Fisher claimed it had entered, as they'd both come from further forward on the skull.)
- *"for several hours the local coroner was not told that a tracheostomy had been performed at the place where one bullet emerged, and this helped to cloud the issue of how many bullets had been fired and from what direction."* (This claim is just strange. The confusion was not caused by the emergency room doctors' failure to tell Dallas coroner Earl Rose about the tracheostomy, but the autopsy doctors' failure to call the emergency room doctors prior to commencement of the autopsy, and the failure of anyone present at the autopsy to tell the autopsy doctors that, oh yeah, by the way, the emergency room doctors called a press conference this afternoon and told the world the president had a small bullet wound in his throat that appeared to be an entrance.)

In any event, the Clark Panel studied the medical evidence on February 26 and 27, 1968. Although their subsequent report would not be completed and signed by Drs Fisher, Morgan, Moritz, and Carnes until March 28, March 28, April 6, and April 9, 1968, respectively, Dr. Fisher admitted, in a March 4, 1970 letter to Harold Weisberg, that they'd actually "drafted" their report on February 27, and that the rest was just editing, and re-editing, and then mailing the report around and about to get signed. They never met, after February 27, to work on the report together.

Well, this suggests that they really studied the evidence ONCE, and only once, on February 26, without studying anything beyond the original autopsy protocol, and that February 27 was mostly taken up with the drafting of their report.

Now, note those dates. There is no record of which I am aware in which the planning for the Clark Panel's inspection is detailed. For all we know, it was put together in a hurry. It is undoubtedly intriguing then that on February 14, 1968--less than 2 weeks before the Clark Panel's inspection--Josiah Thompson's publisher, Bernard Geis, sent former Warren Commissioner John McCloy a copy of Thompson's *Six Seconds in Dallas*, along with some of the reviews it had garnered, and implored *"We earnestly hope that you will be moved to urge the formation of a Congressional body or an independent committee of scholars, critics, pathologists, and criminologists empowered to probe these hypotheses,*

refuting them if additional evidence warrants, or expanding upon the original report if that should prove necessary."

Hmmm. Did McCloy read the book, see its merits, and strong-arm Attorney General Ramsey Clark into setting up a secret panel to inspect the evidence, and *"refute some of the junk"* in the book? Was Fisher's claim Clark viewed the galleys of Thompson's book just a cover story put out by Clark? To hide that McCloy was really the one behind the inspection?

There is reason to believe so. Consider that barely a year before, McCloy had been asked by CBS to arrange an inspection of the evidence by the autopsists, and that he'd traveled to Washington that very day, and that an inspection had occurred within days.

Consider also McCloy's response to Geis' letter. Did he ignore it? No, not exactly. On July 15, 1969--almost a year-and-a-half later--he wrote Geis a letter saying he had *"not been impressed"* with the book's *"contents nor its conclusions."* He then sent this letter to Chief Justice Warren, asking for his input. Warren then responded by suggesting he not send the letter, as it could only be used to stir up controversy. The letter was not sent. (Geis' letter, and the letters of McCloy and Warren in response, can be found on researcher Denis Morrisette's website, jfkassassinationfiles.com.)

This raises a question, however. Why did McCloy wait so long to respond? Well, the thought occurs that he was waiting for something. Was he waiting for the public release of the Clark Panel's report, so he could cite it in his response? Perhaps.

Now, admittedly, this is a bit of a stretch... But it's undoubtedly of interest that, yes indeed, McCloy cited the Panel's report in his response. He wrote Geis *"The expert panel which examined the x-rays under the auspices of the Department of Justice last year clearly disprove the main Thompson contentions and certainly the original autopsy report even if it is somewhat less exacting and comprehensive than one might have wished it to be does so as well."*

Note that McCloy is deferential to the Clark Panel's report, yet somewhat critical of the original autopsy report. This suggests he knew the two reports were in conflict, a conflict un-reported in the press at the time. Hmmm... Had McCloy discussed the Panel's report with Clark? Or Fisher?

The timing of the report's release is also intriguing. It was released on January 16, 1969, just in time to throw a monkey wrench in Jim Garrison's trial of Clay Shaw. Garrison had been trying to gain access to the medical evidence for use in the trial, as he thought an independent study of the medical evidence by non-military medical experts might prove shots had been fired from multiple locations, and thus, more than one shooter. It appeared, moreover, that he was about to succeed in gaining access to these materials. This then led the Justice Department to offer up what could only have appeared to be a compromise--it would release an already-completed top secret study of the medical evidence by non-military medical experts--the Clark Panel's report from the year before.

That the timing of the release was no coincidence was confirmed, moreover, by Ramsey Clark himself. Within the HSCA's files is an outside contact report, summarizing a 5-6-78 phone call between Clark and an HSCA investigator. Well, it's right there in black and white--according to this summary, Clark admitted he was *"relieved"* when his *"experts corroborated"* the *"Warren Commission findings,"* but that he nevertheless *"delayed issuing"* their report, only to *"use"* the *"Garrison case"* as a *"vehicle"* for putting their report *"in the public record."*

And so it came to be: the January 16, 1969 release of the panel's report. The print media's ineptness and distaste for the whole matter is revealed in their headlines regarding the release of the panel's report, e.g. *"JFK Autopsy Facts Bared; Findings Claimed Correct;"* *"Autopsy Report Backs JFK Data."* I have yet to find one newspaper article about the release of this report to mention the amazing migration of the entrance wound on Kennedy's head.

This was apparently by design. In Harold Weisberg's 1975 book *Post Mortem*, he discusses the Clark Panel report in great detail, and re-prints a number of internal government memos he received in response to his many Freedom of Information Act lawsuits. One of these is a Jan 18, 1969 memo from Frank Wozencraft, of the Office of Legal Counsel, to archivist Marion Johnson of the National Archives. It is entitled "*Authentication of Autopsy Pictures*," and provides Johnson with a statement he is to give any member of the news media inquiring whether the photos and x-rays studied by the Clark Panel have been authenticated by the autopsists. The statement itself is not surprising, as it refers back to the November '66 inventory, and the signed statements by Humes, Boswell, Ebersole, and Stringer, that none of the photos or x-rays are missing. What is surprising, however, is the final paragraph, which reads:

"In addition, requests to see any documents which contain descriptions of the autopsy pictures should be denied on the ground that we agreed with Burke Marshall not to disclose such descriptions, for much the same reasons that the pictures themselves are not available for non-official access at this time."

This statement is quite interesting. There is nothing in the signed agreement between Burke Marshall, the Kennedy family's representative, and the government prohibiting the dissemination of *descriptions* of the autopsy photos. Such a provision, if actually considered, would have been of questionable legality anyhow. I mean, just think about it. Nellie Connally has testified to Mrs. Kennedy's holding President Kennedy's brains in her hands. Dr. Humes has testified to tearing Kennedy's skull apart in order to remove his brain. The autopsy report, in which the President's wounds are discussed in detail, has been part of the public record for years. So how can anyone justify withholding reports in which mere *photos* of the President's wounds are described?

They can't. So what was Wozencraft up to? Well, unfortunately the probability is that what he was up to was no good... Here, but a few days before the end of the Johnson Administration, is one of Johnson's top legal advisers pressuring the National Archives to withhold reports from the press in which the autopsy photos are discussed...under the guise that this would somehow be in poor taste. Never mind that these same legal advisers--the Office of Legal Counsel--have just released a new and improved report--the Clark Panel Report, in which these very photos are discussed in gruesome detail.

This, to me, is highly suspicious, and leads me to suspect that Wozencraft, and by extension the Johnson Administration Justice Department, were trying to keep from the press that the earlier descriptions of the photos both claimed a bullet entrance low on the back of the head was readily apparent...and that the Clark Panel reported no such wound, and was now claiming there was a wound high on the back of the head.

I mean, it seems more than a coincidence that, in the aforementioned 1970 article in *Medical World News*, neither Dr. Fisher, nor his fellow Clark panel member Dr. Moritz, mentioned their re-appraisal of the head wound location. Dr. Moritz's words, in fact, revealed a deliberate caution, as if he knew people would someday realize the location of the entrance wound on Kennedy's head had migrated, and didn't want them to think he was unaware of how disturbing this was. Here are his words: "*the findings of the Warren Commission are not inconsistent with the facts as presented to us.*" This is far from a ringing endorsement of the original autopsy report.

In any event, it was more than 3 years before the Clark Panel's drastic re-appraisal of the entrance wound location was reported. This second series of articles was written as a response to an address by Dr. Russell Morgan, the Clark Panel's radiologist, to a conference of fellow radiologists, and indirectly confirm the role of Thompson's book in the formation and conclusions of the panel. The articles below were found in the August 18, 1972 *Denver Post* and the August 19, 1972 *New Orleans States-Item*, respectively. This was but a few days before Dr. Cyril Wecht was to become the first Warren

Commission critic to view the autopsy materials. Perhaps Morgan wanted to lessen the impact should Wecht come out of the Archives and announce that the autopsy x-rays didn't show what the Clark Panel claimed, by putting on the record that they were over-developed and hard to read. Perhaps not. In a letter to researcher Harold Weisberg, Morgan claimed "I do not know why the press picked up my talk as a news item at this time. Apparently, they have nothing better to print."

(Sections indicating that Morgan in particular, and the Clark Panel in general, were far from unbiased in their analysis and had a clear-cut agenda to refute Thompson and derail Jim Garrison's trial of Clay Shaw are highlighted in **bold**.)

EXPERT AFFIRMS 1-BULLET VIEW

A radiologist who examined the X-rays of President Kennedy's fatal head wound said in Denver Friday they prove conclusively that only one bullet--fired from the sixth floor of the School Book Depository building in Dallas--caused his death.

Dr. Russell H. Morgan, dean of the medical school at John Hopkins University, said the films--could they be released by the Kennedy family--would effectively remove all doubt and controversy that the assassination may have been the result of shots from more than one direction.

However, because the films haven't been released for publication and because a report on their examination wasn't included in the Warren Commission study, the controversy has continued, Dr. Morgan said.

The medical school dean made his remarks in an interview prior to speaking to some 300 physicians, attending the 34th annual mid-summer meeting of the Rocky Mountain Radiological Society in the Brown Palace Hotel. The meeting, which began Thursday, continues through Saturday.

*Dr. Morgan was the only radiologist on a panel of four persons **asked by then Attorney Gen. Ramsey Clark to review the X rays because of controversies surrounding the autopsy report.***

But because the panel's report, released in April 1968, largely supported the conclusions of the Warren Report. Morgan said, it failed to receive much circulation. His talk here Friday on the subject was the first outside University organizations. The other members of the panel, all pathologists, have never spoken on the matter.

BULLET'S PATH

He said the X rays in conjunction with an analysis of the movie shot by amateur photographer Abraham Zapruder, show "rather conclusively" that the path of the fatal bullet--because the President's head was bowed and tilted to one side--was consistent with being fired from the sixth floor of the School Book Depository building.

***Further, he said, the X rays show the path of the bullet was strewn with thousands of bone fragments** and that no other bullets entered from either the right or left sides of the skull, as some critics of the Warren Report have maintained.*

Had other bullets entered the right or left side of the skull, they would have left paths of bone fragments, and no such paths were indicated. In addition, the entrance of a bullet is small, the exit point much larger, the doctor added, and both the entrance and the exit of the fatal bullet are characterized by this fact.

THEORY UNSUPPORTED

Morgan said his study of the X rays and the movie film also disprove the theory that another shot struck Kennedy from an overpass under which the president's car was preparing to pass.

The Zapruder film shows Kennedy's body lurching forward from one shot and then lurching backward, as though from a second.

Morgan said the backward lurch was a reflex action of Kennedy's shattered brain, which caused the president's muscles to tense, and react in a spasm. It was this sudden straightening of the body which was interpreted as being the result of a second shot, he declared.

The fatal bullet killed Kennedy instantly, Morgan said, and the subsequent emergency action at Parkland Memorial Hospital was in response to purely reflex activity.

ASSUMPTION CITED

Morgan speculated that the reason the X rays weren't included in the Warren Commission Report is that when doctors first examined Kennedy, they thought the bullet entered lower in Kennedy's head.

Had their assumption been correct, the bullet would have to have been fired from below the level of the presidential limousine, he said.

Morgan said the X rays can now be studied with permission of the Kennedy family, though the photographs of the injury, which he described as "pretty gory," are still closed to examination. He said he feels publication of the X rays has been prohibited because the Kennedy family equates them with the photographs.

SINGLE STUDENT

To date, he said, the X rays have been studied by only one person since being released for study last November, and that was by a urologist from Columbia University interested in the phenomenon of assassination.

Should the X rays ever be released for publication, he explained, great care and special techniques would be required before they would show the conclusive evidence, because they were produced in a hurry under extremely trying conditions and were over-exposed.

EXPERT SAYS 4-INCH ERROR LED TO FALSE SPECULATIONS IN JFK DEATH DENVER

(AP) — A leading medical expert says a four-inch mistake by a pathologist who examined the body of John F. Kennedy after he was shot to death in Dallas produced a series of false speculations about the assassination.

Dr. Russell H. Morgan said the bullet actually entered the president's skull some four inches higher than initially reported, but the Warren Commission's detailed report on the assassination failed to clarify this point.

Morgan, dean of the medical school at Johns Hopkins University, is the only radiologist to examine the X-ray photographs of the slain president's skull.

The matter became an issue of great importance in New Orleans between 1967 and 1969 when Dist. Atty. Jim Garrison was attempting to prove that the slaying of Kennedy was plotted here.

Garrison contended that Kennedy was shot from the front, rather than from behind as the Warren Report concluded, and that the X-rays would prove it. He made many legal attempts to gain access to the X-rays examined by Dr. Morgan, but failed.

The D.A.'s probe died after Clay L. Shaw was acquitted March 1, 1969, of charges of conspiring to kill the president, though legal maneuvering continued long after that and only recently did the U.S. Supreme Court uphold an injunction prohibiting further prosecution of Shaw by Garrison.

In an address to the 34th midsummer conference of the Rocky Mountain Radiological Society here, he gave X-rays the credit for finally revealing the pathologist's error and disproving many of the more extreme speculations spawned by the mistake, which is included in the Warren Commission report.

Morgan's four-year investigation of the photographs and the Abraham Zapruder film of the assassination led him to several conclusions, he said.

The most important finding was that one of the pathologists who examined Kennedy's body in Washington the night of the assassination erred in saying the fatal bullet entered the "occipital protuberance," or the bulge at the lower section of the back of the skull.

This statement, which Morgan said later proved to be false, was included in the Warren report. Critics of the report immediately noted a major inconsistency between that alleged entry point and several features of the Zapruder film which showed a frame-by-frame sequence of the shooting. Critics said the film showed the president's head in a near vertical position when the bullet hit and also showed him lurching backward, leading to speculation the bullet came from the front.

The angle of the bullet became controversial. Some contended it couldn't have been fired from Lee Harvey Oswald's rifle in the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository and entered the skull where the pathologist said it did.

Morgan said Friday the Warren Commission, which named Oswald as the assassin, made no effort to explain the contradiction, allowing it to provide controversy for several years.

When he was given two days to examine the X-ray photographs, Morgan found them of poor quality, severely over-exposed. Of the 14, he said, only three were of the head wound. He said one had pencil marks on the negative itself showing "where somebody thought the bullet had gone."

(The remaining paragraphs were found in the version of the article published by the Galveston Daily News the next day.)

The penciled line corresponded to the mistaken pathologists' conclusion that the bullet entered the base of the skull and exited at an upward angle out of the right of the forehead. But Morgan said he found the actual entry wound was 120 millimeters away from the penciled line, more than four inches higher on the back of the head.

The lurching of the president's body backward, he said, was caused by body spasms after the massive wound was inflicted.

Morgan said the Zapruder film, the ballistics tests, the projected line of fire and the angle of entry of the fatal bullet all were consistent with the explanation that a single shot fired from above and behind killed the president.

"The Warren Commission's diagnosis was correct," he, said, "even though the evidence cited was inconsistent."

Wounds of Contention

- An over-view of the President's ever-changing wounds. Significant changes highlighted. Measurements are recorded width by length.
- **The entrance wound in the back**
- 1963, the Autopsy: 7 mm x 4 mm, 14 cm in from a point on his right shoulder, 14 cm below the back of his head. Determined by insertion of finger to lead sharply downwards, at approximately a 45 degree angle.
- 1968, the Clark Panel: 7 mm by **10 mm**, 15 cm in from a point on his right shoulder, 5 cm to the right of his midline, 14 cm below the back of his head, 5.5 cm below a fold of skin on the back of his neck. With an abrasion collar on the upper and outer margins, indicating the bullet headed downwards.
- 1978: the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel: 9 mm by 9 mm (measured against the photograph and not against the body), 4-.5 cm to the right of his midline (as per the HSCA trajectory analysis), 13.5 cm below the back of his head, 6 cm below the most prominent neck crease, 5 cm below the upper shoulder margin. (The trajectory analysis decided it was only 4 cm below the shoulder margin.) With an abrasion collar running from **1 o'clock to 7 o'clock**, and the lower margin abraded in an upward direction, indicating the bullet traveled slightly **upwards** upon entrance. (The trajectory analysis, after making adjustments for Kennedy's body position at Zapruder frame 190, decided the bullet traveled slightly downwards.)
- **The wound in the throat, believed to be of exit**
- 1963, the Autopsy: a few millimeters in diameter, or 3-5 mm (based on Dr. Humes' phone call to Dr. Perry the day after the autopsy and Dr. Perry's testimony), in midline or slightly right of midline (based on the testimony of Dr. Perry and Dr. Carrico), at the third or fourth tracheal ring (based on the location of the tracheotomy incision as reported by Dr. Humes.)
- 1968, the Clark Panel: no size given, no right to left location given, upper half of circumference **above** the tracheotomy incision, **9 cm below** the fold of skin on the back of his neck (which places the wound **3.5 cm below the back wound**).
- 1978, the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel: **6-7 mm** (based on Dr. Perry's discussion with the Committee), **2.5-5 mm to the left** of midline (as per the HSCA trajectory analysis), lower half of circumference **below** the tracheotomy incision, (which is measured at 1.5 - 2 cm in vertical diameter, thereby **dropping** the wound **1.5-2 cm below** the site measured by the Clark Panel), **4 cm below** the shoulder line, which places the wound **1 cm above the back wound**, (the trajectory analysis says it was even with the back wound before making the adjustments for body position and 1.1 cm below it after the adjustments.)
- **The entrance wound in the back of the head**
- 1963, the Autopsy: 15 mm by 6 mm, 2.5 cm to the right and slightly above the bony protuberance on the back of his head or EOP.
- 1968, the Clark Panel: **6 mm by 15 mm**, 2.5 cm to the right and **10 cm above** the EOP.
- 1978: the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel: **9 mm by 15-20 mm**, 1.8 cm to the right (as per the HSCA trajectory analysis) and 10 cm above the EOP (9 cm according to the trajectory analysis).
- **The large wound of exit above and in front of the ear**
- 1963, the Autopsy: 13 cm at greatest diameter (10 cm by 17 cm according to Boswell's drawing), involving chiefly parietal bone. (Measurements taken after reflection of the scalp.) No beveled exit apparent on the skull, only on a recovered bone fragment.
- 1968, the Clark Panel: massive fragmentation stretching from 25 mm past midline in the left parietal bone all the way into the right temporal bone (description based upon x-rays taken before reflection of scalp).
- 1978, the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel: no measurement given for large defect. 2.5 cm exit for bullet itself approximated from study of largest recovered fragment. **Beveled semi-circular exit in the fronto-parietal region** of the skull is noted as well as on the largest fragment.
- **Is it just me or is something really wrong here?**

Wounds of Contention

Such was the Justice Department's own skepticism of the Clark Panel's conclusions, however, that Carl Eardley, who'd been working with the doctors on their reviews and reports for years, and who'd been one of the driving forces behind the Clark Panel, asked Dr. Boswell to participate in the autopsy of Dr. Martin Luther King. This was April 4, 1968, but 5 weeks after the Clark Panel had viewed the autopsy materials, and had questioned the competence of Boswell and his colleagues. Boswell, to his credit, refused. While one could make the argument that Eardley remained ignorant of the Clark Panel's findings until after it had been written up, reviewed, and signed, and that the last signature on the report was dated April 9, that still doesn't explain why Boswell's equally discredited colleague Dr. Finck was allowed to participate in the autopsy of Senator Robert F. Kennedy two months later, with no objection from the Justice Department. This also fails to explain why, even after the release of the panel's report, both Finck and Boswell were asked to help the government in the defense of Clay Shaw, and defend the Clark Panel's findings. Unless the government failed to fully trust the Clark Panel, there is a huge question as to why the government would continue to use Boswell and Finck as experts long after the Panel, in an official government report prepared on behalf of the Attorney General, had made them out to be total incompetents. For how else can one describe a doctor who mistakenly records a head wound high on the back of a man's skull as low on the back of his skull, creates a face sheet and autopsy protocol affirming this location, and then confirms this location again after reviewing the man's

autopsy photos...TWICE?

The possibility that Eardley and the Justice Department thought the autopsy doctors competent, but grossly mistaken on the location of the entrance into the skull, simply makes no sense in light of the doctor's subsequent reports claiming the autopsy photos supported their original findings. That is...unless...Eardley knew the subsequent reports were created for political reasons and not to be taken seriously. Hmmm...

An article in the 2-24-69 Manchester Union Leader helps shed some light on Eardley's mindset. The article reports that, while representing the government (in a hearing regarding Jim Garrison's quest to gain access to the autopsy materials), in which Dr. Cyril Wecht used the conclusions in the recently released Clark Panel report to question the competence of the original autopsists, Eardley snapped. He reportedly challenged Wecht: *"But you weren't at the autopsy, were you? Have you ever attended the autopsy of a famous person like the President? You never have been surrounded by Treasury Agents, FBI agents, Admirals, and doctors, all asking to have this thing over with? It makes a difference, doesn't it?"*

I'll give you a second to get over that one. Yep, the Justice Department, which from 1963-1969--the entire span of Lyndon Johnson's presidency--had insisted that Kennedy had received both an adequate and accurate autopsy, IMMEDIATELY changed tone after Johnson left office, and began touting that not only had the original autopsists made mistakes, but that these mistakes WERE NOT THEIR FAULT, but the fault of the Johnson Administration, which had failed to ensure the doctors were allowed the peace, quiet, and solitude necessary to distinguish a bullet entrance near the top of the head from one four inches away. What nonsense!!!

Of course, the Justice Department was not alone in pretending that one could both claim the original autopsy was authoritative and that the head wound location was incorrectly recorded, and off by four inches. They had plenty of support from an unsurprising source...former counsel for the Warren Commission. In May 1975, former Warren Commission counsel W. David Slawson and Richard M. Mosk wrote an article for the L.A. Times arguing that any re-investigation of the assassination be restricted to the behavior of the FBI and CIA, and that there was no need to re-investigate the actual crime. This was a flip from Slawson's position in 1966 that a re-investigation of the medical evidence could prevent an investigation of the behavior of the FBI and CIA. Anyhow, in this article the dynamic duo made the amazing claim that "The evidence concerning the wounds conclusively dispels the idea of shots from the front...The wounds both slanted downward from Kennedy's back. This is clear beyond doubt from the autopsy and from the photographs and X rays of the body...to doubt the evidence of the wounds is to label as liars the doctors who examined the body, the pictures and the X rays for the commission."

Well, this was more disgusting nonsense. Pure horseshit... 1) The wounds did not both slant downward. The head wound, as originally interpreted, slanted upward. The wound was then re-interpreted, and re-located, so that the wound could slant downward. 2) Claiming that doubting the medical evidence is to label the autopsy doctors "liars" is hypocrisy at its worst. Did Slawson and Mosk forget that the government itself doubted the interpretations of the autopsy doctors, and embraced a review of their work in which it was declared they'd incorrectly recorded and remembered the location of the fatal head wound? If not, then why did they not only not denounce this outrage, but embrace the review themselves, by claiming the head wound slanted downward? 3) Slawson and Mosk knew DAMN WELL that the doctors were forbidden from examining the body, pictures and X rays for the commission, and their pretending they were not is offensive. No, more than offensive. The rapid fire assault on the truth by these men is so brazen, in fact, that their own words label themselves as "liars" and hypocrites, for then and evermore.

And they were far from alone... A June 2, 1975 article in Medical World News on the Rockefeller Commission Panel included a few choice quotes from Dr. Fisher. On the possibility congress would open its own investigation of the assassination, and conduct a thorough re-examination of the medical evidence, he whined: *"I think it would be a waste of time and taxpayers' money...And it implies that people who did previous work were dishonest."* Wow. What a freakin' hypocrite! He had no problem second-guessing the autopsy doctors, and re-interpreting the location of the entrance wound on Kennedy's head, but felt insulted congress might not just take his word on it.

His campaign dragged on for years. The March 1977 article on Fisher in the Maryland State Medical Journal and a March 22 1977 article on Dr. Lattimer carried by the Ridder News Service revealed that although they each had come to conclusions contrary to those of the autopsy doctors while performing their own limited examinations of the medical evidence, they felt no further investigation was necessary. Even more disturbing, a September 17, 1977 article distributed by UPI reported that Dr. Russell Morgan had just spoken at Michigan State University, and had told reporters that "Mr. Kennedy's X-rays showed conclusively that a single-bullet fired from behind was the cause of death" and that "Congressional investigators should concentrate on other elements in their inquiry into the assassination."

Well, this is quite interesting. The last time Dr. Morgan had been quoted in the press about the assassination was but days before Dr. Cyril Wecht was to become the first non-government-affiliated pathologist to view the assassination materials at the archives, and in effect review his findings. And now, but 6 days before 6 members of the HSCA pathology panel were to review his findings, on behalf the government, no less, he re-appears, urging that no re-investigation be conducted. Should everyone to look at the autopsy materials in between these two appearances have confirmed his findings, that would be one thing...but in 1975, Dr. Fred Hodges, a Professor of Radiology at the John Hopkins School of Medicine, where Morgan served as Dean, was asked to study Kennedy's X-rays on behalf the Rockefeller Commission, and had provided them a report which directly contradicted Morgan's re-interpretation of the head wound location. Yes, in a little discussed report long withheld from the public, in a passage rarely if ever quoted before I started broadcasting it all over the internet, Hodges refuted the findings of the Clark Panel, noting instead that "a small round hole visible from the intracranial side after the brain was removed is described in the autopsy report in the right occipital bone, and many of the linear fracture lines converge on the described site." Even worse, for Morgan, was the next line: *"The appearance is in keeping with the colored photographs showing a large, compound, comminuted injury in the right frontal region, and a small round soft tissue wound in the occipital region."* Morgan, of course, had claimed there was no wound in the occipital bone on the X-rays or photographs, and had pushed the Clark Panel into concluding the wound was actually four inches or more higher on the back of Kennedy's skull, in the parietal bone.

Hodges' then still-secret report was thus bad news for Morgan. And seeing as Morgan was Hodges' boss, it was bad news that Morgan would almost certainly have discovered. It follows then that Morgan's urging congressional investigators to forget about the X-rays and focus on other matters may not have been so innocent, and was instead a plea designed to protect his own reputation. While this might seem a little harsh, let's remember Morgan's viewpoint but five years earlier. While he once was reportedly of the opinion that the X-rays were *"produced in a hurry under extremely trying conditions"* and were of *"poor quality"* and *"severely over-exposed,"* and that *"great care and special techniques would be required before they would show the conclusive evidence,"* he now claimed they *"showed conclusively that a single-bullet fired from behind was the cause of death"* and that no further investigation was necessary. Perhaps he'd simply changed his mind and no longer felt the cowlick entrance he'd thought he'd "discovered" was a necessary ingredient to the single-assassin conclusion, and worth verifying. Or perhaps he simply didn't care if Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy or not, as

long as his own reputation was protected.

While one might assume from all this that Morgan and the Clark Panel, in their zeal to refute Thompson, had made a mistake in moving the head wound, the HSCA pathology panel, which corrected the Clark Panel's misrepresentation of the back wound when compared to the neck wound, nevertheless confirmed the Clark Panel's new and improved location for the head wound.

This amazing migration is still much-discussed among students of the assassination...and largely ignored by most everyone else. Vincent Bugliosi, in his monster tome *Reclaiming History*, repeats without comment the claim by Dr. Werner Spitz, a colleague of Dr. Fisher's who served on both the Rockefeller and House Select Committee panels, that *"It's just a red herring. We know from the autopsy photos and X-rays that there was only one entrance wound to the back of the president's head. The only significance this matter has is academic. If the bullet had entered where the autopsy surgeons said it did—and we know from the photos and X-rays they were wrong—it would have been an unusual deflection for the bullet to have exited where it did. This was a military-type bullet and it is unlikely that it would be deflected so sharply upwards."* That Bugliosi—who prides himself on his cool-headed logic—lets Spitz get away with such nonsense is embarrassing. I mean, shouldn't he have noticed that Spitz, as Fisher and the Clark Panel before him, was working backwards—that his conclusion that the trajectory for a single bullet entering low on the head and exiting high on the head didn't work had led him to believe the bullet must have entered higher on the head, and reject the statements of everyone who'd actually seen the entrance? I mean, really, is it actually possible Bugliosi thinks such a massive dispute over the president's wound locations is merely "academic"?

I suspect not. It follows then that he was blowing smoke at his readers in his lawyerly manner and hoping they wouldn't notice that "Hey, something's wrong here!"

But at least Bugliosi talked to a doctor before claiming the migration was meaningless. In 2006, former detective Mark Fuhrman wrote a much-publicized book, *A Simple Act of Murder*, in which he investigated and dismissed the single-bullet theory using arguments similar to those provided in the previous chapters. He concluded, nevertheless, that Oswald acted alone. While barely dealing with the head wounds, Fuhrman mentioned in passing that the HSCA forensic medical panel, after viewing the autopsy photos and x-rays, concluded that the entrance wound on Kennedy's skull was *"four inches higher than originally believed by the Warren Commission."* In what has become a typical gesture among those claiming Oswald acted alone, however, he made up an excuse for this, and claimed that the Warren Commission had not actually seen the autopsy materials. This, of course, was nonsense. Not only had Justice Warren admitted viewing the materials, but the autopsy doctors had twice viewed the materials and confirmed the entrance wound location prior to Morgan and the Clark Panel's re-interpreting the wound location. Fuhrman's treatment of the head wounds was thus shallow and deceptive.

Which was pretty much par for the course...

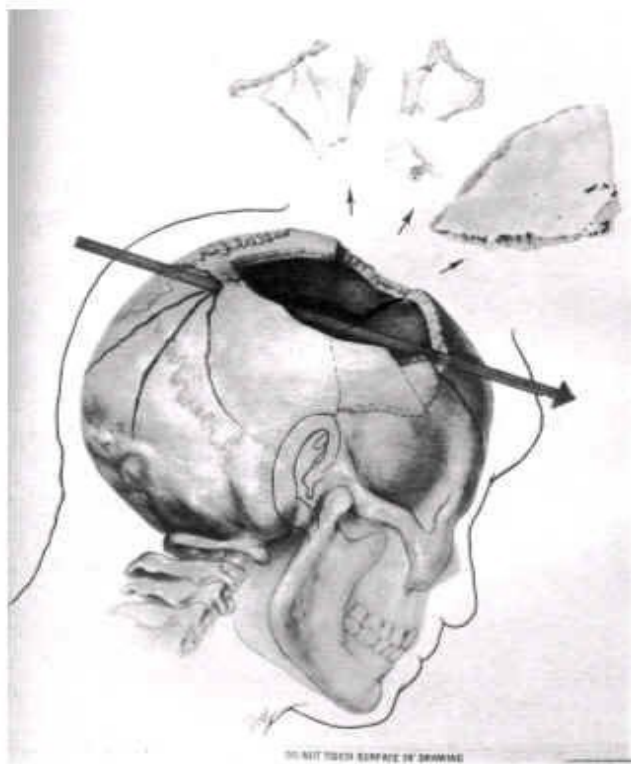
HSCA Ida Dox Drawings



Form: 12.—Drawing depicting the posterior head wound. Note also the position "white mass," described later.

Above: HSCA Fig. 13

Right: HSCA Exhibit F-66



HSCA Ida Dox Drawings

With the re-opening of the investigation by the HSCA, there was great optimism that this time the medical experts would get things right and not present the American people with anything as misleading as the Rydberg drawings. But this was not to be. When one compares the HSCA's drawings of the damage to the President's skull with the HSCA's drawing of the back of the President's head taken from what is purported to be an actual autopsy photo, it is easy to discern that something is wrong. While the first depicts an explosion of bone fragments from the back of the head, the drawing from the autopsy photo depicts this portion of the head as intact, with the only area missing bone a line of fracture from the top of the President's head down towards his right temple. While the argument could be made that the first drawing depicted bones from the back of the head blown out of the hole by the temple, the testimony of the autopsy surgeons reflected that the skull high on the back of the head near the new Clark Panel-determined in-shoot, although badly fractured, remained beneath the scalp. It makes little sense then that the skull fragments exploding from just in front of the entrance in the cowlick in the first drawing represent fragments which the second drawing demonstrates came from the front half of Kennedy's skull. That the drawing depicting the fragments fails to depict the blown-out "wing" of bone near Kennedy's temple, which is clearly evident on the autopsy drawing, is yet further testament to its inaccuracy.

So how did this inaccurate drawing come to be? Helpfully, HSCA medical illustrator Ida Dox testified "a skull was used that had the dimensions of the President's and the photographs of the retrieved bone fragments were traced to get the outline. This paper was cut out along the outline and taped on the skull in the position that the x-rays indicated there was bone missing, and from this paper and skull

reconstruction I made my drawing.” Sounds pretty scientific. Unfortunately, the aforementioned x-rays in fact showed there was plenty of skull left towards the back of the head, and that the recovered fragments must have come from somewhere closer to the wound of exit near the President’s right ear.

This is no simple mistake, mind you. This is a real whopper. From this one can only conclude that the HSCA medical panel, and its chief spokesman Dr. Michael Baden, were fairly clueless, that they were deliberately trying to deceive, or that they were both fairly clueless and deliberately trying to deceive.

I'm leaning to the last one.

While it’s true that soft-nosed bullets are designed to gradually peel back as the bullet traverses flesh, as this gives the bullet more stopping power, full metal jacket bullets like the ones purportedly fired from Oswald’s rifle are designed not to break-up at all. As a result, it takes a tremendous impact to break-up such a bullet. The bullet striking Kennedy was shattered and scattered. While Warren Commission defenders have argued that this break-up could have occurred as the bullet crossed the brain, they usually ignore the fact that no wound track connecting the entrance wound and exit wounds cited at autopsy could be identified within the brain, and that the bullet fragments supposedly marking the Warren Commission's proposed path from the entrance observed at autopsy to the large defect presumably of exit were later revealed to have been inches above this trajectory.

This "mistake" on the part of the autopsists, furthermore, was a major factor in the HSCA's rubber-stamping of the Clark Panel conclusions.

When discussing why his panel had rejected the findings of the autopsists, who'd actually seen Kennedy's body, on the location of the entrance wound on the skull, Dr. Baden explained: *"In discussions with the three doctors and looking together at the same photographs, the doctors who did the autopsy feel that what we identify as an entry wound is an artifact, perhaps dried blood, and not a perforation. I think that the committee will have opportunity to hear testimony from Dr. Humes, who did perform the autopsy, later today, and he can give you his reasoning. We, as the panel members, do feel after close examination of the negatives and photographs under magnification of that higher perforation, that it is unquestionably a perforation of entrance; and we feel very strongly, and this is unanimous, all nine members, that X-rays clearly show the entrance perforation in the skull to be immediately beneath this perforation in the upper scalp skin; and further, **although the original examination of the brain was not complete, photographs of the brain were examined by the panel members, and do show the injury to the brain itself is on the top portion of the brain. The bottom portion or undersurface of the brain, which would have had to have been injured if the bullet perforated in the lower area as indicated in the autopsy report, was intact. If a bullet entered in this lower area, the cerebellum portion of the brain would have had to be injured and it was not injured. So that is the basis for what remains a disagreement between our panel and the original autopsy doctors.**"*

The panel's unanimous conclusion, moreover, was echoed by the Committee's wound ballistics expert, Larry Sturdivan. When shown the skull x-rays, and asked to comment on the location of the wound track, Sturdivan testified: *"There is extensive deformation at the top of the skull which indicates that the radial velocity that was imparted to the tissue, broke it open and, therefore, relieved the pressure at the top, well, either to the right or the left, since you can't distinguish on an X-ray. You would presume, then, that the soft tissue, which was badly damaged, would have moved somewhat in the direction of that relieved pressure and, therefore, would be displaced somewhat upward from the original track. So, I would place the original track as being somewhat lower than that trail of fragments indicated through there; certainly not much lower...**there is no indication of any track in the lower half of the skull. It definitely was in the upper part.**"*

Well, this pretty much destroys the bullet trajectory as outlined by the Warren Commission, and

suggests that the Clark Panel and HSCA were correct in searching for another entrance. The controversy can then be concluded in their favor. Right?

Well, not so fast... Unfortunately, there are problems with their proposed location as well. Since the damage to the upper brain started just left of the newfound entrance in the cowlick and led straight across the skull to the forehead, and since the expected trajectory through Kennedy would have been an ever-widening cone of fragments centered around an outshoot above the temple, the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel should have suspected that something was not quite right. I mean, why didn't any of the fragments from this ever-widening cone embed within the brain on a level *below* the trajectory from the sniper's nest?

There is reason to suspect someone asked this question. And found no answer. It seems more than a coincidence that not one HSCA exhibit depicts the break-up of the bullet as it traversed the skull from its entrance near the cowlick. Curiously, the drawings used by the HSCA to depict beveling on the skull, the analysis of which led both the autopsy doctors and the HSCA to conclude the fatal bullet was fired from behind, depicted an intact bullet like those used in Oswald's rifle entering and exiting a skull, even though, according to the HSCA's own findings, this could not possibly have happened. This is undoubtedly confusing.

There is reason to suspect, then, that Exhibit F-66, made to the specifications of Dr. Michael Baden, was a deliberate deception. But what about the tracing of the autopsy photo? Was that a deception as well?

Now You See It! Now You Don't!



A comparison of the HSCA's proposed entrance in the autopsy photo (at left, and above) and the HSCA's tracing of this photo, HSCA Figure 13 (at right and below), shows that some detail was added by the illustrator to make it look more like an entrance.



So why was detail removed from the round-shape observed in the blow-up at left (at the 1 o'clock position to the white matter observed near the hairline)? This was the exact location of the entrance observed at autopsy. Was it made to disappear?



Now You See it! Now You Don't!

When the HSCA forensic pathology panel showed Dr. James Humes a photo displaying what they believed was the actual entrance hole on the back of the head, the small oval shape in the cowlick, Dr. Humes, who'd led the autopsy of President Kennedy and had repeatedly asserted that the hole was near the President's hairline, responded "I don't know what that is. Number one, I can assure you that as we reflected the scalp to get to this point, there was no defect corresponding to this in the skull at any point. I don't know what that is. It could be to me clotted blood...it certainly was not any wound of entrance." While Dr. Humes' irritation was spurred no doubt by the Clark Panel's decision to change the location of the entrance hole, when one compares the HSCA drawing of the autopsy photo to the original autopsy photo, there's reason for us all to be irritated, even outraged.

One source of anger comes from looking at the mark in the cowlick, which was repeatedly re-drawn to look more like a bullet entrance by medical artist Ida Dox, at the request of pathology panel spokesman Dr. Michael Baden. At Cyril Wecht's 2003 conference on the assassination, Dr. Randy Robertson showed the audience a 5-9-78 memo from Baden to Dox found in the National Archives. This memo was a photocopy of a page from Dr. Spitz's book *Medicolegal Investigation of Death*, with a drawing of a typical entrance wound. Beside the drawing, Dr. Baden had written "Ida, you can do much better."

Apparently, Dox's early versions of the "bullet hole" were still too close to the original photo, and made the "bullet hole" appear more like the "clotted blood" Dr. Humes described, than the bullet hole Dr. Baden wanted to be there.

This proved to be a big problem..for Humes. In 1996 HSCA counsel Andy Purdy told the ARRB that after Humes made his comments, Dr. Charles Petty took Humes outside and yelled at him. And this wasn't just Purdy's fantasy. In a 2-20-2000 meeting with researchers, Dr. Michael Baden not only confirmed Purdy's story, but built upon it. He re-constructed Petty's words to Humes for dramatic effect, and had Petty call Humes a "God-damned jackass."

And Humes' problems extended way beyond his being yelled at by Petty. His subsequent problems would, in fact, make those problems look--eegads--petty in comparison. In his 1998 book *Real Answers*, HSCA Counsel Gary Cornwell admits that, as a result of Humes' failure to agree with the new and improved entrance location, he was all set to treat Humes as a hostile witness and aggressively question him about the problems with the autopsy during his September 1978 testimony before the committee. (Cornwell believed that Humes, *"in an apparent attempt to cover up his own mistakes"* had *"not told the truth"* to the Warren Commission, and that he--Cornwell--could *"prove it"*.) Cornwell then explains that his plans were thwarted after the *"committee's doctor"* (most probably Dr. Baden, but possibly a reference to Petty) went behind his back, and warned Humes of Cornwell's plans, essentially telling Humes that if Humes agreed to pretend the entrance wound was in the cowlick he could survive Cornwell's questioning with his reputation intact.

Baden's plan was successful. A year after Dr. Humes called the supposed entrance in the cowlick "clotted blood" he testified that he had been mistaken and that he now thought it was the entrance wound described in the autopsy report.

But this wasn't the end to Humes' humiliation. In what may have been an attempt to hide Humes' description of the supposed wound in the cowlick as "clotted blood," the report of the HSCA forensic pathology panel, in its discussion of the controversy over the wound location, noted that, when discussing the proposed cowlick entrance, "Dr. Humes first suggested that it might represent an extension of a more anterior scalp laceration, incident to the exit wound, in spite of the fact that within the photograph the margins of the wound appear to be intact around the entire circumference." Well, this, as we've seen, is not true. It was, in fact, Dr. Boswell who said it could have been the end of a scalp laceration, and not Humes. Still, this may have been an innocent mistake.

But then again, perhaps not. When the panel was working on its report, they may very well have been under the assumption their interview with Humes and Boswell would be locked up for 50 years, a la their interviews with their colleagues Finck and Ebersole. As a result, their attributing an easily disproved theory to Humes may not have been an innocent mistake at all, but a conscious decision to damage his credibility, and hide his initial objections to their dubious re-interpretation of the entrance wound.

That Humes was not pleased with this, and was pressured into acting as though he'd changed his mind, when he never really had, is supported, moreover, by the strange fact that in 1992, when he next spoke of the entrance wound location on Kennedy's skull, he'd "changed" his mind back.

No one else claiming to have seen the entry wound even pretended to change their minds. Humes' colleague from the autopsy, Dr. Boswell, never wavered in his recollection of the entrance location being in the area of the brain matter low on the skull. Not surprisingly, he was never called before the committee. The third autopsist, Dr. Finck, was interviewed by the medical panel on March 11 and 12, 1978 and put under tremendous pressure to change his interpretation of the entrance wound's location and agree with the panel that the real wound was in the cowlick. Apparently they felt that Finck, as a forensic pathologist, would be more understanding of their plight, and more agreeable to their points of

view.

They were, as it turned out, barking up the wrong tree. Finck had been consistent in his previous statements, in that he'd always said he'd arrived after Kennedy's brain had been removed, and that he'd soon thereafter examined a 15 by 6 entrance wound low on the intact skull. Well, think about it. How could a wound in the location of the red spot in the cowlick still be on the skull AFTER the brain had been removed? And how could Fink suddenly turn around and say "Oh yeah, the wound I thought I saw on the skull was really on a piece of bone removed by Dr. Humes"? Finck's previous statements and the pathology panel's contention the wound was in the cowlick were thus hopelessly at odds.

In any event, in a section of the pathology panel's interview of Dr. Finck (conveniently excluded from the official transcript, and found only on the tape), Dr. Weston kept asking Finck if it was possible there'd been some sort of transcription error when the autopsists reported that the wound was near the EOP. Finck admitted that yes, it was possible. Dr. Baden then pounced and told Finck that the wound in the cowlick in the photos was determined to be 15 mm by 6 mm--the same size of the wound measured at autopsy. He also told Finck that the x-rays showed an entrance wound exactly where the mark is in the cowlick. (Neither of these assertions was true or repeated in the the panel's final report.) Baden then remarked that everything mentioned in the autopsy report pointed to the wound being in the cowlick. (This is absolute nonsense.) At this point, Dr. Wecht and Dr. Petty disavowed Weston's and Baden's "cross-examination" and "badgering" of Finck. Ultimately, Finck held firm and said he believed the wound was as measured at autopsy, and beneath the white gob of matter in the autopsy photos. No surprise, he was also never called before the committee.

And the HSCA staff's treatment of the other autopsy witnesses wasn't much better. Dr. David Osborne, Bethesda's Chief of Surgery, who would later become an Admiral, was yet another autopsy witness to claim he saw the "low" entrance wound. His presence at the autopsy is confirmed by the FBI's report on the autopsy, and his assistance in closing the head wounds after the autopsy is confirmed by the testimony of Dr. Humes before the ARRB. Osborne was interviewed by HSCA staff member Mark Flanagan on June 20, 1978, two months after the HSCA medical panel interviewed Dr. Finck and found itself at an impasse regarding the location of the entrance wound on Kennedy's head. To repeat--those present at the autopsy insisted this wound was near the EOP low on the head, while the members of its medical panel were pushing that it was really in the cowlick near the top of the head. And yet, amazingly, Flanagan's report on his discussion with Dr. Osborne never mentions any discussion of the precise wound location, and instead relates that "Osborne said that there was no question that the bullet entered the back of the head and blew off the top of the head." Well, this was chickenshit, at best. If Osborne had said his colleagues were in error, and that the bullet entered near the top of the head, why not say so? And if he supported his colleagues, and claimed the bullet entered low on the head--in opposition to what the medical panel was preparing to claim in its report--well, why not say so? Unless, of course, someone had already decided to downplay all support for the statements of Humes, Boswell, and Finck, and had already decided to hang them out to dry and claim they'd been mistaken. In any event, a researcher named Joanne Braun was able to get Osborne's recollections on paper, and he told her in a 4-5-90 letter that a bullet "hit in the occipital region of the posterior skull which blew off the posterior top of the skull." He had thereby supported the original recollections of his close friend, Dr. Humes. Osborne, as you've probably guessed, was never called before the House committee.

Autopsy photographer John Stringer, and Secret Service Agent Roy Kellerman also claimed to see a small entrance wound low on Kennedy's skull, and were similarly brushed aside. This means that Dr. Humes was the ONLY autopsy witness or participant to say the cowlick mark in the photos was the entrance wound, and he said so exactly ONCE, while under duress, in the ONLY testimony of an autopsy witness before the committee, and retracted it afterward.

Of course, that doesn't stop the most ardent single-assassin theorists from trying to claim otherwise. In

his 1993 book *Case Closed*, single-assassin theorist Gerald Posner claimed he'd spoken to both Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell, and that they'd both told him the HSCA had convinced them they were mistaken in their original identification of the wound location, and that they both now believed it had been 10 cm above the EOP, in the cowlick. They both denied this, of course. But the damage had already been done. In a March 1993 article published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Dr. Robert Artwohl, while trying to refute the claims of conspiracy theorists angry over the magazine's recent articles supportive of Dr.s Humes, Boswell, and Finck, exposed his true agenda by first admitting that "for a bullet to enter just above the EOP and exit the right frontotemporoparietal area, it would have had to travel in an upward direction, fired from inside the limousine's trunk," and then twisting Dr. Boswell's statements into somehow confirming that the wound was actually 4 inches higher. The spin was dizzying, nauseating even; Artwohl actually dismissed the evidence for the lower entrance by claiming "Boswell's testimony and autopsy drawing refutes such a low entry point." He then spun that since Boswell told the HSCA that the entry wound was at the posterior edge of the large defect, and since the X-rays showed the posterior edge of the large defect to be near the top of the head, close to the HSCA's cowlick entrance, that Boswell's statements were actually more "consistent with an entry wound 10 cm above the EOP at the posterior edge of the large skull defect."

This was absolute rubbish, of course, and mighty strange rubbish at that. First, Artwohl overlooked that the posterior edge of the large defect changed locations after the scalp was peeled back and skull fell to the table, and that Boswell was almost certainly referencing the posterior edge of the second much larger defect. Second, he was willfully avoiding that the lower wound location was not just Boswell's recollection, but that of the rest of the autopsy team. And third, he was boldly ignoring that Humes and Boswell, in the very article under attack by the conspiracy theorists--the very article he was supposedly defending--had confirmed their original impression of the entrance wound by claiming the wound was "slightly above" the EOP, and that his article was therefore as much an attack on their competence as anything published by what he condescendingly called the "conspirati."

But the dishonesty and/or hypocrisy of those claiming the bullet wound was higher is not the only reason to believe the autopsy's description of the entrance wound was correct, and that the Clark Panel and HSCA's proposed entrance "clotted blood" of some sort. When one considers that the hole described in the autopsy report is 15 mm x 6 mm, a proportion of $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1$, and that Humes' handwritten version of the report further notes that this entrance was "tangential to the surface of the scalp", and then considers that the hole or clotted blood in the cowlick is almost round, and is, at most, $1 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$, and a through and through hole, then it should be clear that the shape in the cowlick is not the entrance wound described by the doctors. When one considers further that NOT ONE witness of the dozens interviewed who saw the President after the assassination in Dallas and Bethesda recalled seeing an entrance wound in this cowlick location, moreover, this fact should be startlingly clear. Crystal.

So what happened to the wound described by the doctors? While in the Dox Drawing there seems to be no trace of a bullet entrance anywhere near the splash of white matter (where the autopsy doctors placed the entrance), on the original photograph there appears to be a small hole just above and to the right of this matter. I suspect this is the entrance hole observed at the autopsy. That this hole was added to this never-officially released photo by someone from the research community is refuted by the simple fact that before I started doing so no one from the research community of whom I was aware had ever acknowledged its existence, and that this shape is indeed apparent on the Dox drawing, once one notices it in the autopsy photo.

Well, why hasn't anyone noticed this before? That an entrance hole in the hairline vindicating Humes' testimony runs counter to three of the most widely held conspiracy theories on the assassination, i.e. that the bullet striking the President in the head came from the front and exited from the back of his head, that the autopsy doctors were, of necessity, party to the conspiracy, and that the autopsy photos

were altered to hide an *exit* hole in the back of the head, could very well be a factor in many a conspiracy theorist's failure to notice the hole. But there are many single-assassin theorists out there on the constant lookout for anything that will support the findings of the original autopsy. Why can't they see it?

Well, perhaps they are afraid to acknowledge that the autopsy doctors were correct, and that the wound was not only low on the skull, throwing the head shot trajectory into doubt, but as little as 6 mm in its smallest dimension, suggesting that a bullet smaller than 6.5 mm was responsible. It WAS undoubtedly helpful to the lone nut cause, after all, to claim the entrance on the skull was really 9 mm in its smallest dimension, ala the HSCA pathology panel, than that it was only 6 mm, and possibly even smaller than what was believed to be the fatal bullet, ala the official autopsy report. This 6 mm measurement was so problematic, in fact, that the author of chapter 3 of the Warren Report, presumably Arlen Specter, chose to lie about it.

Here is the discussion of the wound in the autopsy report:

"Situated in the posterior scalp approximately 2.5 cm. laterally to the right and slightly above the external occipital protuberance is a lacerated wound measuring 15 x 6 mm. In the underlying bone is a corresponding wound through the skull which exhibits beveling of the margins of the bone when viewed from the inner aspect of the skull."

And here is how Dr. Humes testified regarding this wound: *"The size of the defect in the scalp, caused by a projectile could vary from missile to missile because of elastic recoil and so forth of the tissues. However, the size of the defect in the underlying bone is certainly not likely to get smaller than that of the missile which perforated it, and in this case, the smallest diameter of this was approximately 6 to 7 mm., so I would feel that that would be the absolute upper limit of the size of this missile, sir."*

Note that Humes now suggests that the wound on the skull could be as much as 7 mm wide, slightly wider than the bullet. But the impact of a high-velocity bullet on a skull would almost certainly leave a hole measurably larger than the bullet itself. So how does the commission deal with this problem?

They don't. Instead, they blow smoke. Here is the discussion of this wound on page 129 of the Warren Report:

"The smaller hole on the back of the President's head measured one-fourth of an inch by five-eighths of an inch (6 by 15 millimeters). The dimensions of that wound were consistent with having been caused by a 6.5-millimeter bullet fired from behind and above which struck at a tangent or an angle causing a 15-millimeter cut. The cut reflected a larger dimension of entry than the bullet's diameter of 6.5 millimeters, since the missile, in effect, sliced along the skull for a fractional distance until it entered. The dimension of 6 millimeters, somewhat smaller than the diameter of a 6.5-millimeter bullet, was caused by the elastic recoil of the skull which shrinks the size of an opening after a missile passes through it."

Yes, you got it. Humes testified that a hole on the scalp might shrink but that a hole on the skull would not, and the author of the report instead claimed a hole on the skull would shrink. This served to cut off any speculation regarding the small size of the bullet entrance on the skull. Now isn't that special?

But I digress. We were discussing the unwillingness of those claiming Oswald acted alone to acknowledge the round wound I've spotted in the autopsy photos--right where the doctors said it was.

Well, perhaps they just haven't spent as much time looking at these photos as I. I studied the photos for a year or more before noticing what I now believe to be the hole.

And there's also the possibility that--dare I say it--I have a heightened ability when it comes to interpreting certain kinds of images. I recall a gator watch on the bayou during a vacation in New

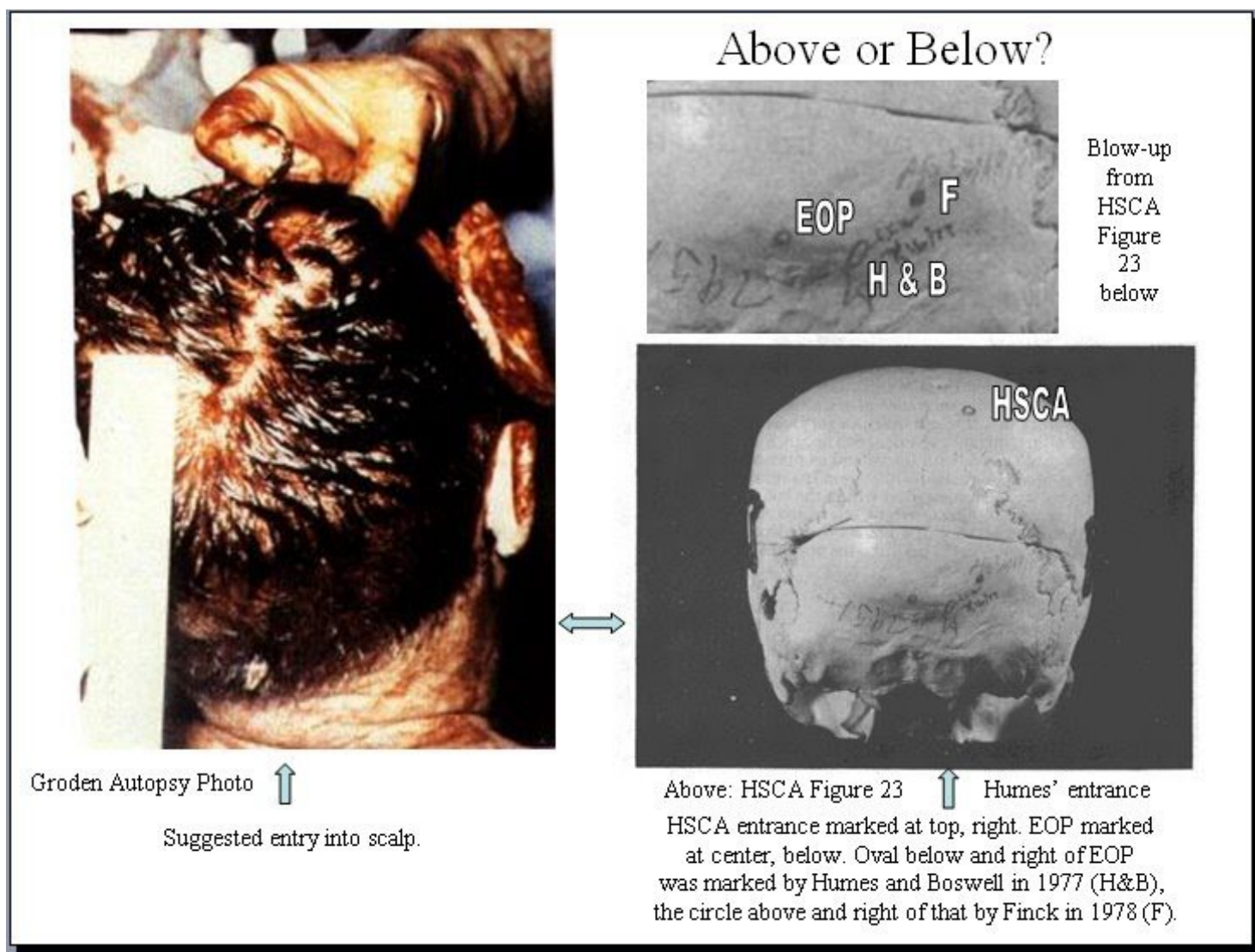
Orleans. There were roughly 25 people on the boat. Out of the roughly 20 gators spotted by this group, I was the first to spot 12-15 of them. I have no idea why. People on the boat were laughing, and accusing me of being some sort of ringer, or of having Superman's eyes.

But, fortunately, there's no need to propose any special abilities on my part. For the proper answer to the question of why hasn't anyone noticed this before is this...THEY HAVE.

Let's recall that, in 1975, Dr. Fred Hodges, when discussing the color back of the head photo on the slide above, had claimed it showed "a large, compound, comminuted injury in the right frontal region, and a small round soft tissue wound in the occipital region." Well, what other small round soft tissue wound in the occipital region could he be talking about? As the "cowlick" entrance was not what one would call a soft tissue wound, and was not even in the occipital bone, it follows that Hodges was thinking of the dark round shape I've identified.

And Hodges wasn't alone. In 2010, I discovered an image in the collection of researcher Anthony Marsh in which the dark oval above the white substance was circled, and on which someone had written that this was the entrance described at autopsy. While Marsh couldn't remember where he got this image, he was able to relate that this image pre-dated my interest in the assassination by several years. So I wasn't the first to spot this alligator...

No, not by a long shot...



Above or Below?

Only adding to my suspicion that the dark shape on the autopsy photo is the entrance observed at autopsy is that when one compares the dark shape with the entrance location marked on a skull by the autopsy doctors, they nearly overlap. While the autopsy report and the marked skull depict the wound as being slightly above the EOP—the external occipital protuberance, the bump at the back of Kennedy's head--and the photos indicate it was slightly below, the doctors were inconsistent in their testimony as to whether the entrance was above or below. During Dr. Humes' discussion with the HSCA, for example, he told them that after looking at the autopsy photos he now believed the wound was slightly below the EOP.

So why couldn't the doctors from the autopsy successfully point out the low entrance wound when shown the autopsy photos by the HSCA in 1978 and The Assassinations Records Review Board (The ARRB) in 1996? After all, they'd found it twice before. Twice...

As discussed, when the Kennedys turned the autopsy materials photos over to the National Archives, the Archives arranged for Dr. Humes, Dr. Boswell, the autopsy radiologist John Ebersole, and the autopsy photographer John Stringer to catalogue the photographs and x-rays and create a Report of Inspection on November 1, 1966. This was the first time the autopsists had been allowed to see the

photographs. Their report, signed November 10, 1966, describes photos 15 and 16 as “depicting a wound of entrance in right posterior occipital region” and transparencies 42 and 43 as “color prints of the missile wound in right occipital region.”

Similarly, on the January 26, 1967 report prepared for the Justice Department, Humes, Boswell, and (a rushed-back-from Vietnam) Finck assert that “the autopsy report states that a lacerated entry wound measuring 15 by 6mm (.59 by 0.24 inches) is situated in the posterior scalp approximately 2.5 cm (1 inch) laterally to the right and slightly above the external occipital protuberance” and that “Photographs No.s 15, 16, 42, and 43 show the location and size of the wound.”

Were they lying when they said they saw the entrance wound?

Were they scared to point it out after the Clark Panel and the government “officially” decided this entrance didn’t exist?

Or were the photos in the archives “doctored” between 1967 and 1977?

If so, it would most probably have taken place after 1975. As we've seen, the April, 1975 report of Dr. Fred Hodges to the Rockefeller Commission reflects that in his interpretation a colored autopsy photo (presumably the one above) showed “a large compound comminuted injury to the right frontal region, and a small round soft tissue wound to the right occipital region” which was “in keeping” with the wound “described in the autopsy report in the right occipital bone.” The Clark Panel and HSCA's “cowlick” entrance is, of course, in the parietal bone.

And then there's this little morsel... Doug Horne, a member of the ARRB staff, is reported to have told a crowd at a 1998 assassination conference that he witnessed both Humes and Boswell point out where they believed the entrance to be during their ARRB testimony, and that this entrance was the same for each man. According to Joe Backes’ notes on the conference, Horne then said the spot they selected was a spot behind the right ear “that seemed dark and intact in the photo.” While this could be a reference to the entrance proposed above, the transcripts of the doctors’ testimony do not reflect they ever pointed out such a spot to their interviewer Jeremy Gunn. Hmmm. If Backes’ notes and Horne’s words are to be trusted, this suggests that either Gunn failed to make a note of where the doctors pointed (which seems strange considering that that they were interviewed, in no small part, so that he could record their impressions of the wound locations) or that even the ARRB transcripts have been “doctored.”

HSCA Figure 15/ Fox Autopsy Photo Comparison



Above and at bottom
HSCA Exhibit, Fig. 15



Arrows point to suggested entry into scalp.



Fox Autopsy Photo

HSCA Figure 15/Fox Autopsy Photo Comparison

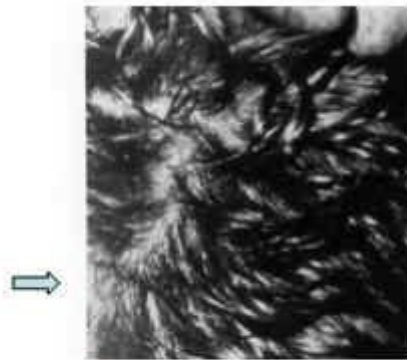
As a result of the autopsy doctors' failure to point out a hole in the hairline, outside of vague comments that it was near the splash of mysterious gray matter, the HSCA's pathology panel opted to confirm the findings of the Clark Panel and assert that the three doctors who actually inspected the President on the night of the autopsy, Humes, Boswell, and Finck, were all incredibly mistaken and had even recorded his head wound in the wrong bone. Suspiciously, in the pathology panel's report, they mentioned that they searched the area around the splash of gray matter near the hairline but were convinced there was no wound at that location. What was not stated was that the close-up of the gray matter they placed in their report was a close-up of gray matter taken from a different photo than the one they had Ida Dox copy. The photo they took the close-up from can be found on the internet, however. While the bullet hole is less apparent in this photo, it is still visible, which makes me suspect that it is indeed a bullet entrance and not just an aberration on the other autopsy photo. In fact, the only aberration seems to be that the HSCA medical panel cropped this photo just below the possible bullet hole, so that the bullet hole can not be seen on the close-up image shown the autopsy doctors, and subsequently published. Or was this just another coincidence?

That this hole near the EOP was deliberately ignored because it was inconsistent with the damage done

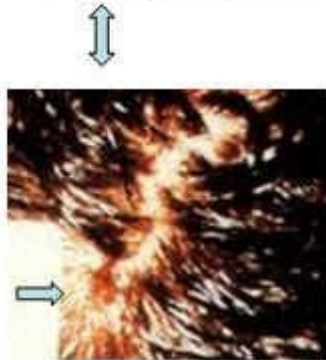
to the President's brain and skull, and would therefore necessitate an additional shot, is lent credence by the testimony of Dr. Humes before the HSCA. Oddly, it is the testimony where he admits he was wrong and confirms that the hole in the cowlick was the real entrance. He says: "We described the wound of entrance in the posterior scalp as being above and to the right of the external occipital protuberance...it is obvious to me as I sit here how...the upper defect to which you pointed or the upper object is clearly in the location of where we said approximately where it was, above the external occipital protuberance; therefore, I believe that is the wound of entry...By the same token, the object in the lower portion, which I apparently and I believe now erroneously identified before the most recent panel, is far below the external occipital protuberance and would not fit with the original autopsy findings.." Humes' contention that the gray matter's location was ruled out because it was a centimeter or so *below* the original measured position by the EOP, and that therefore the wound in the cowlick 10 centimeters *above* the EOP must be the real location, is one of the strangest statements of all time. It's akin to someone viewing a police line-up where the perpetrator was believed to look like Mel Torme, and choosing Shaquille O'Neal because Mickey Rooney was just too damned short. Humes' focus on the EOP is nevertheless a red flag indicating there was great concern that his saying the entrance wound was below the EOP would bring the medical panel's findings there was one shooter firing from behind into question. Notice the way he says "clearly in the location of where we said approximately where it was" when it was four inches away on a different bone. Clearly, wrongly admitting a colossal error in order to help perpetuate a lie didn't come easy to the man. According to author David Lifton, who spoke to Humes afterward, Humes' hands were trembling. According to Dr. Boswell, when he confronted Humes with the rumor that Humes had agreed that their autopsy report was wrong and that the entrance was near the top of the head, Humes flatly denied it.

When asked about his twists and turns regarding the position of this entrance wound by Jeremy Gunn of the ARRB, Humes only got himself in deeper, stating "I experienced great difficulty in interpreting the location of the wound of entrance in the posterior scalp from the photograph. This may be because of the angle from which it was taken, or the position of the head, etc. It is *obvious* that the location of the external occipital protuberance cannot be ascertained from the photograph. I most firmly believe that the location of the wound was exactly where I measured it to be." Could it really have been that difficult to distinguish between the position of the EOP, near the middle of Kennedy's head, in the occipital bone, and the purported in-shoot in the cowlick, 4 inches away near the top of Kennedy's head in his parietal bone, when you have a photograph of his entire head and neck???

Eye of the Beholder

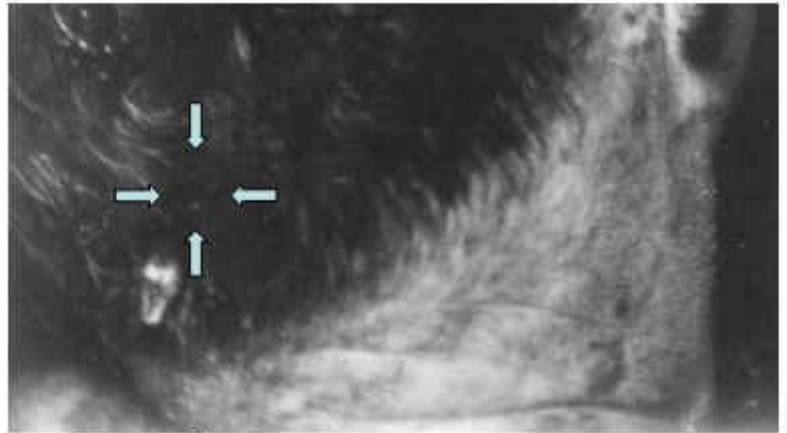


Fox
Autopsy
Photo



Groden
Autopsy Photo

Arrows point to suspected entrances in
cowlick, above, and hairline, at right.



Eye of the Beholder

When I compare the photos of the back of Kennedy's head, I find it remarkable that what appears to be a small hole appears in each photo slightly above and to the right of the gray matter. Even more remarkable is that this hole is in the exact same spot in each photo, and precisely where the doctors said there was a bullet hole. To me, this is clearly the wound described at autopsy. But that's just me. Now years after I first came forward to promote this round shape as the long-lost entrance on the back of Kennedy's head, I've found few theorists of any stripe willing to abandon their pre-conceptions.

But the wound is there, nevertheless, plain as day. It really makes me wonder if truth, much as beauty, is purely in the eye of the beholder.

When I compare the cowlick entrance in the photos, I find something else to shake my head about. For here, it seems equally clear that the purported hole in the cowlick is much fainter on the black and white photo, and almost certainly not a bullet entrance. I'm not the first to notice this. Dr. Humes noticed this as well, and pointed this out in his discussion with the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel. He explained that he rejected the mark in the cowlick as an entrance because: "despite the fact that this upper point that has been the source of some discussion here this afternoon is excessively obvious in the color photograph, I almost defy you to find it in that magnification in the black and white."

And he wasn't the only doctor to make such an observation. Within the Harold Weisberg Archives (in a

book on the photographic evidence by John Woods, included in the "White Files") is an unpublished article by Mark Crouch, the researcher who befriended former Secret Service photographer James Fox, and who subsequently made the black and white autopsy photos developed by Fox available to the research community. Well, in this article Crouch relates that he didn't stop there, and that "On 5 separate occasions" he masked out the scalp and tissue surrounding the supposed entry wound on the black and white autopsy photo of the back of the head and asked doctors if they could tell what kind of wound was depicted. According to Crouch, "4 said the wound appeared to be a burn while the 5th said it appeared to be a skin rash." When told it was purported to depict a penetrating wound, moreover, all 5 were reported to scoff at the notion, and tell Crouch "no doctor could make that statement to any degree of certainty."

That the mark seen on the black and white photo is so clearly not a bullet hole, unfortunately, has led still other doctors to push that the entrance wound on the Dox drawing was completely fabricated. This is not remotely fair, and is yet another reminder that conspiracy theorist doctors are every bit as capable of deception as single-assassin theorist doctors. Incredibly, in two separate articles in the collection *Murder in Dealey Plaza*, published 2000, Drs Gary Aguilar and David Mantik place the Ida Dox drawing (copied from the color photo of the back of the head) by the black and white photo for comparison. Dr. Aguilar's caption reads: "...The small spot towards the top of the skull, which appears red in color photographs, was said to be an entrance location...The wound described is not evident in the actual photo." By his use of the phrase "actual photo," Aguilar had implied that the color photo was but a color version of the black and white. This was not true.

Fortunately, he tried to correct this mistake. In September 2006, when challenged online by an irate single-assassin theorist about this caption, Dr. Aguilar readily admitted his error, stating "it appears that I did indeed use the wrong image of the back of JFK's head. The only one I had was from a high quality black and white, 8x10 set that I'd gotten from Tink Thompson and used for this image. My error was in not realizing that there was a tiny change in perspective in the correct image vs. the one I showed." Dr. Aguilar has in fact used the color photo in subsequent comparisons. He has also disavowed his use of the term "actual photo". He related "I never noticed that phrasing before and I don't think I'd write it that way today, if I actually wrote it originally, as opposed to the editor's having written it. I simply don't now recall."

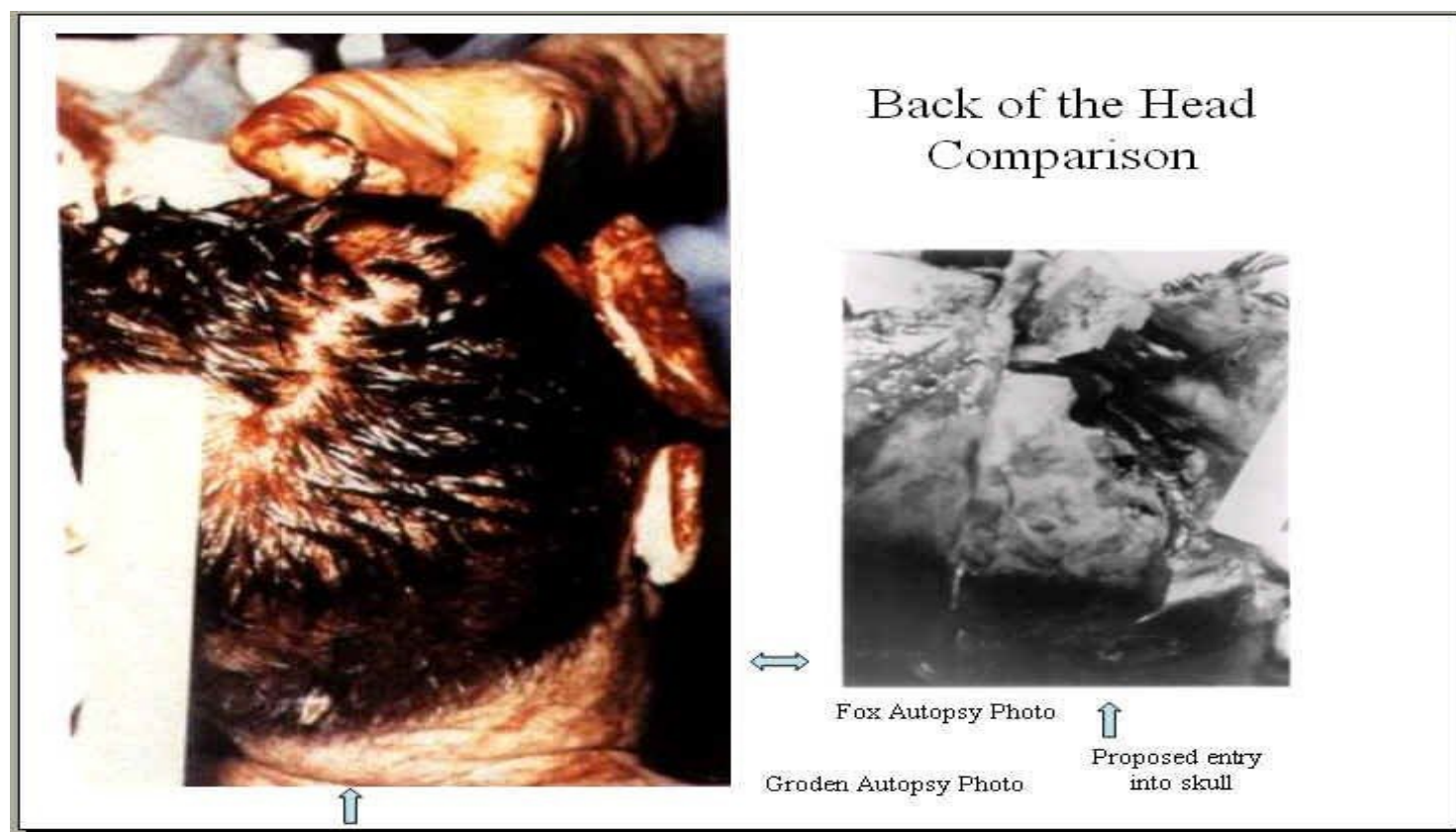
Intriguingly, this last statement suggests that the misleading caption was written by the editor of *Murder in Dealey Plaza*, Dr. James Fetzer. If true, this might help explain why a nearly identical mistake was made in Dr. Mantik's article in the same book. Dr. Mantik's caption reads: "Ida Dox inexplicably enhanced the red spot in her drawing. The actual entry is not visible; *no other photograph shows it either.*"

Dr. Fetzer, however, would later insist that both captions were written by the authors. In a January 2010 post on the Education Forum, he explained: "*I shall have more to say about this, but Speer appears to have noticed something that has escaped the rest of us. These captions were the author's own. Notice that Gary's captions tend to be rather longer and more detailed than my captions in the Prologue, for example, where only rarely do I offer more complex ones. I have no doubt the captions were authored by Gary and by David themselves. If they were missing from the original manuscripts, I may have called them to compose them.*"

Fetzer's explanation was not entirely satisfactory, however, in that he failed to acknowledge that he not only published what he now acknowledges was a misleading comparison in two different chapters of *Murder in Dealey Plaza*, published 2000, but that he repeated this misleading comparison in a chapter all his own in 2009. Fetzer's mistake, moreover, was actually worse in that he compared the wrong part of the scalp in the black and white photo to the part of the scalp showing the supposed cowlick entrance in the color photo, and then claimed the supposed cowlick entrance could not be seen at all in the black

and white photo. (One can see this for oneself on page 357 of his chapter, [here](#).) And so it appears that two respected writers made an identical mistake, and that their editor not only failed to catch it, but repeated it and amplified it.

Still, whenever one points out the mistakes of researcher/writers such as Aguilar, Mantik, and Fetzer, one should also inject some perspective, and note that, while their mistakes may mislead a few unsuspecting readers, they positively pale in comparison to the mistakes made by the mainstream media most every time they write a bout the assassination. In a May 20, 1992, AP article reporting on a press conference held by Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell, for example, the AP printed drawings of an entrance wound on the back of a head and beveling of the skull. Hundreds of thousands of readers were fooled into thinking these drawings supported the statements of the doctors, who, in an effort to combat some of the assertions in Oliver Stone's film JFK, had asserted "The second, fatal shot entered the back of this head and exploded the right side of the skull." The problem was that the drawing provided by the AP depicted the bullet entering near the top of Kennedy's skull, in the HSCA entrance, when the doctors were describing the wound as measured at autopsy, 4 inches below this entrance. This "mistake" by the mainstream press thus effectively hid from the public that the doctors were not only arguing against Oliver Stone, but also EVERY government panel to look at the assassination since 1968. Apparently, the AP didn't consider that news worth reporting.



Back of the Head Comparison

An additional reason to believe our proposed hole in the hairline is Dr. Humes' long-lost entrance near the EOP comes from the fact that, when one looks at the gruesome autopsy photo of the back of the President's head once his brain was removed, the hole is once again right where you'd expect it to be,

showing signs of the “tunneling” described by the doctors.

Significantly, if one matches the open-cranium photograph and the back of the head photo one can use the ruler in the latter to measure the size of the wound in the former. If one estimates that the camera was 12 inches from the ruler, and that the wound was 1 inch beyond that, and assumes the camera was not using a zoom lens, then one can guesstimate that the wound was 8 percent larger in reality than measured on the ruler. This makes the wound approximately 16 mm wide. The entrance wound measured by the doctors was 15 mm wide. I firmly believe this is that wound.

Since this autopsy photo of the cranial cavity has never been officially acknowledged or released, however, the possibility exists it's a fake. A look at the history of this photo, and of its use by conspiracy theorists, however, should lay these concerns to rest. While the open-cranium photo has been published in the books of David Lifton, Robert Groden, Harrison Livingstone, and Walt Brown, none of these books mentioned the bullet hole. While Noel Twyman, in his book, *Bloody Treason*, acknowledges that something is there, his drawing of the photo suggests the hole is the external occipital protuberance, the bump on the back of Kennedy's head.

On November 20, 2004, I met Robert Groden in Dealey Plaza and asked him about the autopsy photographs' depiction of a hole in the hairline. Surprisingly, he readily agreed that the hole near the hairline in the open cranium photograph was an entrance wound. Even more surprising, he insisted that he'd always acknowledged it as so. In *The Killing of a President*, in which Groden summarized his views on the assassination, Groden described 8 likely shots, none of which entered low on the President's skull from behind. One hopes this was just a misunderstanding.

On January 25, 2006, via personal correspondence, David Lifton also acknowledged that the proposed bullet hole on the open cranium photograph was the entrance wound described at autopsy. Consistent with his theory that the body was changed between Dallas and Bethesda, Lifton explained that in his opinion the men who faked the bullet entries on Kennedy's body created two false entries on the back of Kennedy's head, one low and one high. He theorized that Dr. Humes was pressured into acknowledging only one of them in his autopsy report. From this it appears that Lifton has made some subtle changes to the theory he first presented in his best-seller *Best Evidence*.

And, oh yeah, FWIW, pretty much everything-is-fake theorist Jack White has acknowledged multiple times that he believes the presumed bullet hole in the black and white photo of the open cranium is the bullet hole described at autopsy.

Chapter 13b: Attack of the Clones

Behind the Scenes of the HSCA's Investigation



Fox Autopsy Photo/ HSCA Figure 25 Comparison



Fox Autopsy Photo



Figure 25—Closeup photograph of the semicircular exit defect in the margin of the fracture fragment in the right parietal region.

HSCA Figure 25

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Fox Autopsy Photo/HSCA Figure 25 Comparison

Since the photograph taken from behind the President's skull showing the empty cranium seems to confirm the autopsy doctors' description of an entrance wound in the hairline, it's important to try and establish if this photo is authentic.

Unfortunately, there is no record of a photo of the brain cavity taken from behind on the list prepared by the autopsy doctors for the Justice Department on January 26, 1967; nor is there one on the list of photos in the Clark report, nor in the HSCA report. There is, however, a record of photos taken of the President's brainless skull from the front and from above.

When one looks at a blow-up of one of these photos purportedly depicting the "exit defect in the margin of the fracture fragment of the right parietal region," the outshoot above the Presidents' temple, moreover, one realizes that an awful mistake has been made, as this blow-up was obviously blown-up from one of the photos taken from behind.

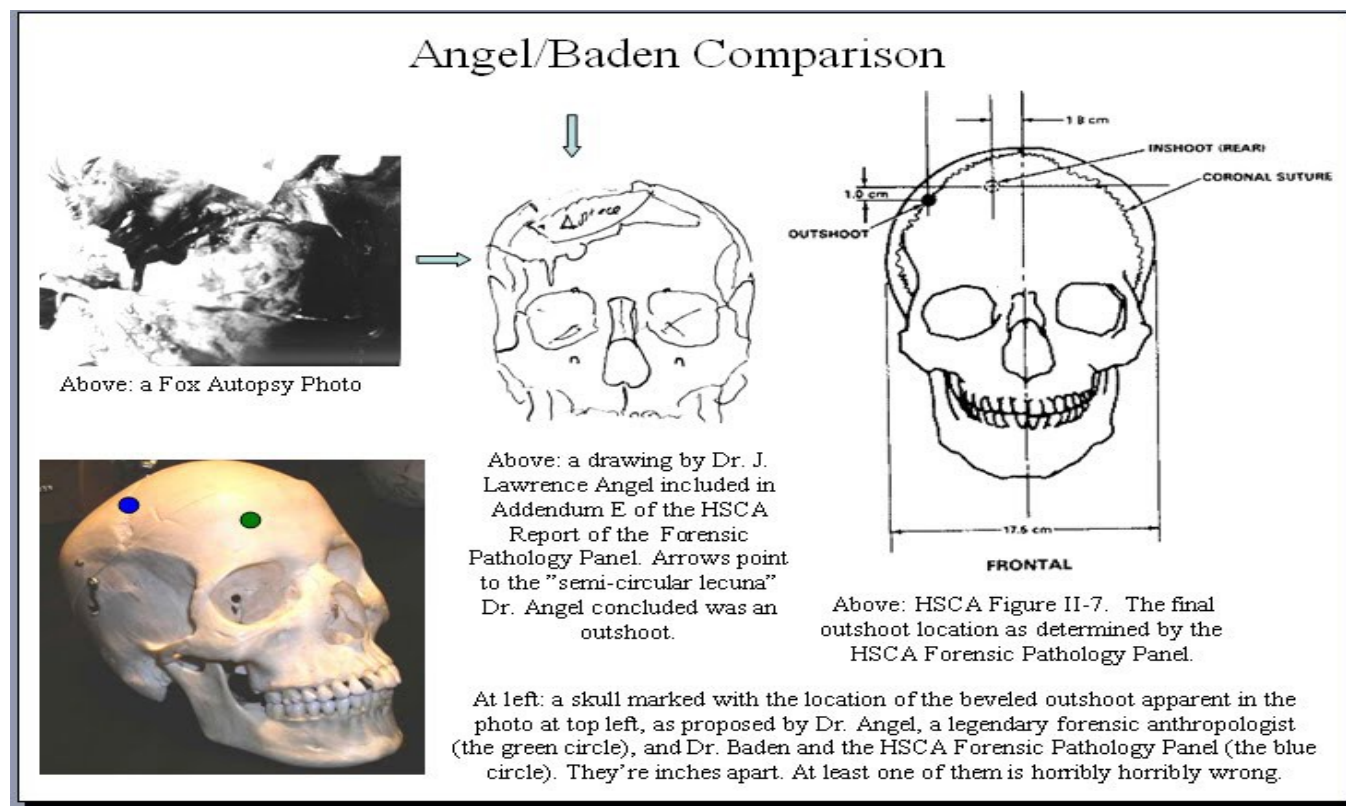
What's going on here?

Only adding to the strangeness is that Figure 25 was blown up from photo #44, which the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel Report describes (along with black and white photo #17) as "close-ups of the margins of the fracture line in the right front-parietal region after reflection of scalp." Since elsewhere in the HSCA Report, and in several earlier government reports, it is acknowledged that photographs 17 and 18 were the black and white photos depicting an open cranium, and photos 44 and 45 the color photos depicting the same, this brings up the question of whether photos 18 and 45 were even shown to

the Forensic Pathology Panel. When they discussed the photos with Dr.s Boswell and Humes in 1977, they only showed them photos 17 and 44. This led me to question for a moment if photos 18 and 45 were withheld for some reason. It seems the answer is no, however, as the panel's Dr. Petty, when discussing the beveling on the skull with Humes and Boswell, informed them that "this is shown more clearly on the black and white photographs Nos. 17 and 18, probably best in No. 17." Well, then why did they use #44 in their final report? I must admit I'm perplexed.

When one looks closely at the supposed exit defect in Figure 25, one can't help but be even more confused. This exit defect doesn't appear as round and beveled as the defect in the Fox photos available online. So why wouldn't the photo available online, which would presumably be either #17 or #18, have been used instead of photo # 44? Why did the HSCA use an inferior photograph? Was there something in #17 or #18 that the doctors were trying to hide from the committee? Or was it simply a matter of the pathology panel screwing up and picking the wrong photo to demonstrate the beveling?

Even more to the point, how could the Forensic Pathology Panel possibly believe this photo was taken of Kennedy's "right frontal-parietal region"--his forehead? Are we through the looking glass here or what?



Angel/Baden Comparison

To answer that last question--that of whether or not we are through the looking glass here--let me be concise: yes. Not only did the HSCA pathology panel improperly decide that the photo was of the forehead, they did so while disagreeing with the interpretations of all the previous doctors to say so, including a world expert on skulls brought in by the panel to help them interpret the photograph.

Let's remember that the autopsy doctors determined that this photo was taken of the forehead in the 1967 report written for the Justice Department. Even so, they claimed the photo reinforced their

conclusion the bullet impacted near the EOP, 4 inches lower than the entrance proposed by the HSCA panel. So they didn't exactly agree with the HSCA panel's interpretation.

Now let's reveal that the 1968 secret panel to study the medical evidence, the Clark Panel, led by Russell Fisher, a close colleague to a number of the men on the HSCA's panel, failed to note that a beveled exit defect was visible in the photos, and described the open-cranium photographs as follows "Due to lack of contrast of structures portrayed and lack of clarity of detail in these photographs, the *only* conclusion reached by The Panel from study of this series was that there was no existing bullet defect in the supra-orbital region of the skull." (Supra-orbital means the forehead!!!) As if to stress this point, the Panel's report later repeats "The photographs do not disclose where this bullet emerged from the head although those showing the interior of the cranium with the brain removed indicate that it did not emerge from the supra-orbital region." Well, this is mighty curious, isn't it? Why does this panel repeatedly insist there was no exit from the supra-orbital region visible in the photos?

Particularly when the consultant on skulls to the HSCA's pathology panel, Dr. Lawrence Angel, insisted that this is precisely what they show? Yes, you got that right. Dr. Angel's 10-24-77 report to the panel claimed "The exit area through the right frontal above the boss can account for the small semi-circular notch 35 mm above the right orbit, the radiopaque mark near this, and at the upper right part of the track can explain the radiopaque markings on the triangular frontal fragment just in front of the coronal suture above stephanion." While his words might seem confusing Dr. Angel created a drawing to depict this conclusion, and it is not at all confusing. It is clearly taken directly from the "mystery photo" of our discussion. And it clearly shows the exit defect to be exactly where the Clark Panel said it was not, 35 mm (about 1 1/2 inches) above the eye socket in the supra-orbital region. This is indeed strange since not one witness observed an exit wound on Kennedy's forehead. Also problematic is that when one matches the beveled outshoot and nearby fractures of the open-cranium photo to Angel's drawing, it becomes clear that Kennedy's eye sockets should be apparent in the photograph. Yet they are not. Even worse, when one looks at the previously discussed bullet entrance near the hairline in the photo, and looks at the photo in Angel's orientation, the obvious entrance is now on the forehead, and unacknowledged. Something is indeed wrong with Angel's interpretation.

Now let's inject that Dr. Angel was Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institute, and a noted lecturer on Anatomy, Anthropology, and Forensic Science at George Washington University and the John Hopkins School of Public Health. Although it is clearly incorrect, one would think Angel's interpretation of the photo would trump that of all others.

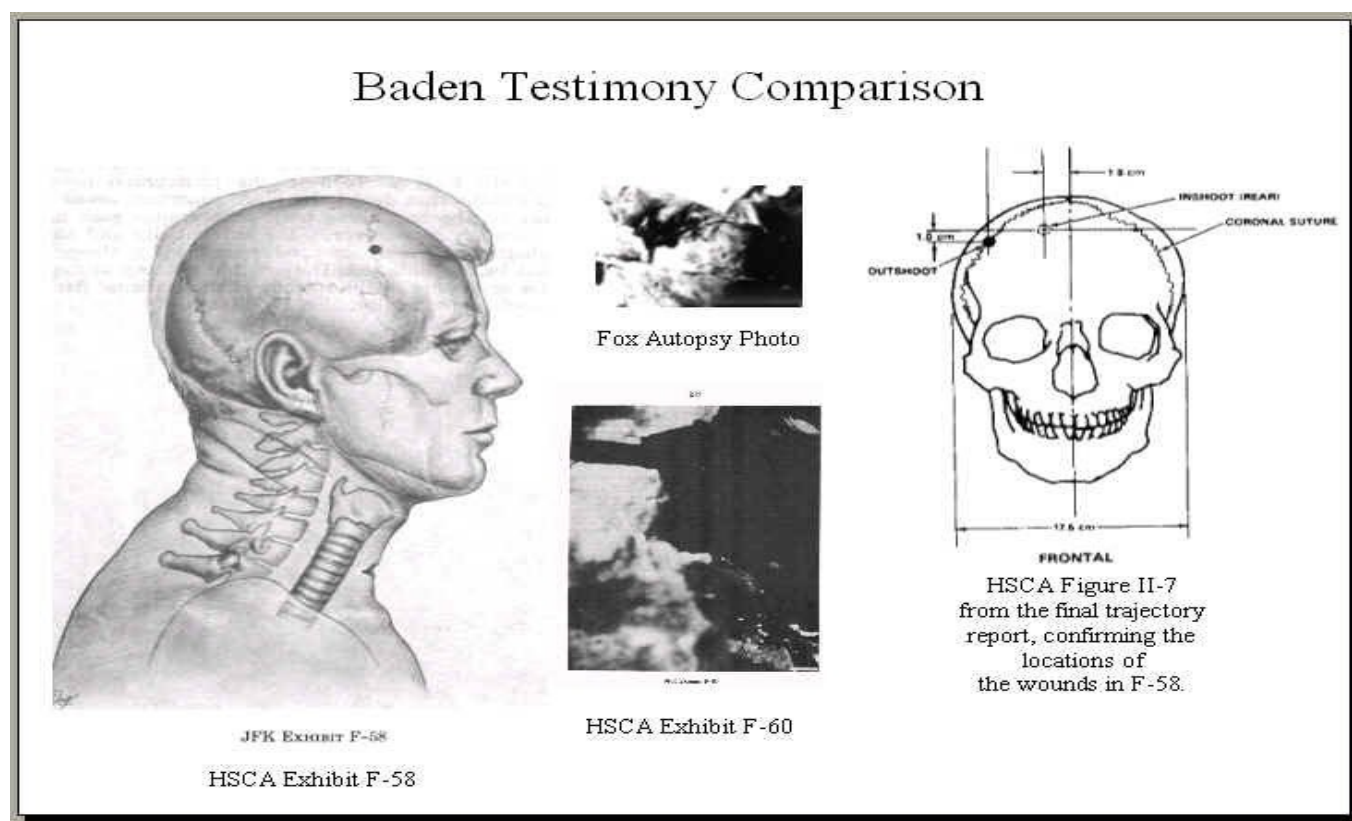
But the HSCA panel, perhaps concerned for the reputation of their colleagues on the Clark Panel--who had repeatedly proclaimed that there'd been no exit on the forehead visible in the photo, and who had failed to mention any other exit location--refused to confirm Angel's findings, and claimed instead that the photo did indeed show an exit, as claimed by Angel, just not one on the forehead! When the HSCA trajectory report published a depiction of the outshoot on a skull, it depicted an exit defect inches above and to the side the exit defect in Angel's drawing.

And not only did the HSCA ignore Dr. Angel's interpretation of the exit location, they dismissed Angel's finding that the triangular frontal bone fragment had come from in front of the coronal suture, and asserted instead that it was parietal and had come from behind the coronal suture. (This will be shown in Exhibit F-66, a few slides below).

Should we not take the pathology panel's rejection of Angel's report as a possible indication something is indeed wrong with the orientation of the photograph used in their mutual study? And, while we're at it, might we not take the Clark Panel's insistence there was no exit on the forehead, and Angel's subsequent assertion that the photos show precisely that, as an indication that the Clark Panel *knew* the photos showed as much, but were reluctant to come to any conclusion saying as much, since they knew

this would be in clear conflict with the statements of not just the autopsy doctors, but the statements of everyone to see Kennedy's body after the shooting?

While there are those in the media who focus on the more outlandish conspiracy theorists and seek to discredit all conspiracy theorists by pointing out their lack of consistency, they fail to notice the horrific lack of consistency demonstrated by those representing the government. To my knowledge, there has not been ONE news story or report to ever point out that Angel placed the exit on the President's forehead, and that many single-assassin theorists have come to agree with him, even though not ONE eyewitness saw an exit on the forehead and no official panel has ever considered such a thing.



Baden Testimony Comparison

On September 7, 1978, Dr. Michael Baden testified before the HSCA and presented the findings of the Forensic Pathology Panel. His testimony was long and thorough, and frequently mind-boggling. At one point he presented Exhibit F-60, explaining "*the semicircular defect that I am pointing to corresponds with the black dot present on the previous exhibit*" (which was F-58). A quick look at F-60, however, reveals that it is a close-up of the beveled bone at the back of the head in the open cranium photo (previously discussed as Figure 15). What is suspicious once again, though, is that it was presented in the report not turned the way Baden purports to interpret it, but sideways from his interpretation, as if it was indeed a picture of the back of the head and not the forehead. It's also a bit odd that, even though this blow-up was taken from one of four photographs--two black and white and two color--that demonstrate the open cranium, Baden made a point of telling the commission it was taken from "*the only photograph that shows any internal structure of the President.*" When one compares the open-cranium photo to F-58, and follows Baden's interpretation of the outshoot, moreover, one can easily discern something is wrong. When one lifts the exit defect in the photo to the level of the defect in the drawing, and makes the size of the defects match, one can see that there is

entirely too much forehead in the photograph above the defect, and that it clearly is not angled the way the skull would be near the defect in the drawing. There is also the problem, already noted, that in this orientation the obvious bullet entrance in the photo is now on Kennedy's left forehead, and unexplained.

While the autopsy doctors have never voiced their disagreement with Baden's interpretation of the photo, it is nevertheless enlightening that they have repeatedly made statements indicating they remembered taking photographs depicting the bullet entrance on the back of the head, both from the outside and from the inside. Not once in all their statements, moreover, have they stated they took a photograph of a beveled outshoot at or near the President's forehead. In Dr. Humes' testimony before the Warren Commission, for example, he specifically denied there was such an outshoot, and said the only beveling indicating an outshoot discovered at the autopsy was on a large bone fragment discovered in the limousine by the Secret Service. He testified "*A careful examination of the margins of the large bone defect at this point failed to disclose a portion of the skull bearing again a wound of--a point of impact on the skull of this fragment of the missile, remembering, of course, that this area was devoid of any scalp or skull at this present time. We did not have the bone*" and stressed "*the thing which we considered of importance about these three fragments of bone* (the ones brought in by the Secret Service towards the end of the autopsy) *was that at the margins of one of them which was roughly pyramidal in shape, there was a portion of the circumference of what we interpreted as a missile wound.*" When discussing this large bone fragment before the HSCA, however, Dr. Baden told a new and improved story, a story that, not surprisingly, supported his contention the beveled bone apparent in the photo was part of his proposed exit defect. He testified: "*The doctors looked at the bone fragments, took x-rays of the bone fragments, inserted this particular bone fragment against this semi-circle and concluded that they matched and fitted together.*" If they did, it was news to them.

And news to Baden's panel. When discussing the autopsy protocol's description of the large exit, the report of Baden's panel claims: "*The description of the bone fails to recognize either the semi-circular defect or any beveling in the bone fragments still attached to the head.*" The report then quotes a February 1965 letter by Dr. Finck to his superior General Blumberg. It records Finck's thoughts as he first inspected the large defect, and relates "*No exit wound is identifiable at this time in the skull, but close to midnight portions of cranial vault are received from Dallas, Texas. X-ray films of these bone specimens reveal numerous metallic fragments. Two of the bone specimens, 50 millimeters in diameter, reveal beveling when viewed from the external aspect, thus indicating a wound of exit.*" Thus, both Humes and Finck claimed there was no apparent beveling on the intact part of the skull. While Dr. Boswell was less clear on this matter, he told researcher Josiah Thompson on 1-11-67 that the direction of the bullet in the skull was determined by the beveling at entrance, the destruction within the brain, and the beveling on the recovered skull fragment. Thus, he too confirmed there was NO beveled exit on the intact skull!

Is it reasonable then to believe all three doctors failed to note this beveled exit, when it was really on the edge of the exit defect? Or should we look for another explanation?

Oh, No!



At left: HSCA Exhibit F-60 is placed on the stand in the upright position, the same manner it was published in the HSCA Report, as shown at right.



Images from the HSCA testimony of Dr. Michael Baden, 9-7-78



Fox Autopsy Photo

But Dr. Baden grabs the exhibit and starts to turn it to match the photo in his hand, with the defect at top, as in the full version of the photo at left.



Oh, No!

Only adding to the weirdness of the pathology panel's report is that, while the autopsy doctors have never been able to identify the photo of the bullet entrance taken from inside Kennedy's skull, the HSCA forensic pathology report, when discussing the bullet entrance, states, "*Stereoscopic visualization of the inside of the cranial cavity at its depth, after removal of the brain, reveals a semicircular beveled defect in the posterior parietal area to the right of the midline, from which fracture lines radiate corresponding to the entrance perforation indicated in the skull x-rays.*" Since Dr. Baden testified that F-60 was a detail of the "*only photograph that shows any internal structures of the President at the time of the autopsy*" and since there is no photograph showing the entrance wound from the inside listed in any of the photographic reports of the HSCA, it's clear that this reference to stereographic visualization is a reference to looking at photos 44 and 45 at the same time. Well, where is this entrance? More pointedly, why didn't Dr. Baden point this entrance out in his testimony? Or his panel in their report? They had exhibit F-60 to work with. The entrance would have to be in there somewhere. Why didn't they show it to the committee?

When one dives further in the report, and reads the section entitled "*Course of the Missile Through the Head,*" it becomes clear the panel didn't spend much time on this photo because they lacked confidence it was really as claimed. While discussing photos 17, 18, 44, and 45, the report reads "*The lens was focused on the interior-posterior deepest portion of the wound, apparently in an attempt to depict the interior of the bullet perforation of the posterior region of the skull. In the photograph prepared from color transparency No. 45, the exterior bone fragment with the semicircular defect is more in focus than the base of the skull in the depth of the picture which is out of focus. In the photographs prepared from positive color transparency No. 45, the exterior fragment is out of focus, but the depth of the photograph is in sharper focus. The photographs, also studied using the computer-assisted*

enhancement technique, show a possible portion of the beveled inner table corresponding to the semicircular margin of the entrance wound at the back of the head in the right posterior parietal bone." What was formerly a revelation was now just a possibility.

While some researchers believe they see an entrance in the far back of the skull (which I interpret as the base of the skull) in the autopsy photo in question, NONE have described this entrance as "*a semi-circular beveled defect in the parietal area*" nor has anyone noted fracture lines corresponding to the skull x-rays. As strange as it may sound, the description of this defect as both "semi-circular" and "beveled" makes me suspect that Baden and/or the writers of the pathology panel's report, Dr.s Loquvam and Weston, were trying to portray the same beveled piece of bone Baden testified was an *exit* in front of Kennedy's right ear as an *entrance* high on the back of his head!

But it gets weirder. In April 2006, I was able to obtain some footage of Dr. Baden's testimony. What I saw made my jaw drop. When the blow-up of the purported exit on Kennedy's skull, HSCA Exhibit F-60, was brought out and placed on the exhibit stand, it was placed the same way it was printed in the HSCA report, with the bone stretching vertically. Dr. Baden, however, immediately sought to correct this "mistake." With the photo in his hand displaying the ridge of bone horizontally, and with the defect at the top of this ridge, he grabbed the exhibit and began to turn it to match the photo in his hand.

A World Upside Down



(1)"This is the front part of the skull of the President (2) in this area (3) and this semi-circular defect that I'm pointing to corresponds (4) with the black dot on the previous exhibit"



3 4



At right: HSCA Exhibit F-66, presented moments after the testimony quoted above, showed the large defect to be above and behind the "black dot".



All images from the HSCA testimony of Dr. Michael Baden, 9-7-78

A World Upside Down

After beginning to turn the blow-up of the small beveled exit to match the photo in his hand, however, something led Dr. Baden to stop and turn it back the other way, so that the large skull defect was now beneath the small beveled exit, which was, in turn, beneath some intact bone. Since this large defect was the opening through which Kennedy's brain had been removed, it made no sense to portray this defect as one strictly on Kennedy's right side. (That this is, in fact, an error, is demonstrated by Exhibit F-66, presented only moments after Exhibit F-60. F-66 portrays the large defect as above and behind a beveled exit on the frontal bone, with NO bone directly above the exit.)

Unfortunately, Dr. Baden's testimony compounded his error: (Image 1, Baden pointing at the skull above the defect in the photos): "This is the front part of the skull of the President (Image 2) in this area" (Image 3) "and this semi-circular defect that I'm pointing to corresponds (Image 4) with the black dot on the previous exhibit and shows a portion of a gunshot wound of exit as determined by the panel, by viewing, by being able to see beveling, that is the breaking of bone away in a certain pattern as a BB does when it goes through plate glass, causing a beveling on the glass in the direction to which the BB would proceed. This happens when a bullet enters and exits skull bones and other bones and this was a conclusion of the panel that this was an exit perforation."

Now compare this to the published transcript (with notable changes italicized): "*The photograph shows the front right part of the skull of the President and the semi-circular defect that I am pointing to corresponds with the black dot present on the previous exhibit. This is a portion of a gunshot wound of exit as determined by the panel because of the beveling of the outer layer of bone visible in the photographs, which is also described in the autopsy report.* Beveling refers to the breaking away of bone in a concave pattern as when a BB goes through plate glass causing a concavity in the glass in the direction in which the BB is proceeding. This also happens when a bullet enters and exits skull bone and other bones. It is the conclusion of the panel that this is *unquestionably* an exit perforation."

After noticing the changes in Dr. Baden's testimony, and commenting online, I received word from someone who testified before the HSCA that everyone who testified was given a transcript of their testimony and given the opportunity to change their public testimony. While I was well aware that witnesses are allowed to change their statements and depositions in the pre-trial phase of court proceedings it was news to me that anyone could go back and change the transcripts of their public testimony. Since not all of Dr. Baden's changes were grammatical—the first italicized section conceals that he was pointing to the skull, the second italicized section is new and misleading testimony (as discussed, the autopsy report made no reference whatsoever to a beveled exit on the intact skull, and Dr. Humes' testimony specifically dismissed that such an exit was apparent), and the third italicized section reflects a degree of certainty not communicated in Baden's actual testimony—one should rightly wonder to what degree the testimony of other witnesses has been changed. If anyone has all the public hearings on tape, and is willing to sit down and record the changes made in the transcripts, it would undoubtedly prove fascinating. While I would like to think Committee members were informed whenever testimony was changed, I don't think we should make such an assumption. Accordingly, if anyone knows the standard procedures involved in changing public testimony before congress, and whether the HSCA staff followed these procedures, I will include their comments in my next update.

Baden's Reign of Error

Once one realizes that the head of the HSCA's forensic pathology panel testified with one of his key

exhibits upside down, of course, one should rightly wonder why. Was he really so befuddled by the head wounds? If so, then we shouldn't place much stock in his assertion that the bone in the mystery photo is forehead. If not, then we need to figure out why he would deliberately testify in a manner that could only sow confusion among the Committee.

On 7-16-07, researcher Barb Junkkarinen related something on the alt.assassination.jfk newsgroup that feeds into the possibility Baden simply couldn't understand the photograph. She comforted single-assassin theorist extraordinaire David Von Pein, who'd been honest enough to admit he couldn't make sense of the photograph, by telling him "Baden by the way, turned my 8x10 glossy of that photo round and round then thrust his hand holding the pic in the air and shrugged his shoulders when I asked him to orient it for me at a little private lunch meeting 6 or 7 of us were able to have with Wecht and Baden in Monterey, Calif a few years ago. He didn't have a clue how it should be either."

If the photograph was so difficult for Baden to understand, then why did he testify about it, and use it as evidence the shots came from behind? Perhaps he answers this himself. In his 2001 book *Dead Reckoning*, he writes: *"Physicians may be the worst witnesses. They are often swayed by whoever asked them to be an expert. If that lawyer is smart enough to ask their advice, they conclude, he must know what he is doing. That being the case, physicians therefore adopt whatever the lawyer tells them as the facts of the case and become, if only subconsciously, an advocate for the lawyer rather than an independent adviser."*

Of course, Baden considers himself beyond such seduction. In his 1989 book *Unnatural Death*, he recounts how disgusted he was with HSCA chief counsel Robert Blakey when Blakey came to him at the last minute and asked for his help in finding medical evidence for a conspiracy. Naturally, he told Blakey he couldn't do such a thing. This pillar of decency, of course, also disapproves of the widespread availability of the autopsy photos. In his book *Dead Reckoning*, he writes: *"It is a shame. This is not a procedure that should be viewed by anyone other than those who need to know the details in the pursuit of truth."* In light of this statement, one might think he'd shy from using the photos for his own profit. But one would be wrong. On January 9, 2008, an episode of Dr. Baden's HBO series *Autopsy* featured several of Kennedy's autopsy photos, some in full color. Presumably, Baden thought that placing black lines over Kennedy's eyes made the photos fit for broadcast, and that it was better for him to make money off these slightly edited photos than have somebody else put them up on the internet for educational purposes, and for free.

If it sounds like I'm annoyed with Baden, it's only cause I am. Beyond his testifying with his exhibit upside down, he's spread more misinformation about the Kennedy assassination than just about anyone alive. Someone so out of touch with the case should not be permitted to pass himself off as an expert. Consider...

Baden's Reign of Error 2008

In the 1-09-08 episode of *Autopsy*, Dr. Baden's program on HBO, he reviewed the evidence in the Kennedy assassination, and made a number of bizarre claims. Here is a healthy sample.

1. When discussing the initial press conference given by Kennedy's emergency room doctors. Dr. Baden proclaimed *"In fact, the doctors down in Texas, where the shooting occurred, indicated he'd been shot in the back and in the front."* (The doctors, in fact, indicated no such thing. They described an entrance in Kennedy's throat and a large wound on the back of his head. They presumed this to be an exit for the bullet entering his throat. They said nothing to indicate the bullet causing this wound came from behind Kennedy.)
2. When discussing the initial autopsy, the program's narrator asserted: *"Because the pathologist's notes were stained with blood, he burned them. After he found out that a tracheotomy had been performed in Dallas, he tried to reconstitute his notes, based on what he could remember."* (This

is nonsense. Dr. Humes, the pathologist in question, testified in 1996 that he burned his notes only after copying them, and that he burned these notes the day after he found out about the tracheotomy. He'd made similar claims to Dr. Baden and the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel in 1977, and the Warren Commission in 1964. The implication that the initial autopsy report was in error because Dr. Humes couldn't remember what he saw is thus unjustified and deceptive. Is it a coincidence, then, that this misrepresentation feeds Dr. Baden's eventual conclusion that the autopsy report was riddled with errors, but that these errors were somehow "innocent." One suspects not.)

3. Shortly thereafter, when discussing the autopsy photos, Dr. Baden repeated the story of Floyd Riebe, a navy photographer whose camera was confiscated by the Secret Service. He then explained what he considers to be the poor quality of the photos by stating *"The only one who was taking photographs was a Secret Service person who'd never taken autopsy photos before."* (This is frighteningly inaccurate. The remaining autopsy photographer was John Stringer, the Navy's top autopsy photographer, and Riebe's superior. In *Unnatural Death*, published nearly 20 years before making this statement, Baden claimed the lone photographer was an FBI photographer. This incensed the original autopsists, Dr. James Humes and Dr. J. Thornton Boswell, so much that they made a point of debunking Baden's claim in a 1992 interview with the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. One would have thought that Dr. Baden would remember his getting schooled in such a fashion, and have not repeated this mistake, but apparently Dr. Baden is correction-proof.)
4. When complaining about the autopsy report, Dr. Baden claimed that the autopsy doctors *"did not make proper measurements of the bullet holes, did not properly describe the bullet holes as to entrance and exit."* (This last statement is a puzzle. The 1978 pathology panel led by Dr. Baden came to the exact same conclusions as the autopsy report, as to which holes were entrance and exit. Perhaps he was thinking of the original conclusions of the doctors on the night of the autopsy, as opposed to the report they signed two days later.)
5. Later, Baden pronounced his support for the conclusion that Oswald acted alone and that the timing problems raised by the Zapruder film could be explained by the *"fact"* that the first shot missed. He said: *"There was only one shooter; Oswald. The Zapruder film on close analysis shows the first bullet miss and hit the curb of the road that the car was traveling."* (This is only the most ill-informed statement ever uttered by a supposed expert on the case. Not one analysis of the film, including those performed by the most zealous single-assassin theorists proposing Oswald acted alone, has claimed that a bullet strike on the curb is visible. Those holding that a first shot miss is detectable base their claims upon blurs on the film thought to coincide with rifle shots, and the behavior of a few of the witnesses. None have insinuated they could see the bullet hit a curb. Baden's contention therefore is a dead giveaway that he was making this stuff up as he went along, based on what he could remember, and that NO ONE at HBO thought to run this show by anyone with the slightest smidgen of genuine knowledge about the case.)
6. But Baden wasn't done. To combat the argument that Kennedy's back-and-to-the-left motion after the head shot indicated a shot was fired from the front, Baden argued: *"Subsequent experiments show, and subsequent experience with people being shot do show that when someone is shot from the front they can go front or back--sometimes front, sometimes back. It isn't predictable what way the body is gonna go."* (If anyone knows what "experiments" he is talking about, please bring these "experiments" to my attention. In the meantime, we can suspect that Dr. Baden was thinking of the tests performed by Dr. Olivier, and discussed in his testimony for the Rockefeller Commission. Olivier related that in tests where goats were shot in the head, the bodies of the goats fell to the ground in an almost random pattern. Baden overlooked that Dr. Olivier also related that when he'd fired upon human skulls, *"The skulls that we shot invariably rolled away from the gun."* This suggests that the back-and-to-the-left

motion of a head would not be so random.)

Baden's Reign of Error 2004

On November 22, 2004, Dr. Baden made a brief appearance on the cable TV program Investigating History: The JFK Assassination. This afforded him just enough time to make two false statements.

1. When discussing the flaws in the autopsy, Baden claimed *"The autopsy had not been done by pathologists who'd been trained in gunshot wounds. It was done by hospital pathologists."* (This was not true. Dr. Pierre Finck was a forensic pathologist and an expert in gunshot wounds employed by the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology in 1963. When testifying before the Warren Commission on 3-16-64, he asserted *"I was certified in pathology anatomy by the American Board of Pathology in 1956, and by the same American Board of Pathology in the field of forensic pathology in 1961."* When questioned by Baden and his forensic pathology panel on 3-12-78, moreover, Finck actually expanded on this point. He asserted: *"being in charge of the Wound Ballistics Pathology Branch I reviewed most missile wounds sent to the AFIP for several years so I must have -- I did not keep track by weapon or the number of injuries that I have reviewed but in my experience I have (studied) a great variety of injuries produced by a great variety of missiles from a great variety of weapons."*)
2. Shortly thereafter, Baden added *"There was the regular autopsy photographer there, taking pictures, and he was confronted, I believe, by an FBI person...They kicked him out. they opened up his camera and exposed all the film."* (For this program, anyhow, Baden stopped short and did not make the related claim that the photos in the archives were taken instead by an FBI agent, and that that is why these photos lack clarity. But that's clearly where he was headed...)

Baden's Reign of Error 2003

In November 2003, Dr. Baden spoke at the Wecht Conference at Duquesne University. In attendance at this conference, and in his audience, were a number of his fellow forensic pathologists. There were also dozens of amateur experts on the Kennedy medical evidence. While one might think that Baden did a little studying before his appearance, in order to avoid embarrassment, one would be wrong. Here, as on HBO, he appears to be "winging" it.

1. When discussing the autopsy report, he stated: *"Dr. Humes also took notes and he destroyed the notes before he wrote his report, which is one of the reasons his measurements were off."* (As previously discussed, this is nonsense. Dr. Humes clarified this issue in 1996 by asserting he destroyed his notes only after writing his preliminary report. While Dr. Baden may wish to believe Humes burned his notes before copying them, as that offers him an explanation for what he believes to be Humes' mistaken impression of the entrance location on the the back of Kennedy's head, there is really nothing to support this.)
2. After telling the story of Floyd Riebe, the Navy cameraman whose camera was confiscated by the Secret Service, Baden asserted: *"Other, somebody else, took the photographs for the Secret Service, for the FBI, who had not taken such photos before. We have those photos. They are blurry. They are not the proper photos."* (As previously discussed, the photographs were taken by Riebe's boss, John Stringer, the Navy's top autopsy photographer, who'd taken thousands of "such photos" before.)
3. Baden then discussed the autopsy photo of the empty cranium. He stated: *"There is enough to show in the bullet wound of the inside of the cranial cavity an entrance perforation through bone in the back of the head..."* He then asks them to put an x-ray on screen. He points out the level of the EOP entrance. He points out the level of the cowlick entrance. He then stated: *"Clearly when we look into the cavity on the photograph, the internal beveling is here." A bit later, when he returned to a discussion of the entry wound described at autopsy, he re-affirmed*

his assertion that an entry wound is visible on the interior aspect of the "mystery photo." He said: *"They described it as four inches too low, and it doesn't match the x-rays; it doesn't match the one interior view of the skull that's useful."* Still later, when confronted on this point during a panel discussion, he claimed: *"There was inward beveling that we could see in one of the photographs--in fact the one that you showed up there. When you look at it closely, we all 8 of us--I think Cyril agreed also--that there was inward beveling on the upper portion of the back of the skull. There was no occipital bone entrance."* (This is quite interesting. While the pathology panel's report did indeed assert there was *"a semicircular beveled defect in the posterior parietal area to the right of the midline, from which fracture lines radiate corresponding to the entrance perforation indicated in the skull"* there is no exhibit in the report to demonstrate this entrance. Dr. Baden never mentioned it in his testimony. Nor did he show it in this presentation, or point it out to others when its existence was challenged. It seems clear from this that Baden never really had any confidence that what he saw was an entrance, and was only pretending he was confident, hoping no one would call him on his bluff. Far from Dr. Baden's assertion, moreover, that when one studies the photo, a beveled entrance on the *"upper portion of the back of the skull"* becomes apparent, most who've studied this photo have concluded there is no bone at all in the location of Baden's purported entrance.)

4. While trying to explain the autopsists' mistakes, Baden then cited the March 1978 testimony of Pierre Finck. He said: *"Pierre Finck says to us, when he testified, 'For 20 years I've been looking at autopsy reports; I never did an autopsy in a gunshot wound case.'"* (This is 100% wrong. When Dr. Finck testified before Baden's pathology panel on 3-11-78, Baden asked him if he'd ever personally performed an autopsy on a gunshot victim. Finck's job in 1963 was reviewing autopsies performed by others on behalf of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology. Finck responded *"Well, I was not always at the AFIP. I had duties as well where I performed autopsies of gunshot wounds before 1959."*)
5. When discussing Dr. Humes' original impression of the back wound, he stated: *"Humes looks in the back, sees the wound in the back, doesn't appreciate there's an exit wound in the front, so he says, and then later denies, but the Secret Service guys have it in writing while they're taking down every word he says, that uh, the bullet must have gone in, stopped, turned around, and came out the same entrance."* (This passage includes a number of mistakes. First of all, no one took down Dr. Humes' every word at the autopsy. Second of all, it was FBI agents Sibert and O'Neil who wrote the report to which Dr. Baden refers. Third of all, there is nothing in their report indicating that Dr. Humes felt the bullet turned around inside Kennedy. It asserts instead that Humes felt *"the bullet had worked its way back out of the point of entry"* during external cardiac massage.)
6. When proposing that the single-bullet theory still works, even though his panel found that the back wound was below the throat wound, he described Kennedy's position at the time of the shot: *"He's leaning forward enough to make a 20 degree angle or so."* (As he said this Baden leaned far further forward than Kennedy appears to be leaning during the period Baden proposes Kennedy was shot.)
7. He then threw in *"And remember he has Addison's disease--he's taking steroids for the Addison's disease. He has a little hump on his back from the fat that steroids cause."* (This is a clear reference to Dr. Lattimer and his somewhat deranged suggestion that Kennedy was a hunchback, and that his hunch deflected the bullet down his neck. Dr. Baden doesn't seem to realize that this explanation was offered by Lattimer to explain why the back entrance appeared to be below the throat wound, when it was not. As Dr. Baden believes the back wound really was below the throat wound, and traveled upwards in the neck, the hump is completely irrelevant to his point. That he cannot see this only demonstrates his basic confusion.)
8. He then repeated another Lattimer myth already discussed. While discussing Connally's back

wound, he claimed: *"The bullet entered sideways, not straight on. It had to have hit something first--an intermediary target. The intermediary target was the President."* (As previously discussed, Connally's doctor, Robert Shaw, insisted that the bullet was not traveling sideways upon contact with the skin, nor in its approach to his rib.)

9. Later, under questioning, when asked about the single-bullet theory, he asserted: *"Mrs Connally states in her new book that Governor Connally heard the first shot--that's the one that we concluded hit the curbside--you can see that in the Zapruder film."* (This is a pre-cursor to his latter statement on HBO. It is, of course, ludicrous. No one can see a bullet strike a curb in the Zapruder film.)
10. He then discussed the shot at frame 313 of the Zapruder film: *"That bullet then strikes the President in the head, narrowly missing Mrs. Kennedy, and breaks apart when it strikes the strut in the windshield, and is found in the windshield."* Later, when asked how he could explain the different behaviors of the two bullets--one that goes through both Kennedy and Connally, and is barely damaged, and another that seems to explode upon impact, he repeated: *"The bullet striking President Kennedy in the back of the head, causes this tremendous explosion in the right side, when that bullet leaves...it then strikes the metal frame in the center of the windshield, and that's when it breaks apart. It doesn't break apart--and that's why both pieces are found right underneath the metal strut in the front of the vehicle."* (This ignores that there were two impacts on the front the limo, one on the inside of the windshield and one on the inside of the windshield strut, and that this suggests the two pieces, one the nose of the bullet, and one the base of the bullet, exited separately from the skull. By asserting that the bullet passed through the skull intact, moreover, Baden was exposing himself as a single-assassin theorist unconcerned with the available evidence. The Warren Commission's wound ballistics expert Dr. Olivier, after all, had not only testified that the bones of the skull were *"enough to deform the end of this bullet,"* but had presented bullet fragments recovered from the cotton waste behind his test skulls that were *"quite similar"* to the fragments found in the front seat of the limo. His report and subsequent statements, moreover, specified that the *"nose of the bullet erupted on"* the back of nine of the ten skulls fired upon. And he wasn't the only one to note this tendency. Dr. Lattimer, after performing his own tests of the ammunition, similarly reported, in a 1976 article in Surgery, Gynecology, and Obstetrics, that the bullets in his test firings *"always broke up on striking the skull and then diverged, making a larger wound of exit."* That the bullet broke up on impact with the skull, and not after its exit, is so clear, in fact, that Dr. Russell Fisher, Baden's mentor, had no problem saying as much in the Clark Panel's report, writing *"The projectile fragmented on entering the skull, one major section leaving a trail of fine metallic debris as it passed forward and laterally to explosively fracture the right frontal and parietal bones..."*)
11. While this marked the end of Baden's presentation, he received an opportunity to explain this last point further during a subsequent panel discussion. When asked why the bullets behaved so differently, Dr. Baden said of the bullet striking Kennedy's skull: *"It doesn't fragment. It strikes the strut in the window, and the two portions..."* Dr. Randy Robertson interrupted him here and pointed out the fragments in the brain, to which Baden replied *"It's lead coming out from the back of the bullet, back of that bullet, and when it strikes the strut in the window is when it breaks apart. And the two portions are collected from the vehicle."* Here Robertson again interjected that the bullet would have to have fragmented to leave that trail. Baden responded: *"It squeezed out the back, what happens with full-metal jacket bullets."* (Here, Baden's refusal to make sense is once again made clear. Somehow, he actually forgot that a circular fragment of the bullet striking Kennedy in the skull was determined by his panel to have come to rest on or in the back of Kennedy's skull. This fragment, moreover, was reportedly 6.5 mm wide--the width of the rifle's ammunition. This undoubtedly implies this fragment was a slice from the

middle of the bullet. This makes his assertion that the fragments in the skull were nothing but lead that had squeezed out the back of the bullet bizarre, to say the least. It is also inconsistent with his testimony before congress, as he told them that the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment was a piece of metal that *"rubbed off from the bullet on entering the skull and was deposited at the entrance site."* Being rubbed off from a bullet is not the same as being squeezed out the back of a bullet. Not in this universe. That Baden's fellow pathologists on the HSCA panel did not share his strange assertion that all the lead in the skull, including the 6.5 mm fragment, was squeezed out of the back of the bullet was made more than clear, moreover, in the panel's final report, which claimed *"The small missile fragment present at the margin of the entrance wound was probably a portion of the missile jacket..."*)

Baden's Reign of Error 2000

On 2-20-2000, Dr. Baden met with a number of JFK assassination researchers, including Dr. Gary Aguilar and Dr. David Mantik, for an extended lunch and discussion of the case. While this was designed as an informal discussion, Dr. Baden has, both prior to this meeting, and after, presented himself as an expert on the case. As a result, the mistakes he made in this discussion are worth noting and his bogus claims worth quoting.

1. First of all, it's important to note that, during the discussion of the autopsy photos, Dr. Baden repeatedly cited the Riebe story and tried to claim the photos had been taken by a Secret Service agent or FBI agent with no experience. He was corrected on this point, also repeatedly, by Dr. Gary Aguilar, and told the photos were taken by John Stringer, the Navy's top autopsy photographer. This, then, proves that Baden should have known better when he subsequently repeated the Riebe story and claimed the photos were taken by an "agent" of some sort.
2. Second of all, it's important to note that, during the discussion of the x-rays, Dr. Baden refused to argue with Dr. Mantik over the location of the supposed 6.5 mm bullet fragment supposedly found on the back of Kennedy's head. He insisted, first, that you couldn't tell where the large fragment on the A-P x-ray was located on the lateral x-ray. After being told by Mantik that the HSCA's radiologists--the radiologists whose reports Dr. Baden placed into evidence--had claimed that, yes, indeed, this fragment was on the back of Kennedy's head, Baden then backed down, insisting he had no recollection of their claiming as much in their reports, and no explanation for a fragment on the back of Kennedy's head. This, of course, is in opposition to his testimony, where he claimed part of the bullet rubbed off upon entrance. Perhaps more problematic, however, is this: if Baden had been reminded of the radiology reports in 2000, why did he go back to ignoring them when speaking at the Wecht conference in 2003? Had he grown to disavow the reports he'd once placed into evidence? Or did he fail to respect the doctors with whom he'd been speaking in 2000, and forget everything they'd told him the minute he was out the door?
3. Baden's contempt for the original autopsists is also apparent. Here, he claimed that Dr. Humes destroyed the notes containing the autopsy measurements *before* writing the autopsy protocol, and that Humes just guessed at the measurements in the protocol. Humes had testified to writing the autopsy protocol on Saturday. He'd testified to burning his blood-stained notes on Sunday. Baden's claim was therefore without merit. Baden then used this total fabrication about Humes' purported fabrication to explain how Humes could be so wrong about the entrance wound location.
4. There is a problem with this, of course. Dr. Finck, a forensic pathologist with some experience with gunshot wounds, repeatedly confirmed that the entrance wound was by the EOP, where Dr. Humes claimed it was, and not 10 cm higher on the skull, where Dr. Baden's mentor Dr. Fisher had claimed it to have actually been located. This made Dr. Finck an obstacle to be overcome.

It's disappointing but not surprising, then, that in this discussion, Dr. Baden repeatedly misrepresented Dr. Finck's 1978 testimony to Dr. Baden's panel. Dr. Baden said Finck had told him *"I'd never done a God damn autopsy!"* and that Finck *"just stood and watched. That's what he testified to. He said 'I had no expertise to tell anybody what to do.' He had never done a gunshot wound autopsy before. He didn't know what to do."* Dr. Baden then asserted that the blood in Kennedy's hair had confused poor Finck, and had led him to believe the entrance wound was 4 inches lower on Kennedy's head than it really was. A transcript exists, of course, of Dr. Finck's testimony before the HSCA. He said nothing remotely similar to what Dr. Baden told the researchers Finck had told him. In fact, the transcript proves Baden to be mistaken on most every point. Not only had Finck told Baden he'd performed gunshot wound autopsies before, he'd told him he'd arrived at the autopsy after Kennedy's scalp and hair had been reflected from Kennedy's skull. So much, then, for Baden's claim he'd been confused by Kennedy's hair. Finck told Baden, moreover, that he then stepped up and inspected Kennedy's wounds and made sure certain photos were taken of the entrance wound low on Kennedy's skull. Well, this completely destroys Dr. Baden's claim Finck told him he'd *"just watched"* as well.

It seems more than a coincidence, for that matter, that the recording of Dr. Baden's interview of Finck proves both that Finck held his ground with Baden--by refusing to concede that the entrance wound was really in the cowlick--and that Dr. Baden subsequently misrepresented Finck's statements in a manner suggesting Finck had acquiesced and admitted his incompetence. Dr. Baden's "mistakes" in this discussion, then, suggest that he is either a brazen liar, or somewhat delusional, and capable of believing whatever he'd like to believe.

Or maybe he was just old... He was 65 in January, 2000, scarcely a dinosaur but most definitely a senior...

Nope, not going for it. A quick review of Baden's 9-7-78 HSCA testimony shows that he'd told the House Committee: *"Some people assume authority and upon others authority is thrust as happened to Dr. Humes. He was later to become president of the American Society of Clinical Pathologists. A well experienced hospital pathologist in the scheme of things, he had not been exposed to many gunshot wounds and had not performed autopsies in deaths due to shooting previously: **neither had the other autopsy pathologists present.** So they were required to do an autopsy that by experience and by the way our society is structured in the United States, is reserved for forensic pathologists and coroner's pathologists. As a result of that, certain things didn't happen."*

He had thereby testified before congress that Dr. Finck had never performed an autopsy for a death due to shooting, and that Finck was not a forensic pathologist on 11-22-63. Well, as we've seen, this just wasn't true. Even worse, Baden knew this wasn't true when taking Finck's testimony on 3-12-78, less than 6 months before testifying before congress and telling them the opposite. Hmmm... Could it be that Baden's latter-day mistakes are not just reflections of his having a bad long-term memory, but are, instead, reflections of his never having grasped the facts in the first place?

Let's keep digging and see...

Baden's Reign of Error 1994

A January 16, 1994 column in the Schenectady New York Daily Gazette on the premiere of Dr. Baden's upcoming HBO program "Autopsy" offers a few choice comments by Baden on his experience with the HSCA. Amazingly, Baden claims that although numerous mistakes marred Kennedy's autopsy, *"what we found was that the mistakes made in the Kennedy autopsy were ones that were commonly made in*

all autopsies in 1963." This is incredible. He can't possibly believe it was "common" for a team of doctors, including a forensic pathologist, to claim a bullet entered low on the skull, when it really entered 4 inches higher, and then repeat this claim TWICE after reviewing the autopsy photos and x-rays. He can't possibly believe, furthermore, that it was "common" for such an incorrect claim to be confirmed by a number of other witnesses to the autopsy, and for not one witness to recall seeing a bullet entrance where he claims it to have actually been located. It's also hard to believe Baden honestly believes it was "common" for pathologists to describe a wound as an exit in their autopsy report that they never even probed, or recognized as a bullet wound--as was done with Kennedy's throat wound. Perhaps then Dr. Baden was thinking of the autopsists' errors of omission--such as their not removing the neck organs, or their failure to weigh the brain before the supplemental autopsy--when he said the mistakes at Kennedy's autopsy were "common." If he was really trying to push that it was "common" for a team of doctors to misrepresent a wound's location to the extent he believes the entrance on the back of Kennedy's head was misrepresented, after all, one is left with the unsettling probability Dr. Baden was blowing smoke and trying to deceive the public.

Baden's Reign of Error 1993

A January 24, 1993 AP article (found in the New York Daily Gazette) shows that Dr. Baden had just made an appearance at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, and had decided to take the opportunity to publicly denounce Oliver Stone's film JFK. He is quoted as saying *"The bottom line is: the Warren Commission got it right...It was two bullets from behind, and only two bullets that struck the President. Oliver Stone got it wrong."* He also, however, took this opportunity to trounce those performing Kennedy's autopsy. The article continued: *"Baden said the congressional panel found that the doctors who did the autopsy of Kennedy had never done a gunshot autopsy before."* Well, this, as we've seen, wasn't true. But it gets worse. The article continued *"'A lot of things were done wrong' in the Kennedy autopsy, Baden said. 'They made a lot of foolish mistakes.' Those mistakes included inaccurate measurements and drawings and initial confusion over whether the bullet wounds were exit wounds or entrance wounds. That confusion fueled much of the speculation that the president had to have been shot by more than one gunman, Baden said."*

Well, that's just hooey. The autopsists' initial appraisal of the wounds as to entrance and exit were the same as Baden's final conclusions. Perhaps, then, he was confusing the autopsists at Bethesda with the emergency room doctors at Parkland Hospital. And what *"measurements and drawings"* was he talking about? If he meant those regarding the head wound, well, then, he was at least being consistent with the findings of his panel. But, if he was alluding to the government's former position holding that the location of the back wound on the face sheet had been in error, and had innocently contributed to the belief there was a conspiracy, well, then, he was repeating a factoid long pushed by men like Fisher and Lattimer, and had in the process disputed his own finding supporting that the location of the mark on the face sheet was accurate.

That Baden was more interested in pushing his own agenda, and selling his own wares, than in making accurate statements, moreover, is suggested by another passage in the article: *"Baden said he doesn't believe that the incompetence of the original medical examination of Kennedy was part of a cover-up. 'As much error as there was, that's still what's going on in this country in most murder cases,' he said. 'The tragedy to me about JFK isn't that this was a sinister plot that's been covered over, but that the way the investigation was done is the usual way murder investigations are done in this country.'"*

It's interesting that here, in 1993, Dr. Baden told a crowd that the mistakes made by Kennedy's autopsists were the usual kind of mistakes still made in this country, and that the next year, in 1994, he specified that the mistakes made by Kennedy's autopsists were common mistakes in 1963. Perhaps,

then, he'd realized that his earlier statement had been a gross overstatement. Or maybe, just maybe, he'd actually believed there had been a tremendous improvement in the quality of autopsies performed in the year 1993. With him, it's hard to say.

Baden's Reign of Error 1989

In his first book, *Unnatural Death*, published 1989, Dr. Baden presented a chapter on the Kennedy assassination. One might think that Dr. Baden, concerned about his reputation, would be sure to make his book as accurate as possible, and review the reports and findings of the House Select Committee before committing his thoughts for posterity. But one would be wrong. Among Baden's claims:

1. Those who believe the back-and-to-the-left movement of Kennedy's head after frame 313 indicates the shot came from the front are mistaken because *"They left out of their calculations the acceleration of the car Kennedy was riding in. Beyond that, the body simply does not react that way. The force of the bullet would just as likely cause Kennedy's head to move forward as backward. It's not predictable."* (A quick look at the Zapruder and Nix films shows that the acceleration of the limousine came after the back-and-to-the-left movement of the President's head. This is not just the opinion of conspiracy theorists. Dr. John Lattimer noted as much in his 1976 article in *Surgery, Gynecology, and Obstetrics*. In addition, Baden's claim that the movement of a head is unpredictable is either something he just made up because it sounded good...or was a misrepresentation of Dr. Olivier's testimony for the Rockefeller Commission, in which he claimed that the direction in which *a goat's body* fell after being shot in the head is unpredictable.)
2. *"No forensic pathologist has ever examined the body of the President."* (As we've seen, one of the three doctors performing Kennedy's autopsy, Colonel Pierre Finck, was a licensed forensic pathologist on November 22, 1963.)
3. *"Colonel Finck, it turned out, had never done an autopsy involving a gunshot wound, either."* (As we've seen, Dr. Finck testified about his prior experience on 3-11-78. As a direct response to a question from Dr. Baden, Finck said he'd performed autopsies on gunshot wound victims prior to 1959. Apparently, Dr. Baden didn't note his answer.)
4. *"The FBI photographer, who had clearance, was in the same quandary as Humes. He had never taken autopsy pictures before and was untrained in photographing gunshot wounds."* (As previously discussed, John Stringer, the actual photographer, was a civilian working for the Navy, and had been Bethesda Naval Hospital's chief autopsy photographer for years. His work had been featured in textbooks.)
5. *"The Kennedy head bullet was found on the floor of Kennedy's car in front. It had struck the windshield strut and broken in two."* (Since bullet fragments are smaller and lose their energy much more rapidly than intact bullets, it seems doubtful that two fragments of a bullet breaking up upon entrance on the back of the skull would traverse the skull and exit with the force necessary to crack a windshield and dent a windshield strut. This is in keeping, moreover, with the report of Baden's pathology panel, which observed that the large defect apparent at the supposed exit suggested the exit of a fragment the combined size of the recovered fragments. So it's not exactly surprising that Baden would try and claim the bullet exited intact and broke up after striking the windshield strut. The problem, as discussed above, is that HE SHOULD KNOW THIS ISN'T TRUE. Not only does he overlook that a fragment struck and cracked the windshield in addition to the strut, but he ignores that the two fragments found in the front seat were the nose and base of the bullet, and that they comprised only about half of the bullet. As much of the middle of this bullet was supposedly left in the skull, including the "slice" of bullet seen on the x-rays and interpreted by Baden and his panel to be on the back of the head by the

bullet's entrance, it follows then like night from day that these fragments exited separately and did not break in two upon impact with the windshield strut. Baden's pretending that it did and that the "slice" just fell out the back of the bullet and clung to the back of the skull is bizarre beyond belief.)

6. Dr. Humes burned his notes on November 23, the day after the shooting, before talking to Dr. Perry and finding out the tracheotomy incision had been cut through a bullet wound, and before starting work on the autopsy report. (This may be Baden's most egregious "mistake." Its existence reveals that as early as 1989 he was looking for ways to explain to his readers how Humes could be so mistaken about the location of the entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's head--and that he was willing to make stuff up to do this. There is simply no evidence supporting Baden's version of these events. Humes testified before the Warren Commission that he called Dr. Perry on the morning of the 23rd, began working on the autopsy report later that evening, and burned his notes the next day. He repeated this testimony, moreover, to Baden himself, when meeting with members of Baden's panel on 9-16-77. Shame, shame, shame.)
7. The Cortisone that Kennedy was taking for his Addison's disease *"causes odd fat deposits--an upper back hump, full cheeks. Kennedy had them both, but Addison's disease is not mentioned in the autopsy report."* (As discussed, the "back hump" or "hunchback" story is a disgusting fairy tale started by Dr. Lattimer to help explain how a descending bullet could enter Kennedy's shirt and jacket inches below his shirt collar and still exit from his throat.)
8. *"Perhaps the most egregious error was the four-inch miscalculation. The head is only five inches long from crown to neck, but Humes was confused by a little piece of brain tissue that had adhered to the scalp. He placed the head wound four inches lower than it actually was, near the neck instead of the cowlick."* (This, of course, is nonsense. Baden must have known that Dr.s Humes and Boswell didn't just observe this wound on the scalp, but on the skull after the scalp had been peeled back. He also would have to have known their observation was confirmed by Dr. Pierre Finck, arriving after the beginning of the autopsy. He also should have known their "too low" location was confirmed by several other witnesses to the autopsy, including autopsy photographer John Stringer. His attempt, then, to make this "egregious error" appear to be the error of one man, and not many, and his failure to tell his readers that these witnesses verified this location numerous times, can only be viewed as deceptive.)
9. *"For the head wound, we enhanced the x-rays and saw the entrance perforation on top of the cowlick."* (This would be news to the HSCA's radiology consultants, Dr.s McDonnell and Davis. Neither of them noted such an entrance in their reports. While they both concluded there was an entrance in this location, they did so based upon their observation of fractures and fragments in the area, NOT because they saw an entrance perforation. This distinction is an important one that Baden should not have forgotten.)
10. That when inspecting the photos of the head wound *"Pictures of the wound yielded more when viewed through a stereopticon. In three dimensions they showed the oblique lines (beveling) on the bone in the back of the skull that an entering bullet makes."* (As discussed, this was never mentioned in Baden's testimony before the HSCA. It was mentioned but not demonstrated in his panel's report. Despite plentiful opportunities, no one has demonstrated it in all the years since.)
11. *"The trace metal content in the bullet found on the stretcher and the fragment from Connally's wrist match perfectly. It was a copper-jacketed military bullet with a core of 99 percent lead and insignificant amounts of strontium, arsenic, nickel, platinum, and silver. As small as they are, these traces are like fingerprints."* (The magic bullet and the wrist fragment failed to match on copper, and barely matched on antimony. It also matched on silver, as did half the bullets tested. Protocols of the time dictated that, if a sample failed to match on one of these three, the samples did not match. Therefore there was no match, let alone a perfect match. None of the other elements listed by Baden were even tested.)

12. That when he inspected Governor Connally's back wound he saw *"a two-inch long sideways entrance on his back. He had not been shot by a second shooter but by the same flattened bullet that went through Kennedy."* (Dr. Baden wrote a memo on this inspection for the HSCA. At that time he reported Connally's scar as 1 1/8 inches long. His description of CE 399 as "flattened" is another exaggeration. Only the base of the bullet was slightly flattened.)

As you can see, this trip down the lane of Baden's memory reveals that, over time, he's latched onto a lot of myths, and forgotten a lot of evidence. He repeats the same old canards over and over. "So what?" you might say. "By 2008 Baden was an old man. By 1989, when *Unnatural Death* was published, he'd already been away from the case for ten years. Of course, he made some mistakes. What does that have to do with the accuracy or inaccuracy of his initial investigation for the HSCA?" Well, what if the evidence suggests that Baden didn't forget all that much about the case, and that the real problem is that he never KNEW that much about the case? That's right. Beyond his testifying with his autopsy photo upside down, beyond his falsely testifying that Dr. Humes had testified to finding a beveled exit on the intact skull, beyond his falsely testifying that Dr. Finck was not a forensic pathologist and had never performed an autopsy on a gunshot victim, there's additional evidence that he was simply ignorant of the basic facts he was charged with investigating.

Baden's Reign of Error 1980

In January 2008, on the JFK Lancer website, researcher Randy Owen posted a transcript of a seminar conducted by Dr. Baden in Toronto, Ontario, in November, 1980. November 1980 was but 2 years after Dr. Baden testified before the HSCA, and but a year and some months after the printing of his panel's report. He was but 46 years old, discussing a case he had worked on from when he was 42 until he was 44. And yet...he was already making tremendous mistakes.

1. When discussing Abraham Zapruder and his film, he stated: *"He's retired on the proceeds of the few seconds of film taking."* (While Zapruder made a nice sum from the selling of his film to Time/Life, he was already a successful businessman before selling his film. Furthermore, he'd been dead since 1970. This was the kind of fact that was common knowledge to those with a genuine interest in the case.)
2. When discussing the President's movements after the head shot, he stated *"Interestingly, the Secret Service people indicate that immediately, as soon as they heard the first shot, they speeded up the car. This became a problem because in the whole analysis, it did appear that if he did speed up his car immediately, it had significance."* (The limo's driver never said he sped up after the first shot. He said he looked back after what he thought was the second shot. The films reveal that the car slowed as he looked back, and only accelerated after Kennedy had been hit by the head shot.)
3. Baden then attacked the lack of specificity in the autopsy report, noting: *"The doctors who attended the President made a note that 'the injuries to the skull and brain are so complex that they defy description and we will rely on photographs taken to better describe the injury.'" (The statement to which he refers makes NO mention of the brain at all. It reads "The complexity of these fractures and the fragments thus produced tax satisfactory verbal description and are better appreciated in photographs and roentgenograms which are prepared."* Could Baden really have forgotten that the doctors, while failing to section the brain and inspect the missile paths within the brain, nevertheless described in detail the apparent damage to the surface of the brain in their Supplemental Autopsy Report of 12-6-63? If not, was it a coincidence that Baden failed to acknowledge that the damage described in this report was inconsistent with his re-interpretation of the President's wounds?)
4. He then explained why the doctors' reliance on the photographs made his job so much harder.

He claimed: *"It turns out the photographs taken were out of focus and are of little value because they were not done by medical photographers but by government officials who had never taken autopsy photographs before."* (Holy smokes! The autopsy photographer was, according to Baden, a "government official" in 1980, an FBI photographer in 1989, "somebody else" in 2003, and a Secret Service photographer in 2008. What will he be in 10 more years, an IRS agent performing an audit? Baden's inability to grasp or admit that the pictures were taken by John Stringer, the Navy's top autopsy photographer in 1963 and a man interviewed for the HSCA on August 17, 1977 by HSCA counsel Andy Purdy, Baden's contact with the committee, demonstrates beyond any doubt that he never quite got a handle on the evidence he was tasked with studying.)

5. Baden then explained that it's not a doctors' job to decide who did it. He then told the audience who did it, injecting: *"Oswald had the gun, it was his, there were his fingerprints on it, he pulled the trigger."* (Of course, there'd been but one identifiable print found on the rifle--Oswald's palm print--and it was found on the barrel of the rifle, in a part that was only exposed when the rifle was disassembled. Furthermore, the only man to see this print on the rifle, Dallas detective J.C. Day, felt sure that this print was an old print. Thus, there was no scientific evidence that Oswald had *"pulled the trigger"*.)
6. Baden finally ended his presentation by pointing out the convergence of factors leading to the disappearance of Kennedy's brain before it could be studied. Not surprisingly, he found a way to blame it on the Kennedy family. He asserted *"the x-rays, the specimens, all remained in custody of the Kennedy family. Like somebody is shot in Toronto or New York and the next of kin, who may be the perpetrator, says 'I want my pathologist to come in and do the autopsy. You take the pictures but give me the pictures so I can hold onto them.' And they kept the whole thing. This was done with good intent and all that..."* (He completely left out, if he even knew, that the autopsy materials were not given to the Kennedy family until 1965, long after the Warren Commission had completed its investigation. He also omitted that the Johnson Administration, when it asked for the return of the materials in 1966, only asked for the autopsy photos and x-rays, and never requested the return of the brain for study.)

From all these mistakes it seems clear that Baden was never truly an expert on the case. Not even close. But, to be fair, neither were the other members of his panel.

The Remarkable Dr. Spitz



In his book *Medicolegal Investigation of Death*, Dr. Werner Spitz makes the unusual claim that entrance wounds made by high-powered rifles do not "materially differ" from those made by handguns. He presents the photo at left to demonstrate this point. Sure enough, the wound resembles a typical handgun entrance wound, as seen below.



Curiously, however, he does not cite the distance from which the bullet creating this wound was fired. He then draws attention to this by noting that the wound in the photo at left was created by a high-powered rifle fired from 60 ft. away from the victim. Strangely, this entrance wound more closely resembles the supposed exit on Kennedy than the red oval in the cowlick which Spitz purports to have been the entrance (as seen on the autopsy photo at right). Also strange, the drawing of this autopsy photo presented in Spitz's book (as seen at above right) omits the possible entrance (by the red arrow) as well as the large exit (by the blue arrow). Was Dr. Spitz hiding something from his readers?



The Remarkable Dr. Spitz

Let's take, for example, Dr. Werner Spitz. Dr. Spitz had not only co-authored a prominent forensic pathology textbook, *Medicolegal Investigation of Death*, with Dr. Fisher of the Clark Panel, but he'd been Dr. Fisher's protege at the Maryland State Medical Examiner's office, and had been a colleague of the Clark Panel's Dr. Morgan at John Hopkins University. He'd also been a member of the Rockefeller Commission's medical panel, and had confirmed Fisher and Morgan's findings. His subsequent show of support for the Clark Panel's findings through the conclusions of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, and through his subsequent comments, should then come as no surprise.

His appearance on the HSCA Panel, however, was a bit of a surprise at the time. According to an extensive article on the HSCA's investigation, published in the July 1979 issue of *Gallery*, the HSCA had specifically requested that members of the pathology panel be "noncontroversial." This was almost certainly a dig at Dr. Thomas Noguchi, a "coroner to the stars" in Los Angeles, who'd been heavily criticized and investigated. But this should also have meant Spitz's banishment, seeing as he'd spent much of the 2 years between his stints on the Rockefeller Commission Panel and HSCA Panel at the center of a criminal investigation, which, while not leading to an indictment, nevertheless confirmed that he'd 1) set up a private medical institute while working as Wayne County, Michigan's Chief Medical Examiner, which operated from the county's morgue, and used county employees and

equipment, without reimbursement; 2) removed 7,000 pituitary glands from cadavers passing through the county's morgue, which he resold at a profit to his institute; 3) resold blood, brains, and urine from a number of cadavers in the morgue, at a profit to his institute; 4) conducted autopsies on infants as part of a state-wide study on crib death, which were reimbursed by the state to his institute, even though county employees and equipment were used; and 5) fired weapons on cadavers in the county morgue in order to test their wounding patterns, without receiving permission from the families of the cadavers, or the county.

It is presumed then that someone, almost certainly Dr. Baden, intervened on his behalf.

They certainly appear to be birds of a feather. Since his stint on the HSCA panel, Spitz, as Baden, has made numerous suspicious and inaccurate statements about the Kennedy assassination medical evidence. These mistakes, moreover, suggest that Spitz, as Fisher, was less than forthcoming on what the evidence suggests, and that Spitz, as Baden, never took the time to study the case.

In his book's chapter on gunshot wounds, Spitz claims *"In the case of a high-powered rifle, the external appearance of the entrance wound does not materially differ from that of a gunshot wound inflicted with a handgun or an ordinary rifle."* To demonstrate this point, he makes reference to a photo showing a small entrance wound on the back of a head, closely resembling the supposed entrance near the cowlick on the back of Kennedy's head. Notably, he does not identify the type of rifle fired nor the distance from which it was fired. He then proceeds to describe the massive internal damage created by such a bullet. For this he makes reference to another photo. Only this one shows a massive wound on the top of the head, closely resembling what is supposedly the exit on Kennedy's head. The caption for this photo, however, explains *"Shot from a .30-.30 rifle fired from about 60 feet. The wound of entrance is indicated by arrows."* The large size of this entrance, of course, DOES "materially differ" from that of a gunshot wound inflicted by a handgun, and this, in turn, raises the question of why the distance of the shot in the first photo was not noted.

Spitz's caginess on this issue is no one-time thing, mind you. On 11-17-88 Dr. Spitz defended the Warren Commission's findings on Detroit radio station WXYT. When asked about the President's head wounds, he was most forthcoming. He asserted: *"The right upper quadrant of the head was more or less demolished. It is not unusual for a high-powered rifle to do this. A mistake was made insofar that the the back of the head was never shaved. There is every reason to believe that the entrance wound was up toward the top of the head namely in the area of the cowlick. The hair in that area, due to the peculiar way in which the hair turned like in a whirlpool--the skin is a little bit more visible in that area than in other parts where the hair is combed over. That bullet hole--if it is a bullet hole--looked very very suggestive of a regular usual bullet wound of entrance like we see thousands of. It is known--and we have seen this many many times--that high-powered rifles, whereas they cause lots of damage at the exit, cause a bullet wound of entrance which does not look any different from any other bullet wound of entrance, even from a small caliber handgun."*

Well, my gosh, by gosh... This is utter hogwash! Spitz's suggestion that the entrance wounds created by high-velocity rifle bullets on the skull at distances as short as 100 yards are identical in appearance to the entrance wounds created by low-velocity small-caliber handgun bullets on the skull is only refuted by most every book or article on wound ballistics ever written (save his own).

I mean, something is just strange here. Spitz does not designate "high-powered rifles when firing military ammunition" or any such thing. He says simply "high-powered rifles." The explosive effects of hunting ammunition at both entrance and at exit when fired by a high-powered rifles has long been noted. Spitz, furthermore, would have been far more familiar with this kind of high-velocity rifle wound than he would have been with the wounds normally created by Oswald's rifle. There is simply no way he could have forgotten the nastiness of such a wound, or be of the belief that small-caliber

handguns when fired from a distance could create wounds equally as nasty. The high-powered rifle firing soft-nosed hunting ammunition tested in The Discovery Channel's 2008 program JFK: Inside the Target Car, we should remember, completely exploded the first simulated human head fired upon in the program, and severed it from its neck.

Let's reflect... Handbook of Legal Medicine, by Dr. Alan R. Moritz, the mentor to Dr. Spitz's mentor, Dr. Fisher, and a member of the Clark Panel, reports: *"Rifles or carbines manufactured for big game hunting or as military weapons ordinarily use ammunition with a large powder charge to ensure high velocity and long carrying distance. The kinetic energy of such a projectile may be so great as to have an explosive effect on impact quite different than that produced by most pistols or revolvers or by rifles designed for small game hunting. Regardless of the range of fire, the explosive effect of such a bullet at the site of entrance may be great enough to make it difficult to recognize just where the bullet struck and whether it was entering or leaving the body at that place."*

And Dr. Moritz was far from alone. Forensic Pathology, a Handbook for Pathologists, edited by Spitz's close colleagues Dr. Fisher and Dr. Petty, confirms: *"Wounds from revolvers, pistols, and rifles will have characteristics which vary depending on the velocity of the bullet (which is the largest factor determining the destructive energy)...Increasing the velocity of projectiles increases geometrically the quantity of energy produced and this produces perforating wounds with unusual features: bone may literally be pulverized, soft tissue laceration may be widespread and at considerable distance from the track of the projectile, lacerations may be observed within the intima of arteries; exit wounds may be unusually large."*

As these "unusual features" are related to the velocity of the bullet, and the velocity of the bullet is greatest at entrance, it makes no sense whatsoever for Spitz to imply these features would go unnoticed at entrance.

There's also this... The HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, of which Spitz was a senior member, concluded that a high-velocity bullet had struck Kennedy high on the back of his skull. To this end, when discussing Kennedy's x-rays and an obviously displaced section of the rear of his skull, the panel's report described: *"embedded in the skull in the lower region of this defect is a radiopaque shadow which, in the opinion of the panel, is a fragment of the missile."* As the nose and base of this bullet were found on the front seat of the limousine, moreover, it follows that this fragment could only have come from the middle of the bullet. This means that, in the panel's expert opinion, the bullet broke up upon entrance. (Dr. Baden, of course, made several statements indicating that he thought the "radiopaque shadow" rubbed off the base of the bullet, and that the bullet itself broke up upon hitting the windshield strut, but this makes no sense whatsoever, and one cannot reasonably presume the rest of the panel was as daft as he on this issue.)

If a high-velocity bullet had broken up upon entrance to the skull, well, it only makes sense that the appearance of this entrance would not be that of a "regular usual wound of entrance." Yes?

I mean, this isn't just some layman making stuff up; this is what EVERY doctor to write about gunshot wounds, including Spitz's colleagues, has claimed.

So why did Spitz, regularly and repeatedly, imply that the entrance of a rifle bullet on the skull looks like the entrance of a handgun bullet on the skull? Was he trying to cover up that the supposed entrance to Kennedy's skull in the cowlick could pass for being a handgun wound, but bore scant resemblance to the kind of massive wound one would expect from a high-velocity bullet, fired from less than a hundred yards away, and fragmenting on the skull?

Perhaps Spitz was just confused. Perhaps he had remembered that, under certain circumstances, a handgun wound can give the appearance of a rifle wound. According to Moritz, *"If the muzzle of the*

gun was in close contact with the skin at the moment of firing, a large entrance wound may be produced by the explosive effects of the expanding gases in the tissues. Similar destructive effects may result from the impact of a high velocity bullet such as those fired from most military rifles, machine guns, and some sporting guns." Unfortunately for Spitz, though, this is a one-way street. While holding a muzzle to the body can make a handgun wound look like a rifle wound, there is no reason, outside the bullet's having been fired from hundreds (or in some circumstances, thousands) of yards away, that a high-velocity rifle wound of the skull would look like the "regular usual" wound made by a handgun of small caliber.

Or perhaps Spitz was ill-informed. By the 1980's, much had been made of the M-16's mechanism of wounding, whereby it left small wounds at entrance on the body but created massive internal damage as a consequence of the bullet's tumbling and breaking up inside the body. Perhaps Spitz was of the misguided belief then that the impact of a 160 grain bullet on a skull would bear the same resemblance to a small caliber handgun bullet on a skull as the impact of a 55 grain M-16 bullet would on a body to a small caliber handgun bullet on a body. Perhaps Spitz, who in daily life had seen far more handgun wounds and shotgun wounds than rifle wounds--by a ratio of probably 100 to 1--had simply failed to realize that the bullet striking Kennedy was far larger, and would have behaved much differently, than the M-16 bullet of so much discussion.

Or perhaps, just perhaps, Dr. Spitz was being deliberately deceptive about the nature of high-powered rifle wounds to conceal that the entrance wound proposed by his friend Fisher, and confirmed by not one but two panels on which he himself resided, was most certainly not the entrance of a high-velocity bullet fragmenting on the back of the head. Dr. Spitz had, after all, told the Rockefeller Commission in 1975 that he'd performed *"high velocity rifle test firings for the sake of learning their effect,"* but that he had never published his results. The possibility that Dr. Spitz was being deliberately deceptive is supported as well by the strange fact that he subsequently published a drawing of the autopsy photo of the back of the head in his book, and that this drawing not only failed to depict the small dark shape present in the entrance location described by Dr. Humes, but the surprising wing of scalp apparent by Kennedy's temple, signifying the supposed exit of the bullet.

Perhaps, perhaps, perhaps...

But Spitz's apparent failure to appreciate or acknowledge that the entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's head should not have appeared to be a "regular usual wound" was not his only "mistake." Nor his strangest...

As hard as it may be to believe, in recent editions of *Medicolegal Investigation of Death*, Spitz makes an even stranger mistake. He writes *"One of the gravest errors made in the autopsy of President John F. Kennedy was the fact that the back of the head was never shaved. Thus, to this day, speculation and innuendos persist regarding the exact location of the wound, and some even claim that this shot came from the front or the grassy knoll, at the right side of the President's motorcade, suggesting a conspiracy by at least two assassins."*

Well, this is, as promised, strange. The "speculation and innuendos" holding that Kennedy was shot from the front have nothing to do with the failure of the autopsy doctors to shave the back of Kennedy's head, and have everything to do with the statements of the emergency room doctors in Dallas. I mean, does Spitz really mean to imply that the autopsy doctors might have found the wound on the back of the head described by the emergency room doctors, if only they'd shaved Kennedy's head? The only doctor in Dallas to inspect the head wound, Dr. Clark, specified that there was no scalp over this large gaping wound, so how could there be hair?

The thought occurs then that Dr. Spitz knew full well that the failure to shave Kennedy's head had nothing to do with the widespread belief the head shot was fired from the front, but was being cute

about it. Was he trying to avoid mentioning that the descriptions of the head wound by the doctors in Dallas placed it in a different location than the descriptions of the head wound by the doctors in Bethesda, and that the panel on which he served concluded that each of these groups of doctors incorrectly recalled the location of the wounds they observed?

Perhaps. An article on Spitz found on the Wayne State University website confirms his feeling that the failure to cut JFK's hair led to some major mistakes. The author of this article, Amy DiCresce, explains *"Part of the confusion and chaos over Kennedy's death was the inaccurate original autopsy report, but Dr. Spitz says there's a simple explanation for that. Kennedy was autopsied by a pathologist who had never done a gunshot autopsy before. Furthermore, he points to his head saying, 'To this day, we don't know if the bullet entered exactly here or here. The wound was never shaven. You should never make a determination on a bullet wound without cleaning it and photographing it properly. It's the only way you can see the details.'"*

Well, this is better, but still not good. While in his book Spitz insinuated that the failure to shave Kennedy's head had prevented the autopsy doctors from convincing others there was no exit on the back of the head, he at least now acknowledges that this failure, if anything, led to Dr. Humes inaccurately measuring the entrance wound location. But who is he kidding? The failure to shave Kennedy's hair could never in a million years have led Dr. Humes--and his entire autopsy team--to think the top of Kennedy's skull--where Spitz claims the wound was actually located--was the BOTTOM of Kennedy's skull--where Humes and his entire autopsy team claimed the wound was located. No, the only ones actually confused by Humes' failure to shave Kennedy's head were those tasked with subsequently studying the autopsy photos--men like Dr. Fisher...and Dr. Spitz.

And Spitz is well aware of this... Let's recall that he told his radio audience in 1988 that *"There is every reason to believe that the entrance wound was up toward the top of the head namely in the area of the cowlick. The hair in that area, due to the peculiar way in which the hair turned like in a whirlpool--the skin is a little bit more visible in that area than in other parts where the hair is combed over. That bullet hole--if it is a bullet hole--looked very very suggestive of a regular usual bullet wound of entrance like we see thousands of."*

"That bullet hole--if it is a bullet hole..." Spitz had thereby let it slip that he wasn't exactly sure about the so-called cowlick entrance and, in the process, had suggested that his anger toward the autopsists for not shaving JFK's head was related as much to his own difficulty in interpreting the autopsy photos as anything else.

An April 3, 2005 article in the Macomb Daily, based on an interview with Spitz, supports this speculation, and suggests that Dr. Spitz continues to search for someone--anyone--to blame for his frustration. The article quotes him as follows: *"Jackie was upstairs in the hospital and sent down an order not to cut any hair."*

Hmm, this detail about the First Lady is quite a revelation... but is apparently untrue. In 1992, when interviewed in the Journal of the American Medical Association and given the chance to explain all the shortcomings of Kennedy's autopsy, head autopsist Dr. James Humes proclaimed *"The wounds were so obvious that there was no need to shave the hair before photographs were taken."* As far as can be determined, Humes never wavered on this point. As a result, we can only suspect the story about Mrs. Kennedy ordering the hair not be shaved was someone's invention. Someone named Dr. Werner Spitz...

But, as awful as this is, this is not the worst of Spitz's mistakes, and is not the only thing he has apparently made up for his convenience. In the three editions of *Medicolegal Investigation of Death* released subsequent to his stint with the HSCA, (in 1980, 1993, and 2006) Spitz repeatedly claims *"The*

wound in the front of JFK's neck was circumferentially abraded, resembling an entrance wound to inexperienced examiners at the autopsy."

Yikes. Feel free to read that again... Could Spitz really be suggesting that the autopsy doctors mistakenly concluded the throat wound was an entrance?

Amazingly, yes. A May 13, 2006 article in The Journal Gazette reports that Spitz, while explaining why so many people are of the mistaken belief shots came from the front, *"contended that the original autopsy – done under extreme pressure – erroneously concluded an exit wound in Kennedy's neck was an entry wound because of an abrasion around the wound. That abrasion was likely caused by the knot of the former president's tie, Spitz said, adding that it is not uncommon for clothes pressed tightly against the skin to cause such an abrasion."*

Uhhh, WOW. There's just a few huge problems with this. One is that the original autopsy did not conclude Kennedy's throat wound was an entrance wound. That Spitz not only makes this mistake, but has repeatedly and consistently made this mistake since 1980, furthermore, suggests that HE HAS NEVER ACTUALLY READ THE AUTOPSY REPORT. Two is that there was no abrasion ring around the throat wound noted at autopsy. The autopsy doctors saw only a tracheotomy incision during the autopsy, and thought it was just that, a tracheotomy incision. This suggests, furthermore, that Spitz HAS NEVER EVEN READ THE TESTIMONY OF THE AUTOPSY DOCTORS.

Even worse, the doctors at Parkland Hospital, who did think the wound resembled an entrance before cutting through it with a tracheotomy incision, thought so primarily because of its extremely small size, and never mentioned an abrasion ring in their testimony. This suggests again that Spitz HAS NEVER EVEN READ THE TESTIMONY OF THE PARKLAND HOSPITAL EMERGENCY ROOM DOCTORS. This indicates that Spitz was, well....just making stuff up.

That Spitz refused to actually study the evidence, and preferred to make stuff up, is suggested, furthermore, by his earliest interviews on the subject. The June 2, 1975 edition of Medical World News, written just after Spitz first viewed the evidence for the Rockefeller Commission, boasts on article on the medical evidence, with input from Dr.s Fisher, Spitz, and Wecht. While discussing the fatal head shot, Dr. Spitz claims: *"One bullet entered from the rear of his skull and exited near his right eye."* Near his right eye? As the exit location later identified by the HSCA's Panel is at least three inches from the right eye, this suggests Dr. Spitz was so ill-informed regarding the specifics of the assassination in 1975 that he, as Dr. Angel a few years later, just ASSUMED the "mystery photo" was taken directly from the front, and that the beveled exit in the photo was therefore directly above the eye. He never realized that none of the doctors inspecting Kennedy's body on the day of his death noticed such a wound. And he never realized this because HE NEVER READ THE REPORTS AND TESTIMONY OF THE AUTOPSY DOCTORS AND NEVER READ THE REPORTS AND TESTIMONY OF THE PARKLAND HOSPITAL EMERGENCY ROOM DOCTORS. (Sorry about all the caps...)

One might rightly suspect then that Spitz, as Baden, is simply unreliable, and equally as likely as Baden to repeat half-baked nonsense when discussing the assassination...and assassinations....

Sadly, this suspicion was recently confirmed....

Trust Us, We're The Experts

On 12-27-2007, seven Pakistani doctors examined the body of their country's former Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, who'd been assassinated only hours before. Their report on her wounds reads as

follows:

- ***Details OF THE WOUND AND ITS SURROUNDINGS***

- *There was wound in right Temporoparietal region. Shape was irregularly oval, measuring about 5 x 3 cms, just above the pinna of right ear. Edges were irregular. No surrounding wounds or blackening was seen. There was a big boggy swelling around the wound. Blood was continuously trickling down and whitish material that looked like brain matter was seen in the wound and in the surrounding hair. Sharp bone edges were felt in wound. No foreign body was felt in the wound.*
- *Wound was not further explored. Generate aseptic dressing was used to cover the wound.*
- *Bleeding from both the ears was seen, more so from the right ear. Slight trickle of Blood was seen from right nostril also. Blood mixed with secretions was seen in the oral cavity also.*
- *Detailed external examination of the body did not reveal any other external injury.*
- *X-rays of the skull AP and Lateral views were done after she had been declared dead. Findings are as below:-*
- *Comminuted depressed skull fracture involving right temoroparietal bone is observed with inwards depressed fracture fragment measuring approx. 35 mm (on-X-ray measurement). Depressed fracture fragment distant from intact bony skull measures 12 mm from outer to outer skull table & 12 mm from inner to inner skull table. Two to three tiny radio-densities underneath fracture segment are observed on both projections. Associated scalp soft tissue swelling & moderate degree of pneumocephalus is observed. Rest of the bony skull is intact. Radio-opaque dental fillings are evident.*
- ***CAUSE OF DEATH***
- *Open head injury with depressed skull fracture, leading to Cardiopulmonary arrest.*

A Pakistani government spokesman took from this that Ms. Bhutto had hit her head on a handle of her open-topped security vehicle while reacting to the explosion of a nearby suicide bomber. This explanation satisfied almost no one, however. Within days, a number of top American forensic pathologists had joined a growing chorus of doubt and dismay. They couldn't understand why no autopsy had been performed on Ms. Bhutto. They couldn't understand how Ms. Bhutto could incur such a wound, simply by bumping her head. On 12-31-2007, an article appeared in the New York Times, expressing both the doubts of these doctors, and their own theories on the cause of Ms. Bhutto's death. It read, in part:

- *"Dr. Baden said he suspected that Ms. Bhutto died from a bullet that left two or three tiny fragments seen on X-rays before it exited the skull through a wound that the Pakistani doctors did not notice in part because they apparently did not shave the bloodied thick scalp hair." (Note: by conjuring up an imaginary wound of exit, Dr. Baden was acknowledging that he felt the 5 cm by 3 cm wound described by the doctors was most logically an entrance. As it would make little sense for a bullet entrance of such dimension to lead to a bullet exit so small it could be hidden in the hair, moreover, he was giving us yet another reason to doubt his common sense.)*
- *"Dr. Werner U. Spitz, former chief medical examiner in Detroit, said he could not understand why the government did not try to quench "the thirst of the Pakistani people to know the facts, because they are all angry, and if you confronted them with the facts, maybe the anger" would disappear." (Note: this is quite a line coming from a man who participated in not one but two highly-secretive forensic pathology panels investigating the death of President Kennedy.)*
- *"Dr. Spitz said he suspected that Ms. Bhutto died after being hit by a bullet fired from a high-powered rifle." (Note: you've got to be kidding. In 1988, when discussing JFK's head wounds,*

Spitz suggested that the small oval shape by the cowlick in the autopsy photos was precisely the kind of wound one would expect from a high-powered rifle. Now, here, with a wound ONE HUNDRED TIMES as large as the entrance wound measured at the autopsy of JFK, he immediately jumps to "hmm, looks like a high-powered rifle wound to me..." Spitz, by the way, would go on to testify on behalf of Phil Spector in his murder trial, and help accused child-killer Casey Anthony obtain her release after floating that the duct tape found on her daughter's skull was applied after decomposition, and not before.)

- *"Dr. Vincent J. DiMaio, a former chief medical examiner in San Antonio, who also deplored the lack of an autopsy in Ms. Bhutto's case, said he suspected that a fragment that was propelled against her head was a more likely explanation for her death than a bullet wound."* (Note: while not himself a member of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, Dr. DiMaio, along with Dr. Henry Lee, was asked by the ARRB in 1998 to review the newly digitized autopsy photos and determine if there was anything that could be seen in the photos that would lead them to think forming a new pathology panel might prove useful. As Dr. DiMaio had studied under the Clark Panel's Dr. Russell Fisher, and was a long-time colleague of Dr. Spitz, and had co-written articles with Spitz going back at least as far as 1972, and as he had also publicly praised the work of single-assassin theorist Dr. Lattimer as far back as 1973, his selection for this task was highly questionable. According to Doug Horne, who interviewed DiMaio for the ARRB, Dr. DiMaio made it clear before even looking at the photos that he felt the Clark Panel, Rockefeller Commission Panel, and HSCA panel had gotten it right, and *"declared with great certainty"* that the red spot in the cowlick *"was a classic bullet entry wound."* Horne's notes on his meeting with Lee and DiMaio, not surprisingly, reflect further that both Lee, who, along with Baden, had been a well-paid member of O.J. Simpson's defense team, and DiMaio *"felt any visual information now available was not sufficient that a panel would be able to reach any conclusions with a sufficient degree of scientific certainty."* In other words, they refused to give anyone the opportunity to second guess their friends and colleagues, Dr.s Baden and Spitz. Flash forward to 2007. Dr. Baden's wife is one of Phil Spector's attorneys. Not surprisingly, Dr. Baden is a highly-paid witness for his defense. Also not surprisingly, Dr.s Lee and DiMaio--who is reported to have charged \$400 an hour for his efforts--join him on the team, and Dr. Spitz jumps on the money train for the second trial.)

A video of Bhutto's assassination soon surfaced. It showed a man firing a pistol at Ms. Bhutto as she fell into the car, and a violent explosion after she'd already fallen inside. It indicated she was not shot by a rifle, or hit by any shrapnel. Most watching the film believe she is in fact shot by the pistol. Some even go further and speculate that this bullet entered the back of her neck before exiting from the 5 cm by 3 cm defect described in the report of the doctors. A study performed by Scotland Yard, however, failed to support this. It claimed instead that the shots fired at Ms. Bhutto had missed and that, as originally surmised by the Pakistani official, Ms. Bhutto had died after hitting her head. The controversy continues.

The controversy over Ms. Bhutto's death is nevertheless informative. It shows that you can get a report signed by seven doctors that many experts will believe is wrong. It shows as well that you can get three opinions, from three experts, in which the conclusions of these doctors are disputed, and that they also can be wrong. And, finally, it shows that some experts, particularly those affiliated with the HSCA forensic pathology panel, are more than willing to offer up their opinions on controversial cases before obtaining the relevant evidence.

Manufacturing Consensus

If Spitz and Baden were simply wrong about Kennedy, then, it should not be all that surprising. There is simply no evidence the doctors on the HSCA panel ever thought of themselves as anything but

consultants. A consultant will tell you, for a price, what he knows or thinks he knows. An investigator, which is what the committee needed, will tell you what he's discovered after reading everything relevant to the case, and conducting actual research.

A brief study of the events leading up to Baden's testimony suggests that the members of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel were just consultants, and low-paid consultants at that. In an article available on the Wayne University website, in which Dr. Spitz discusses his work for the HSCA, he complains *"You know how much I got for that opinion? I got \$121, which paid for the airplane ticket to Washington and back. Otherwise, they didn't give me anything."*

If he was understating his pay, it wasn't by much. On 9-28-78, in the statements of Chairman Louis Stokes before the HSCA (found in the FBI files on the Mary Ferrell Foundation website), at the close of their public hearings, he discussed the finances of the committee. He noted that they'd paid \$25,000 for 101 man-days to their pathology consultants. That's total. For nine top pathologists and a number of radiologists. 101 man-days. That's less than 10 days apiece. This pales in comparison to the \$75,850 and 198 man-days devoted to studying the dicta-belt evidence, and re-enacting the shooting in Dealey Plaza. This is less than half the \$50,000 and 270 man-days spent studying and enhancing the photographs. To put this small number of man-days in proper perspective, one need only consider that, by Stokes' own account, the creation of medical illustrations for the committee took 78 man-days. Since by quick count only seven illustrations were created, this means that the pathology consultants spent approximately as much time evaluating, discussing, and writing about the evidence, per person, as it took the committee's medical illustrator, Ida Dox, to create one drawing.

And what did the pathology consultants do on their 101 man-days, less than 10 days apiece?

Well, they were good enough to tell us in their report. The doctors who'd never seen the autopsy photos and x-rays before, including Dr. Baden, got together at a House of Representatives office on 9-15-77. At this meeting, a number of documents related to the assassination, including official reports, Warren Commission testimony, and articles on the assassination were *"made available."* These documents, mind you, which are listed in the report's addendum A, and which would take a normal person at least a week to read and comprehend, should have been required reading BEFORE the panelists had even set foot in Washington. And yet, they were only *"made available."* There's no mention of photo-copies being passed out for home study. Not that there was much time for home study. They re-convened at the National Archives the next day to inspect the autopsy evidence. On the 17th, they spent some more time with the evidence and met with Dr.s Humes, Boswell, and Angel as well. This is the meeting where Dr. Humes said the "cowlick" entry appeared to be dried blood. This is the meeting where Dr. Angel said the exit was on the frontal bone. (Both of these statements were ignored by the Panel.) On the 18th, this panel re-convened at the House Office Building, to *"discuss the individual findings and commit to writing its opinions relative to the evidence viewed."* Their report explains: *"At that meeting, it became apparent that the members were in substantial agreement with respect to the interpretation to the evidence."* Note that there was no radiologist present to help them analyze the x-rays. Note also that these doctors were civilians and that none of them had studied military rifle wounds, let alone the wounds caused by Mannlicher-Carcano rifles. Note further that the Warren Commission testimony of Dr. Alfred Olivier, who'd studied the wound ballistics of the rifle, and the 1965 report he'd written on his studies, were not included in addendum A, although *"Rockefeller panel reports"*, presumably including Dr. Olivier's own brief report to the Rockefeller Commission in 1975, were included. While Dr. Baden, in his 1980 Toronto speech, would admit that his panel *"knew very little about"* Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition (a fact confirmed in 1986 by panel member Charles Petty, who admitted during testimony in a televised mock trial that he'd never inspected a single wound of its making), and while Baden would later admit to the 2003 Wecht conference audience that *"medical examiners as well as*

neurosurgeons and trauma surgeons, we don't see much in the way of military rifle ammunition" and illustrate this by admitting that a New York City coroner inspecting *"1200 gunshot murder victims"* would probably find that *"none of them"* were by military rifles, he didn't see fit to bring a doctor familiar with this ammunition onto his panel. Instead, as Dr. Baden admitted in 1980, he contacted someone named Tom Marshall to find out more, but failed to provide Marshall the specifics of the case. There is no mention, moreover, of Marshall's opinions in the HSCA's files.

This panel selected Dr. Loquvam to write a report on their findings.

The other sub-panel, made-up of Dr.s Wecht, Spitz, and Weston, who'd previously viewed the autopsy materials, met at the House Office Building on 9-22-77, went to the Archives on 9-23, and re-convened at the House Office Building on the 24th. The panel's report notes that *"The material listed in addendum A was made available to this sub-panel at this initial meeting. The material listed in addendum B was made available at the second meeting at the National Archives. All members of both sub-panels were allowed unlimited access to these materials for individual examination."* This confirms that the materials in addendum A, which should have been required reading, were merely present in the room, and not handed out for study. On the 24th, Dr. Wecht offered a dissenting opinion on the evidence to this panel. As with the other sub-panel, no radiologists or military wounds experts were present during their analysis and discussion. This panel selected Dr. Weston to write a report, reflecting their views.

In retrospect, it certainly seems more than a little suspicious that Dr. Wecht, whose disagreement with the single-bullet theory had long been established, was disenfranchised by the structure of the panel. By having 6 doctors meet and come to a conclusion without his being present, and then having him meet as one of a trio of doctors--where the other two had already committed themselves to supporting the single-bullet theory and that there was evidence for only one gunman--his influence on the panel's conclusions had undoubtedly been minimized. This structure also prevented him from meeting Dr.s Humes and Boswell on 9-17-77, and asking them the questions he'd felt needed to be asked.

On 3-10-78, Dr.s Loquvam, Weston, and Baden met at the Archives to look at some photographic evidence, after which all panel members met with the photographic panel. The next day, the full panel deposited Dr.s Ebersole and Finck, and met with members of other panels to compare findings. Apparently, this was the first time they met with Larry Sturdivan, the HSCA's wound ballistics expert, who just so happened to have been a subordinate to Dr. Alfred Olivier, the Warren Commission's wound ballistics expert. The next day, 3-12-78, they again talked with Dr. Finck. This is the meeting in which Dr. Baden tried to pressure Dr. Finck to agree that the entrance on the skull was in the cowlick. Afterwards, the panel discussed their findings. In Dr. Wecht's dissenting opinion, contained within volume 7 of the HSCA report, he notes that although the report of the first sub-panel claimed they were in *"substantial agreement with respect to the interpretation to the evidence"* after their first inspection of the evidence the previous September, that, during this subsequent meeting, with Wecht in attendance, *"other members of the overall FPP expressed strong differences of opinion."* If so, these differences of opinion were not reflected anywhere in the final report. Instead, the final report holds that the panel came to a number of agreements during this discussion: they agreed that either Dr. Coe or Dr. Petty would continue to work with the photography panel; they agreed that Dr. Weston would represent the panel at a preliminary review of the enhanced photographs and x-rays; and they agreed that Dr. Weston would combine his and Loquvam's reports into a final report. (HSCA Chief Counsel Robert Blakey would later admit to Vincent Bugliosi that Weston's final report was in fact far from final, and that Weston's report was reviewed and re-written by Dr. Baden and HSCA staff members Andy Purdy and Mark Flanagan before undergoing further review and re-writing by Blakey and Dick Billings, a long-time Life Magazine employee hired by Blakey to assist in the writing of the report.)

That's it. This confirms that the bulk of the panel never saw the enhanced photos or x-rays before

coming to their conclusions. This confirms that the bulk of the panel never saw the reports of the HSCA's radiology consultants, Dr.s McDonnell (dated 8-4-78) and Davis (dated 8-23-78 and 12-22-78) before coming to their conclusions. This confirms as well that, when Dr. Baden testified in September 1978, it had been six months since he'd discussed the evidence with the bulk of the forensic pathology panel.

While Baden's lack of familiarity with the case is not a crime, one should expect a lot more from the HSCA's top medical expert, and the man to whom Vincent Bugliosi turned to answer his questions about the medical evidence. One might hold that Baden is a nice man, even a great doctor. But his work on the Kennedy assassination has been, in my opinion, an embarrassment to his profession.

I'm not the first to question his competence. Dr. Baden was asked to head the HSCA panel in 1977. At that time he was but a deputy medical examiner. In August 1978, just before his testimony, however, he was appointed Chief Medical Examiner for the City of New York. He held on to this position all through the hearings. By the next summer, however, around the time the HSCA's report was published, Mayor Ed Koch decided to relieve him of his duty. Early articles on this action reflect that Dr. Baden was accused of, among other things, presenting sordid details on the death of former Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller during a February 3, 1979 lecture at a local hospital. (Baden was reported to have claimed that Rocky had died while fornicating with an aide.) Baden was also accused of losing evidence and being impolite to assistant district attorneys. One early article, in the August 1, 1979 L.A. Times, reflects that Baden conceded that there had been "personality" problems on four cases, and that "In two, evidence problems of a minor nature developed." Baden then turned around and sued both Mayor Koch and the City of New York for his reinstatement. This fight went all the way to the U.S. Court of Appeals, with the Court deciding that Baden's demotion was within his probationary period, and that he was thus not entitled to a hearing before his dismissal. While the ruling on his appeal, available online, makes note of Baden's claim that he was "removed from his position because of the exercise, by him and members of his family, of their right of free speech," a 10-30-87 New York Times article, also found online, claims only that Koch removed Baden "after receiving negative reports from Dr. Reinaldo A. Ferrer, then the city's Health Commissioner, and from Robert M. Morgenthau, the Manhattan District Attorney" and that they "contended, among other things, that Dr. Baden had lost important evidence in homicide cases and had been unresponsive to requests from superiors." A July 9, 1982, New York Times article on Dr. Baden's trial, furthermore, affirms that this was the official reason for his dismissal and quotes Baden's own assessment of his reputation following the revelation of these charges: "I became overnight almost a pariah in my profession because of the nature of the charges against me," he said. He added that the charges had damaged his credibility and "immediately affected my ability to testify in court" as an expert in major homicide cases."

In the interests of fairness, it should be noted here that Dr. Baden, in his 1989 book *Unnatural Death: Confessions of a Medical Examiner*, offers a defense against these charges. He does so, however, at the cost of his profession, and the credibility of his work with the HSCA Pathology Panel. When discussing the difficulties he had getting along with a big city DA like Morgenthau, he writes "What is really wanted is an elastic man, one who will stretch and bend his findings to suit the DA's needs and the political climate. Truth and excellence play no part in this arrangement. Numbers are what count, getting convictions for the DA, and the ME's office exists for that purpose. Its own purposes are always subordinate to somebody else's agenda." He then describes the specific pressure put on Medical Examiners (ME's) to twist the evidence and say that murdered women have also been raped; he reports, to the detriment of the credibility of his fellow pathologists, that "Most ME's do it." He then discusses a number of cases where political pressure influenced the findings of the ME. He later concludes, to the detriment of his profession, that: "In murder, medical examiners who can't figure out the cause of death tend to go along with the police theory. Instead of arriving at their own independent conclusions, ME's

just become rubber stamps. There is nothing deliberately dishonest about this. The police want to solve the murder, and the ME, mistakenly thinking he is there to serve them, adopts their theory." Baden offers no compelling reason for his readers to believe the investigation of a president's murder would be less pressure-packed than the investigation of a possible rape, and no compelling reason to believe the pathologists on the HSCA panel would be less eager to please the powers that be than the ME's described in his book. Perhaps, then, he was trying to tell us something.

Dr. Baden's subsequent career has been no less controversial. The 2006 book *Postmortem*, by Stefan Timmermans, explores the sociology of medical examiners. It received a rave review from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. In a chapter on the importance of witness credibility, Timmermans discusses Baden's 1997 testimony in defense of Louise Woodward, a nanny accused of shaking an 8-month-old to death. Timmermans recounts how Baden testified on behalf of Woodward that the infant's injuries were not necessarily caused by shaking and may have been older fractures caused by a fall or impact. He testified: "Shaken doesn't explain anything about the autopsy or pathology. That is just speculation. An impact would cause all those injuries." The prosecution was prepared for this, however, and countered Baden's testimony by reading into the record Baden's testimony from a previous trial before the very same judge. When representing the prosecution at this earlier trial, Baden had claimed "from a medical examiner-pathology point of view, it was the hemorrhaging about the brain and eyes that are characteristic and pathognomonic of shaken-baby syndrome." By claiming there were injuries characteristic of shaken-baby syndrome when testifying on behalf of the prosecution in the earlier case, and then claiming there were no injuries characteristic of shaken-baby syndrome when testifying in defense of Woodward, Baden had demonstrated that his opinions lacked substance and changed with the weather. Having thus damaged Baden's credibility, the prosecutor then pressured him on every element of his testimony, gaining Baden's admission that he'd not reached his "expert" opinions independently, but had followed the interpretive lead of other doctors involved in the case. In the end, according to Timmermans, the prosecutor "not only managed to show that Dr. Baden might be expressing opinions about evidence he did not completely grasp but also allowed him to contradict himself and others" and had "so reduced his credibility that any difference of opinion he might have with a colleague would reflect not superior knowledge but idiosyncrasy."

Dr. Baden has embarrassed his profession in other ways as well. At times, Dr. Baden has collected exorbitant fees from defendants of widely-presumed guilt, and offered extremely speculative testimony in return. This has helped create the impression that his testimony--and the testimony of other celebrity pathologists, as well--was for sale, and could be obtained by the highest bidder. In the most notorious example, Dr. Baden collected approximately \$165,000 for his assistance to O.J. Simpson during his trial. This culminated in his telling jurors that in his expert opinion either more than one knife was used to kill Ron Goldman and Nicole Brown, or that a specially constructed double-edged knife had been used. He also claimed it would have taken Ron Goldman 15 minutes to die, which stretched out the time of the killings, and cast doubt on Simpson's guilt. He then suggested that Nicole Brown Simpson had had a late snack, and that this was why the amount of food in her stomach at autopsy suggested she'd been killed closer to the prosecution's estimated time of death of 10:15-10:30 than the defense's proposed time for her death, 11:00, when Mr. Simpson had an alibi. At one point in his testimony, things grew so heated between prosecutor Brian Kelberg and Baden that Kelberg demanded to know if Baden's opinions could be backed up by any scientific studies, and Baden replied that people can't be studied "like worms" and that "We can't do control studies of feeding somebody and killing them."

Baden also received a reported \$110,000 from Phil Spector during his first trial (in which Baden's wife functioned as Spector's attorney). In a dramatic and controversial twist to the case, Baden told jurors that the blood spatter on Spector's jacket didn't necessarily mean he was near his purported victim at the moment she was shot, but perhaps only reflected that she'd coughed blood on him after she'd shot

herself, with her last breath. He even got his old HSCA colleague, Dr. Werner Spitz, to back him up on this.

The precise exchange between prosecutor Alan Jackson and Spitz on 7-26-07 (found in an online blog, which I'm assuming is reasonably accurate) is most informative, as it reveals not only the depths to which Baden and Spitz would go for a paying client, but the contempt they hold for those with expertise they do not share, and whose opinions are in opposition to their own.

Jackson: "So, and you are not an expert in blood spatter, but in your opinion, even if there was no blood found *anywhere* beyond the hem of Lana Clarkson's skirt -there was no blood on her thighs, no blood on her calves, no blood on her feet or her shoes or the carpet underneath her – even so, the jacket can still be six feet away and have blood on the left side of it?"

Spitz: "Yes, that's what I am saying, because the velocity of the blood – you wouldn't expect to have it close by the source – you would expect it to be farther away."

Jackson: "So, the spray came out of Lana Clarkson's mouth, and Phillip Spector was just *so* unlucky that here he was, 6 feet away from her, and all of this spray ended up on his jacket – but nowhere else – not behind him or in front of him or below him or above him – Just on Him??"

Spitz: "Well, when you say all of it – you make it sound like you have a bucket full – he has all of 18 spots on him, which includes some spots that have been described as transfers."

Jackson: "So in your opinion, doctor, and you agree that all of the experts – even the defense experts – they all say that Lana has spatter on her dress – and what you are telling this jury is that when the gun went off, spatter came out her mouth, and some landed on her dress, but the rest of this spatter – it jumped and skipped her thighs and her knees and her calves and her shoes and jumped and missed the carpet and all of this spatter landed on Phillip Spector's jacket?"

Spitz: "You are probably correct in that description – but it didn't have to jump, the amount of spray she had was quite small – it came out of her mouth and a little dripped down some spray onto the hem of her dress..."

Jackson: "So it changed trajectory? It went down on her dress and then completely made a 180 degree turn and flew across the room 6 feet to get onto the jacket?"

Spitz: "Well, now you are making it sound like those people who criticized the so called magic bullet theory in the Kennedy assassination ..."

(So here we have Spitz trying to hide behind his purported expertise, and insinuate that those questioning his and Baden's new nonsense are as out to lunch as those questioning their old nonsense. The irony of his response seems lost on him. He seems totally unaware that the majority of Americans--and thus the majority of jurors on the panel--who've looked into the Kennedy assassination for more than a moment have come to dismiss the "magic bullet" theory he finds so compelling. And this was no momentary brain fart, mind you. While testifying for the prosecution in a hearing regarding convicted murderer Larry Swearingen in March 2012, and recounting his vast experience, Spitz defended his findings on the JFK case by claiming that "By far, the majority of Americans today believe" that Kennedy was not shot at from two directions, but shot from behind by "Mr. Oswald." I mean, really, where does he get this stuff?)

Jackson: "You are aware, doctor, are you not, that Stuart James, a paid defense expert, a man highly regarded in his field, completely disagrees with you. He says, in fact, that the spatter pattern on the jacket, which is millimeter and sub millimeter in size, is consistent with a high velocity spatter. Are you aware of that?"

Spitz: "I did not discuss that with him".

Jackson: "Doctor, I don't care what you discussed with other witnesses outside of this courtroom – are you aware that this was his testimony before the jury?"

Spitz: "No, I am not aware of that."

Jackson: "Would you defer to those experts in other areas and sciences that have more expertise than you?"

Spitz: "At this point, I don't know what I'm deferring and not deferring – all I know is that if I saw something for myself, I would not defer, and I know that this can happen."

Jackson: "Really? How many times have you seen blood spatter come out and then skip all these targets and find another target and then change trajectory and find another target?"

Spitz: "Not spray that deliberately as you put it changes trajectory – you are assigning volition to something that has no volition..."

Jackson: "Doctor, isn't it a more reasonable inference just that simply put Phillip Spector's jacket was closer in proximity to the blood letting event?"

Spitz: "No – because he would have more than 18 little spots on him – you would have a different density – you would have a large amount of tissue..."

Jackson: "Doctor, didn't you say yesterday that there was very little blood spatter in this case?"

Spitz: "I don't remember saying that."

Jackson: "Well, wouldn't you agree that the blood spatter in this case would be limited?"

Spitz: *"It would be limited to that which would occur from a wound by a .38 caliber missile into an area that is highly vasculated and under arterial pressure – and this is like a garden hose, these arteries, and when these arteries are cut, the blood can be like a garden hose under pressure and the blood can easily reach a ceiling 12 feet high."*

Jackson: "Well Doctor, she didn't cut an artery, so that is irrelevant."

Spitz: "It is not irrelevant at all – no, she didn't cut the jugular or the carotid, but every artery is under the same pressure."

Jackson: "So where is all the blood on the ceiling? Where is the blood on the carpet?"

Spitz: "Her head wasn't pointing at the ceiling."

Yes, you read that right. Spitz contradicted himself. In the beginning of his testimony he'd pushed that a fine spray of blood could have been coughed up by the victim, or splashed back from the victim, only to land on Spector's jacket six feet away. Under intense questioning, however, he'd changed course and suddenly started claiming that a bullet passing a bunch of arteries--even if it missed the jugular and carotid arteries--would create a wound in which blood spewed out like a garden hose. Well, have you ever seen water squirt from a garden hose with such velocity and precision that none of it lands between the nozzle and the plant being watered, six feet away? It bears noting, moreover, that Spitz readily accepted that a high-velocity bullet passed through Kennedy's neck, within millimeters of his arteries, and that blood did not spew from Kennedy's neck like a garden hose.

Exchanges like the one above, in which it is readily obvious Spitz was presenting a defense for his client (a man he admitted was paying him 5,000 dollars a day), whether the evidence supported him or not, makes me wonder if the term "pathological liar" is a reference to someone who can't help but lie, for pathological reasons, or a reference to someone who lies so readily they could have a successful

career as a pathologist. I'm serious.

When one studies the Spector case, in fact, it's hard to come to any conclusion other than that Baden and Spitz knowingly lied for money. At another point in the case, a former member of the defense team testified that Dr. Baden had been handed a piece of the victim's tooth at the crime scene, and that he'd failed to present this evidence to the authorities. Dr. Baden, of course, vehemently denied these charges. Even if one assumes Dr. Baden was telling the truth on this matter, however, and assumes further that Drs. Baden and Spitz both sincerely believed their testimony, it's impossible to believe they would have testified as they did if they'd been hired by the prosecution. One can only wonder then what Dr. Baden and the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel could have come up with had they been told that Lee Harvey Oswald was their sole client, and that they were to receive six-figure bonuses for providing him a solid defense.

One final note on Baden and his questionable expertise... After I brought Baden's testifying with the autopsy photo upside down to the attention of Marquette University Professor John McAdams on November 22, 2006, McAdams, an HSCA defender, had an interesting response. He said "Baden clearly knows how the photo is oriented, since he correctly says that the top of the photo is the front of Kennedy's head." This was like saying that a captain commanding a ship from Cannes to Cairo who washed ashore in Capetown clearly knew what he was doing since he came to port in Africa.

And from there it only got weirder. By 2010, McAdams, apparently incapable of admitting any error by anyone whose "expertise" he needs to rely upon to shore up his single-assassin conclusion, started claiming the belief Baden testified with his exhibit upside down was a false one. On 10-1-10, on his alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, he claimed:

*No, he put the photo up with the forehead upward, and then used his pointer to *correctly* point to the forehead.*

This is just a silly factoid.

The orientation that Baden used is the one that Stringer would have seen through his viewfinder.

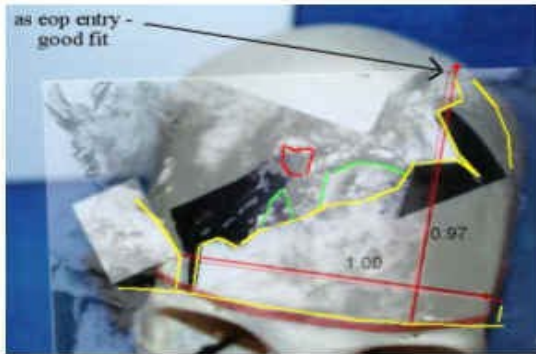
John

Well, this is just nonsense. Anyone who'd actually watched a video of Baden's testimony would know that Baden pointed to an area ABOVE the purported exit on the photo, and said it corresponded to an area ABOVE the purported exit on the drawing of Kennedy. This PROVES he thought he put the photo right-side up on the easel.

McAdams' refusal to acknowledge this, and his invention of the ridiculous "factoid" that Baden was trying to show the committee the photographer's viewpoint, furthermore, reveals both the irrational nature of many JFK "researchers"...

and that the "cult of expertise" lives on.

V-Shaped Notch Comparison



Current interpretation of the open cranium photo by the HSCA ballistic expert Larry Sturdivan, which seems to match the impressions of Dr.s Kerley and Snow as related in their HSCA report. (From the website of Paul Seaton.)



Groden Autopsy Photo

V-Shaped Notch Comparison.

That the official way to look at the “mystery photo” is sideways is confirmed yet again by the HSCA Report of Dr.s Ellis L. Kerley and Clyde C. Snow, anthropology consultants tasked with determining the authenticity and consistency of the autopsy photos and x-rays. Their report states “The photographs of group 5 (Note: group 5 is described as “Anterior-superior”--from the front and from above), which show the cranial cavity with the brain removed, are somewhat more difficult to evaluate. One feature of interest is the outline of the fractured margin of the frontal bone that is partially visible in the *foreground* of these photographs. A deep V-shaped irregularity in this margin is also visible in photographs of group 1 in which the scalp is partially reflected to expose the underlying bone.” (Note: they can't even get the group numbers right. Group 1 is the left lateral view, which shows no defect. They clearly mean group 2, the right lateral view)

Amazingly, the doctors' impression, while in basic agreement with Dr. Angel's impression, is at odds with the impressions of the pathology panel itself, whose findings their report was supposedly supporting. The pathology panel, after all, held that the bullet exiting Kennedy's frontal bone had exited along the coronal suture, at a point roughly halfway between his ear and the top of his head. The "v-shaped irregularity" on the right lateral photos, on the other hand, was on Kennedy's forehead, barely an inch above his eye. Additionally, while the v-shaped scalp tear on the lateral view would appear to have come as a result of the “wing” section of bone near the President's temple exploding downwards across his face, as demonstrated in Zapruder frame 337, the forensic anthropology report implies it was caused by an underlying fracture. This is a bit strange since the report acknowledges the scalp in the lateral view is partially reflected to expose the underlying bone, bone which reveals no such fracture.

The HSCA's ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan has shared his current interpretation of the wounds in his

book, *The JFK Myths*, and on the website of Paul Seaton. Surprisingly, he not only now feels the entrance was near the EOP a la the autopsy doctors, but that the purported beveled exit was on the forehead a la Angel, Kerley and Snow. This makes him unique. The autopsy doctors, whose impression of the entrance wound is now shared by Sturdivan, were most adamant that there was no missile exit in the frontal bone. This is demonstrated by the following exchange between Dr. Humes and Dr. Angel before the HSCA pathology panel.

Dr. Humes: *"This is not frontal bone where that semi-circle is—it's either temporal or parietal bone, Dr. Angel.*

Dr. Angel: *"I don't see how it can be. That's what it looks like to me."*

Dr. Humes: *"That's exactly what it is."*

Besides the problem that not one witness noticed an exit wound in Kennedy's forehead, the problem with Sturdivan's impression of the photo is that it presents the large defect cutting diagonally across the frontal bone. This is in disagreement with both the autopsy photos and x-rays. While Sturdivan gets around the first problem by questioning whether the piece of beveled bone in the photo really represents an exit, he is yet to explain the second.

What's truly disturbing, however, is that the HSCA's own wound ballistics expert now repudiates their location for both the entrance of the fatal bullet on the back of Kennedy's head, and its exit toward the front of his head, and that no one in the national media has noticed his change of opinion or thought it worthy of bringing to the public's attention.

Chapter 14: Demystifying the Mystery Photo

An intense examination of an autopsy photo so confusing that doctors won't guess what it shows

Scalp Triangle Comparison

Could this be
the same section
of torn scalp?

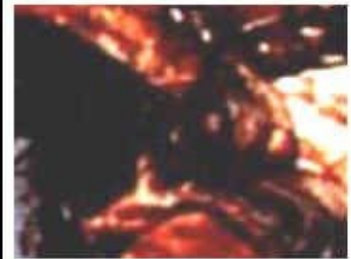


Fox autopsy photo



Groden autopsy photo

Crop of Fox autopsy photo,
inverted for comparison purposes.



Crop of Groden autopsy photo

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

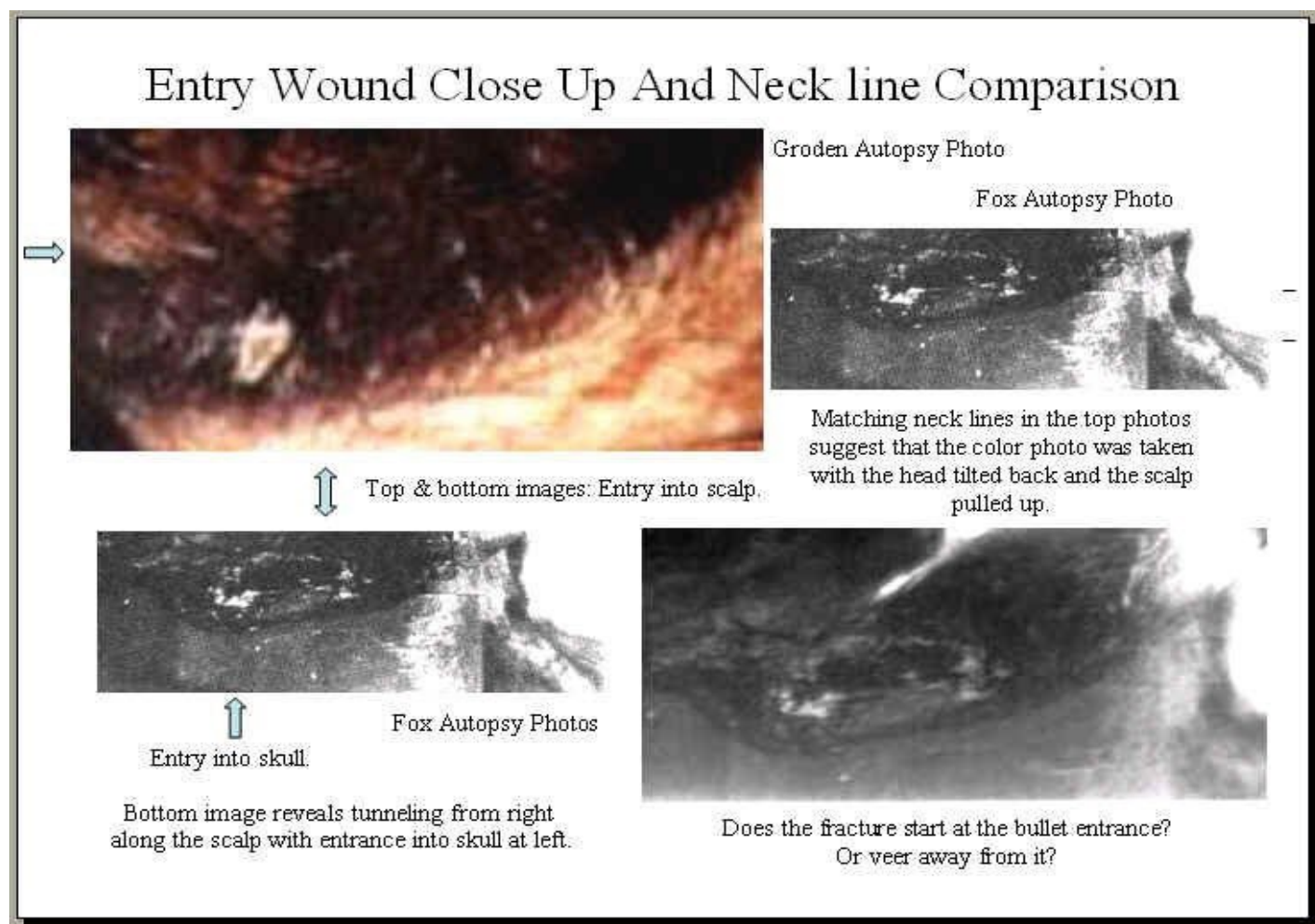
Scalp Triangle Comparison

By analyzing the scalp in the background of the open-cranium photo one finds another way to determine its proper orientation. This is because if one were to interpret the photo as being taken from the front, a la the HSCA, it would mean the doctors left the scalp intact at the back of the skull near their supposed entrance, the area they were supposedly inspecting and photographing. This just makes no sense.

When one looks even closer at this un-reflected scalp, one can see a triangle-shaped section of torn scalp. As there were no scalp lacerations at the back of the head recorded in the autopsy protocol and the testimony of the doctors asserts there were no incisions made on the scalp beyond one by the left ear, these obvious lacerations shouldn't exist (unless one is to allow that the doctors ripped Kennedy's scalp apart with their bare hands!!), should one insist this photo was taken from the front. Since a similar scalp triangle is apparent near the President's right forehead in the lateral autopsy photo, it is simply far more logical and less gruesome to assume this photo was taken from behind.

When one notices Kennedy's haircut in the autopsy photos, and realizes that the hair was much longer on top, and remembers that the doctors did not shave or cut Kennedy's hair, the question arises then of where this hair went to, should one still believe the open cranium photo was taken from the front. Why is the hair in the scalp triangle so short, if it is in fact from the crown of Kennedy's head, as would appear to be the case, should one still interpret this photo in the official manner? Since the hair by the

temple was much shorter than the hair at the top of Kennedy's head (as made clear by the left profile photo) doesn't it simply make more sense to conclude the hair in the scalp triangle came from Kennedy's temple? To my eyes, the scalp triangle only makes sense if the mystery photograph was taken from the rear.



Entry Wound Close up and Neck Line Comparison

When one inspects the back of the head photo and matches its neck lines with those on what is presumed to be the neck in the open cranium photo, one finds yet another argument that the open cranium photo depicts the back of Kennedy's head. Certainly the lines on the open cranium photo are not just random lines on a towel. Since the HSCA Authenticity Report stated "Such lines develop in most individuals by middle age, but their exact arrangement forms a pattern that is virtually unique to the individual" one would like to think they tested the lines to see if they matched. Unfortunately, there is no mention of this in their report.

Perhaps they'd failed to do this because they'd concluded the lines weren't in fact lines of the neck... While I'd once thought the lines conclusive, and mentioned them in my videos, I now have my doubts. In 2010, I received an email from a reader named Martin, and he pointed out to me that when one looks at high-contrast versions of the mystery photo what I've purported to be Kennedy's neck appears to be a flat block or tray of some sort, on which the skull is resting on its side. (I hope to perform some re-enactments which will make this more clear.) In any event, when one views these high-contrast images, what I've previously presumed to be neck lines appear to be artifacts--scratches on the photos or some

such thing. Now I really can't say for sure. But neither can I honestly claim the mysterious lines on the mystery photo are neck lines, and that this proves the photo was taken from behind.

But that's okay. There are numerous other indications that the open cranium photo depicts the entrance wound described at autopsy, and that it was thus taken from behind. Let us remember here that on their January 26, 1967 report on the photos, the doctors asserted, when discussing the color photo of the back of the head, that "due to the fractures of the underlying bone and the elevation of the scalp by manual lifting (done to permit the wound to be photographed) the photographs show the wound to be slightly higher than its actually measured site." This indicates that before they pulled the scalp up, the entrance in the scalp was slightly lower and hidden in a skin fold. This explains the slightly lower position of the wound in the open cranium photograph. Not only that, this indicates that the position of the entrance wound before it was "lifted" approximated the teardrop of spinal fluid readily visible in the scalp on the back of the head photographs and repeatedly identified by the original autopsists as the entrance location. From this it seems logical that this mysterious fluid is no mystery at all, but is instead some macerated brain matter that leaked from the entrance wound during the long flight from Dallas.

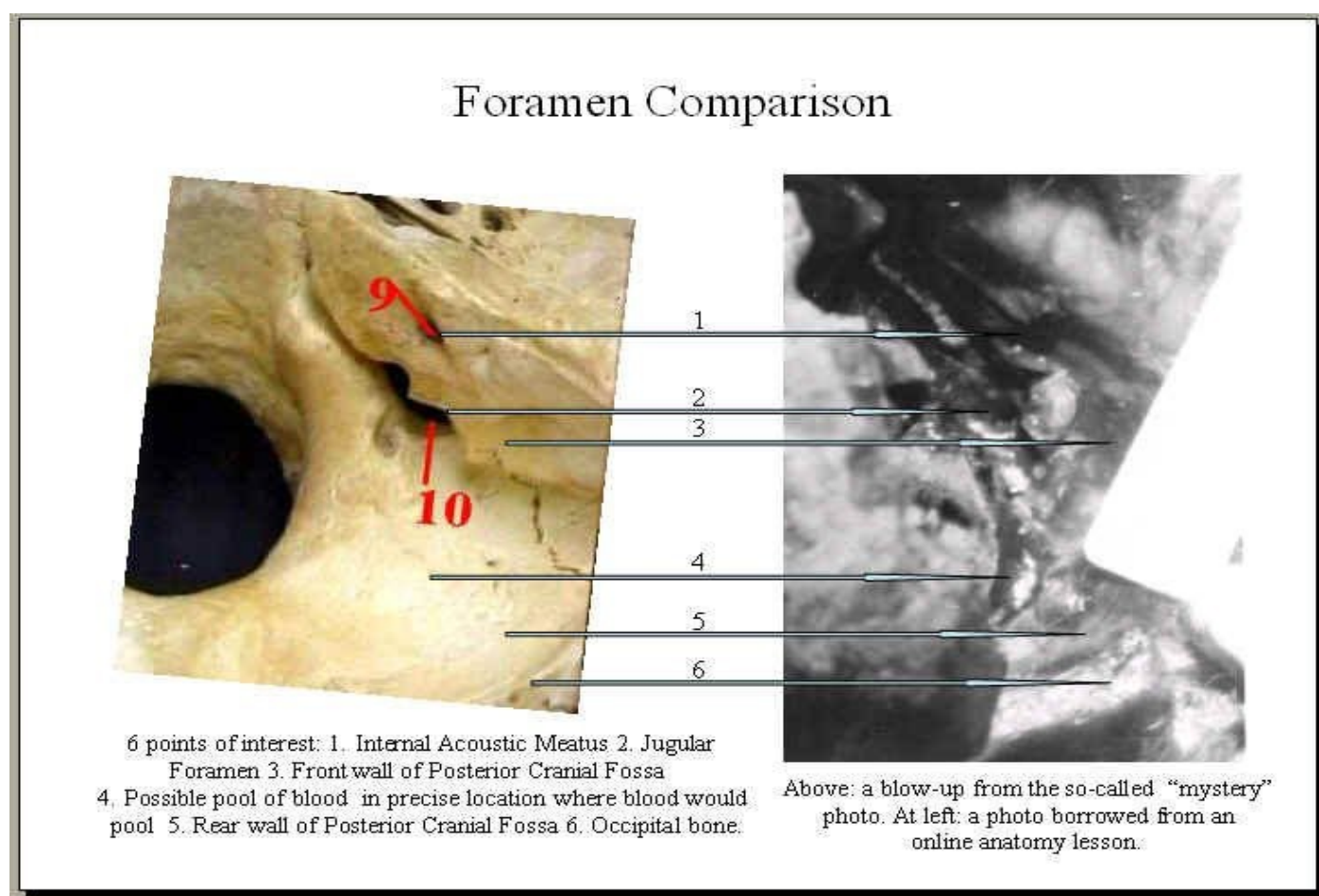
A close inspection of the wounds is especially revealing. While it is usually inferred from the Warren Report's description of the "slicing" associated with the occipital entrance wound that the wound was vertical, and the Rydberg drawings portray it as such, Dr. Finck, the bullet wounds expert at the autopsy, informed his Army superiors in a report filed in January, 1965, that the wound was "transversal," heading right to left. (While Humes' misrepresentation of the wound may have been an honest mistake, it's intriguing that, within a week of interviewing Humes, Arlen Specter asked Parkland witness Dr. Clark if his observations were consistent with the presence of a "*lateral* wound measuring 15 by 6 cm. on the posterior scalp." Did Specter know Humes' testimony was incorrect? If so, how?) Anyhow, Finck's description of the wound as transversal makes perfect sense when one remembers Boswell's inclusion on the autopsy face sheet of an arrow heading both to the left and upwards from the bullet entrance, particularly when one considers that Boswell would have immediately connected in his mind the large exit high on the skull as the logical exit of the bullet making the small entrance below, and heading to the left.

One can deduce from this then that the bullet came from the President's right, or that it hit the President while his head was turned to its right, just enough so that the bullet grazed along the flesh on the outside of his skull before entering. The so-called military review of January 26, 1967, says as much, stating, when discussing the photo with the President's scalp still intact "The scalp wound shown in the photographs appears to be a laceration and tunnel, with the actual penetration of the skin (NOTE: they must have meant "skull") obscured by the top of the tunnel. From the photographs this is not recognizable as a penetrating wound because of the slanting direction of entry." Dr. Finck's description of the wound and assertion of a tunnel is, not coincidentally, completely at odds with the Clark Panel and HSCA purported in-shoot in the cowlick. The skull at the Clark Panel's location for the bullet hole had been removed, in fact, before Dr. Finck had even arrived at the autopsy.

Should one accept that the entrance described at the autopsy could be the transversal entrance proposed in the images above, but have a problem believing that this bullet entrance could 1) have gone unnoticed by the Parkland doctors, and 2) be so hard to spot in the scalp on the back of the head photos, one should read more wound ballistics literature, as it is filled with stories where the entrance wound proved equally elusive. In *Crime Lab: Science Turns Detective*, for example, a story first told by Dr. Le Moyne Snyder is re-told by author David Loth. Loth tells of a young man who'd been treated for a .22 caliber rifle wound in the shoulder but whose condition continued to worsen. Finally, the doctor decides to inspect the rest of the man's body. The story concludes: "Behind the right ear, hidden by hair, was a tiny round hole, with the faintest trace of blood. The damage of the second bullet had been

internal, and extensive. The victim died a few minutes after this wound was located" (That a wound caused by a .22 rifle would be less severe than a wound caused by Oswald's rifle has not been overlooked, and should make one wonder if maybe, just maybe, the small initially-overlooked entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's head was caused by a rifle other than Oswald's. Much, much, more on this to come.)

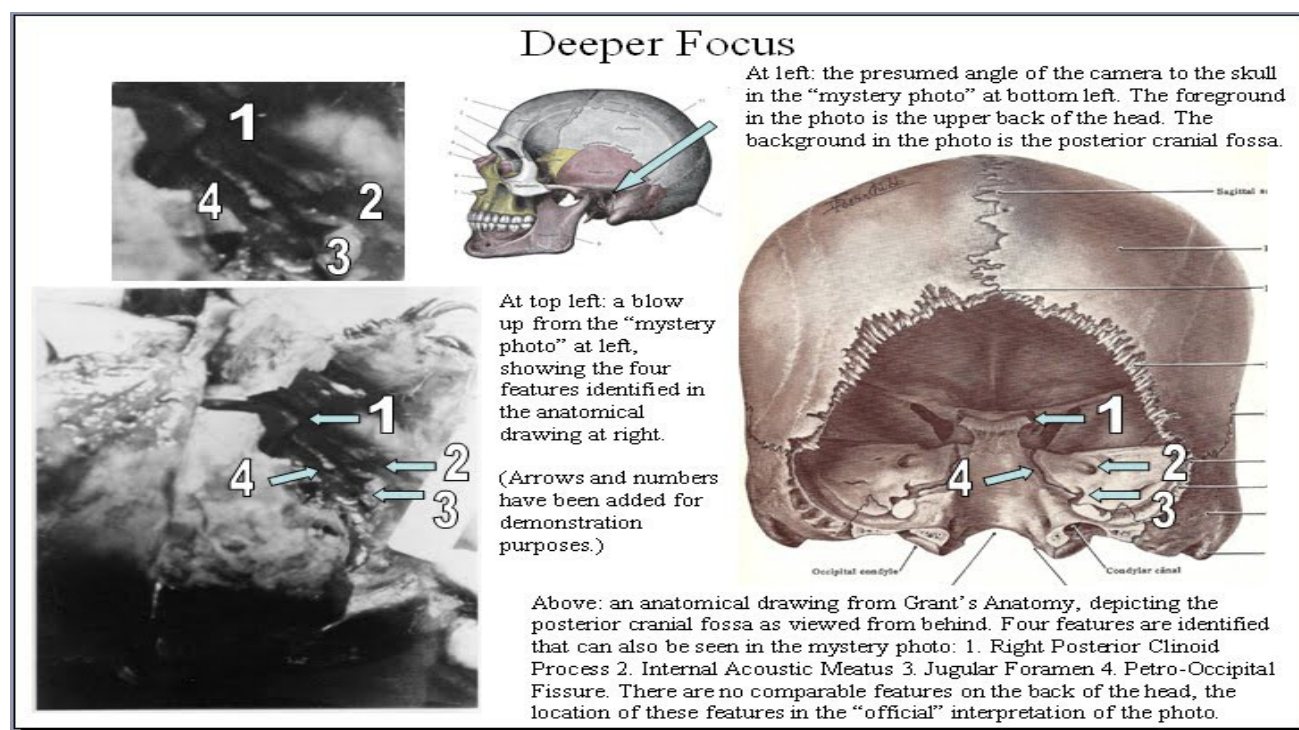
While one might also wonder why there's so little hair visible near the hairline in the open cranium photo, this, too, has an explanation. Dr. Finck told the HSCA: "I don't remember the difficulty involved in separating the scalp from the skull but this was done in order to have a clear view of the outside...the scalp is adherent to the skull and it had to be separated from it in order to show in the back of the head the wound in the bone." Finck, we should remember, never budged from his contention that this entry was on the occipital bone of the skull, inches away from the HSCA's entry in the cowlick. Is it just a coincidence, then, that this is precisely what's depicted in the open cranium photo once one accepts it was taken from behind?



Foramen Comparison

Sometimes the most convincing information is the hardest to look at. When one looks at the open cranium (or mystery) photo and focuses one's attention not on the white skull, but on what lies beyond the white skull, one can easily discern that it is not brain matter or the roof of a skull, as one would expect if this photo was taken from the front, but is absolutely positively the floor of a skull.

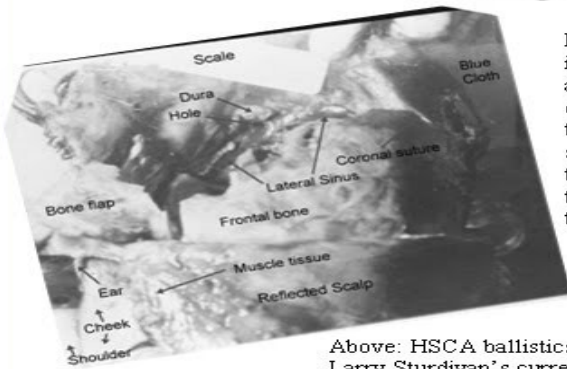
Some of the holes in the base of the skull, or foramen, can even be identified in the mystery photo. While the collapsed scalp from the forehead obscures much of the anterior and middle fossa, (the base of the skull above the eye sockets and by the ears), a small section of the posterior cranial fossa, (the base of the skull at the back where the spinal cord enters the skull) is fairly in focus. There are what appear to be two stubs of veiny material, around the rims of two holes in this area. These correspond precisely with the two foramina one should expect to find in this area. This seems way too much a coincidence. When one compares the relative positions of the Internal Auditory Meatus (#9), which gives passage to facial and cranial nerves, the Jugular Foramen (#10), which provides a passage for the internal jugular vein, and the rounded bowl-shape to the posterior cranial fossa apparent on any anatomy website, one should have no problem identifying the location of these same structures on the open cranium photo, and determine that this photo is indeed taken from behind.



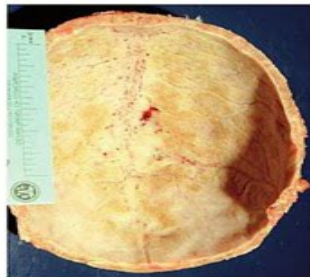
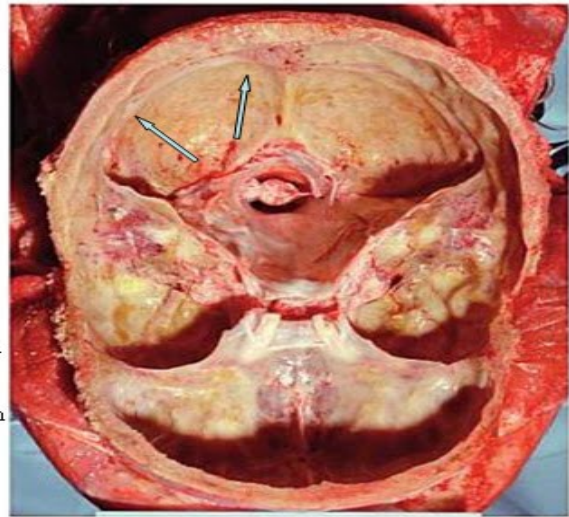
Deeper Focus

When one looks even deeper in the photo, one finds other features suggesting the photo was taken from behind. In the base of the skull furthest from the camera, one can see what appears to be a pillar of bone, with a horn sticking out to the right. This is almost certainly the dorsum sellae with its horn--the right clinoid process. At its base, moreover, there's a fissure, running down to the jugular foramen. This fissure is almost certainly the petro-occipital fissure. There are no similar features on the back of the skull, not in the parietal region, the location of these features according to the HSCA, nor in the occipital region, where some theorists place these features.

Ridge to Nowhere



Blue arrows in the photo at right point out the transverse sinus near the base of the back of the skull.



Above: HSCA ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan's current orientation of the mystery photo. Note that he places the bullet hole in the middle of a lateral sinus. As there is no such sinus in the skull near the cowlick entrance (as shown in the photo of the upper calvarium at left), he proposes that the bullet hole was in the transverse sinus near the EOP, in the location originally described at autopsy.

Color photos courtesy Forensic Neuropathology, 2007

As the transverse sinus along the base of the skull is just a faint ridge and bares little resemblance to Sturdivan's "lateral sinus," however, it's clear he was just seeing what he would like us to see.

Ridge to Nowhere

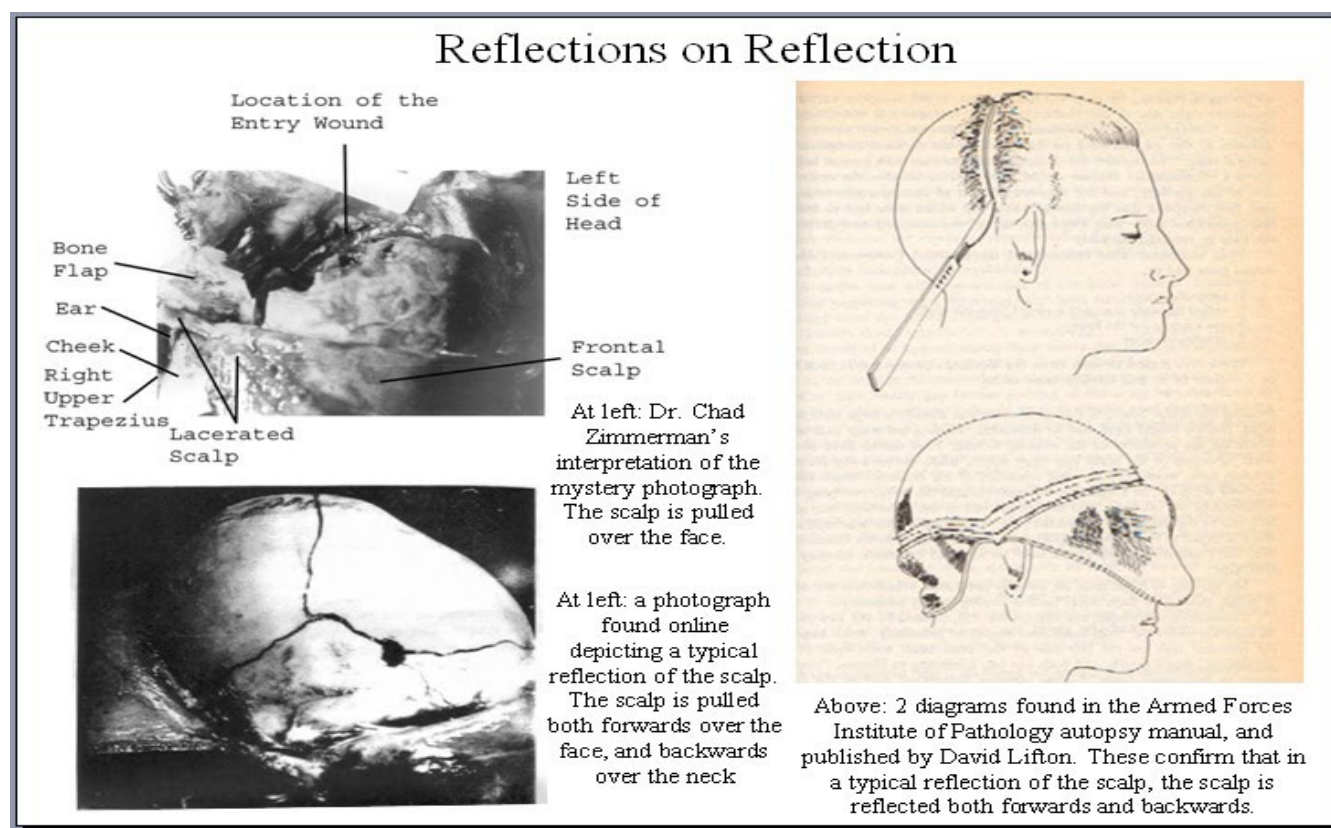
Still, there are those who disagree with even this simple analysis. The HSCA's ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan, in his determined but frequently inaccurate defense of the lone-nut conclusion, *The JFK Myths*, not only prints the mystery photo sideways, but claims that what appears to be the Jugular Foramen is instead the bullet hole near the EOP described by the doctors, only seen from the far side of the skull. In fact, he cites this bullet hole as his reason for believing the autopsy doctors were right about the entrance near the EOP: "*The President's parietal bone was extensively fractured all the way back to the occipital. The autopsy team said they removed loose pieces of broken bone instead of cutting out the usual "skullcap" to remove the brain. But if they removed enough of the parietal to remove the brain, the pieces containing the "higher" entry wound would have to have been among the pieces removed. If the entry wound had been lying on the autopsy table, how could it have been clearly shown in the photograph of the interior of the skull...?*" Equally intriguing, Sturdivan asserts that the vein-like material around this "entrance" is a "stretched "hood" of dura."

While searching for a good definition of dura, I discovered that the material around the holes could only be dura if the holes are foramen, as I believe. According to Gray's Anatomy, "The Dura Mater is a thick and dense inelastic fibrous membrane which lines the interior of the skull....In the posterior fossa it sends a process into the internal auditory meatus, ensheathing the facial and auditory nerves; another through the jugular foramen, forming a sheath for the structures which pass through this opening..." Since I have never read of dura being stretched into a tube by a bullet's entrance, and since the Gray's description makes it clear that dura is inelastic, I am skeptical that the tube-like material in Sturdivan's interpretation of the photo could be dura. Comments by anatomists, doctors, and morticians welcome.

Sturdivan's interpretation of the photo does not exactly support the autopsists, moreover, in that it entails a beveled exit on the forehead that apparently escaped their attention. (He notes that they reported no such exit, states that "It seems unlikely that they would overlook such an obvious feature", but fails to say what he believes the beveling represents.) His interpretation also fails to explain the second hole beside his purported entrance. While he does acknowledge the fissure presumed to

represent the petro-occipital fissure in the photo, he strangely claims that it, along with the far edge of what appears to be a pool of blood, represents the "lateral sinus," an apparent reference to the transverse sinus, a raised ridge of bone along the base of the posterior cranial fossa. He fails to explain why this "ridge" comes to a sudden stop as it approaches the supposed entrance hole. He certainly can't believe the internal beveling on the skull caused by the bullet was far more extensive along the sinus than on the skull in actual contact with the bullet...

Or maybe he can... But he's wrong. Only adding to Sturdivan's "sinus problem" is the contention in his book, *The JFK Myths*, that the bony outcropping interpreted to be the right clinoid process on the previous slide is the "petrous process," an apparent reference to the petrous bone separating the base of the skull at the back of the head (or posterior cranial fossa), and the base of skull by the ear (the middle cranial fossa). If so, well, then he needs to explain why, in his interpretation of the mystery photo, there is a gap between this bone and the right side of the skull.



Reflections on Reflection

Since those defending the official view of this photo complain that conspiracy theorists print it the wrong way, and that "standard operating procedure" dictates that scalp is reflected *over* the face during an autopsy, I decided to confront this argument head-on by finding a photo of a typical reflection of the scalp. And guess what, they are right. Typically the scalp is reflected over the face. But what these defenders, including conspiracy theorist Don Thomas, forget to say or pretend not to notice is that just as typically 1) the skull cap is cut in an even line across the forehead, and 2) the posterior part of the scalp is reflected down towards the neck. In their interpretation of this photo, of course, there was 1) no cut across the forehead, just a jagged edge, and 2) no reflection of scalp at the back of the head, just tangles of torn scalp.

S.O.P. was not employed... Thus, Thomas and others sharing this argument are sadly S.O.L.

In an article found online, Dr. Ed Uthman describes a typical reflection of the scalp as follows: "The diener (an assistant) uses a scalpel to cut from behind one ear, over the crown of the head, to behind the other ear... The skin and soft tissues are now divided into a front flap and a rear flap. The front flap is pulled (this takes some strength) forward (like being scalped) over the patient's face, thus exposing the top and front of the skull. The back flap is pulled backwards over the nape of the neck." This approach, moreover, is confirmed by Handbook of Autopsy Practice (2009), which claims "The anterior and posterior halves of the scalp are reflected forward and backward, respectively..." Autopsy Pathology (2004), a medical textbook found at the New York Public Library, further confirms: "Incise the scalp down to the bone, and then peel the skin and subcutaneous tissues back to below the occipital protuberance posteriorly and to the level of the forehead anteriorly by a combination of sharp and blunt dissection." In The Hospital Autopsy (2003) the reflection of scalp over the neck is confirmed yet again: "incise the scalp, starting behind one ear and finishing behind the other. Reflect the scalp forwards and backwards using blunt dissection, examining the underside of the flaps for haemorrhage or damage." And, finally, Understanding the Autopsy (1992) confirms this as well, stating, simply: "The scalp is peeled off the bone, forward and back." The pattern then seems clear: when scalp is reflected forward it is also reflected backward.

That this is the typical pattern is confirmed, moreover, by the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology autopsy manual, which David Lifton obtained and discussed in his best seller, Best Evidence. The Armed Forces Institute of Pathology was, tellingly, not only Dr. Finck's employer, but the provider of the only course on Forensic Pathology ever taken by Dr. Humes.

This demonstrates beyond any doubt that the reflection of scalp depicted in the mystery photo was not the "typical" reflection of scalp claimed by others.

As the entrance at the back of the head was one of the areas the doctors were trying to inspect, and as the scalp at the back of the head was reportedly intact, and as none of the four scalp lacerations noted in the autopsy report came anywhere near the exit near the EOP, and as it MAKES NO SENSE for them to have just ripped apart the scalp at the back of Kennedy's skull with their bare hands, to be clear, it seems likely that the reflected scalp in the mystery photograph is the scalp at the back of the head, atypically, due to the extensive damage to the right side of the skull, reflected to the left. This interpretation is confirmed, furthermore, by the statements of James Jenkins and Paul O'Connor, Dr. Humes' and Dr. Boswell's assistants during the autopsy, to Harrison Livingstone, as recalled in Livingstone's 1992 book High Treason 2.

As the assistants normally tasked with removing the brain, moreover, the recollections of Jenkins and O'Connor regarding the removal of the brain can not be readily dismissed. In 1993, in an interview with William Law, in fact, Jenkins made it all as clear as can be. He said *"We normally did a skullcap. We didn't really have to do a skullcap on this because, as they expanded the wound, it was large enough for the brain to come out."*

The recollections of Jenkins and O'Connor are supported, furthermore, by those of the radiology tech at the autopsy, Jerrol Custer. According to Livingstone, Custer at first claimed that during the autopsy Kennedy's face had appeared to be *"deformed...squished...It seemed like someone had taken a clay image of his face and pushed it together...the scalp and the front part of the face seemed like everything had drooped forward,"* and that Custer later made it clear this was only *"after the scalp had been reflected in the back and the brain removed,"* as *"The face no longer had anything to hold it tight over the skull."* If the scalp had been reflected as in a typical reflection, of course, it would have been reflected right over the face, and Custer would not have been able to make these observations.

So what about Humes and Boswell? Well, Boswell was also interviewed by Livingstone, and his

statements also suggest Kennedy's scalp was reflected to the left, and that the mystery photo was taken from behind. In a 9-1-91 interview, quoted in High Treason 2, Boswell described the large head wound as follows: *"the scalp was lacerated, and a pretty good size piece of the frontal and right occipital portion of the skull had separated and were stuck to the undersurface of the scalp. So when that was reflected, then it was true; there was a big bony defect in the right side of the skull. And with the fragments--I think the brain was largely removed through that defect."* If they could remove the brain through that defect, it follows, there would be no need for them to remove the entire top of Kennedy's skull--the procedure purportedly depicted in the mystery photo, when interpreted to have been taken from in front of Kennedy.

Then, what about Humes? Well, Dr. Humes himself made a number of statements regarding the reflection of the scalp that only make sense when one views the photo as taken from behind. He told the Warren Commission.: *"I extended the lacerations of the scalp...down in the directions of both of the President's ears... We had to do virtually no work with a saw to remove these portions of the skull, they came apart in our hands very easily...as we moved the scalp about, fragments of various size would fall to the table...when we reflected the scalp away from the badly damaged skull, and removed some of these loosened portions of skull bone, we were able to see this large defect in the right cerebral hemisphere."* One can only assume that when he says he reflected the scalp away from the badly damaged skull, he doesn't mean he reflected the scalp over the badly damaged skull near the President's right temple, as would be the case should he have reflected the scalp in a manner consistent with the official interpretation of the autopsy photo.

Dr. Humes' discussion with the HSCA forensics panel thirteen years later is even more helpful. When asked about the supposed in-shoot in the cowlick, he replied: *"I don't know what that is. Number one, I can assure you that as we reflected the scalp to get to this point, there was no defect corresponding to this in the skull at any point. I don't know what that is. It could be to me clotted blood...it certainly was not any wound of entrance."* Notice that he says they had *"reflected the scalp to get to this point,"* implying that *"this point,"* the red spot in the cowlick adjacent to the midline, was some distance from where they had begun reflecting the scalp. Note also that when one views this photo under the assumption the bone in the foreground shows forehead the scalp near the supposed entrance in the cowlick has not been reflected at all!

Humes' comments to the Journal of the American Medical Association in 1992 are also relevant. He said *"The head was so devastated by the exploding bullet...that we did not even have to use a saw to remove the skullcap... We peeled the scalp back and the calvarium crumpled in my hands from the fracture lines..."* Since there was little damage to Kennedy's left skull, and since Humes said there was little or no cutting, Humes' comment that they did not need to remove the skullcap confirms that they did not cut the skull on the left side of Kennedy's head, and that they therefore, by necessity, must have pulled the brain out from the devastated right side of Kennedy's skull. Since there was talk of an open-casket funeral, it only makes sense that the doctors would try to preserve as much of Kennedy's face as possible. If this was so, then they would have logically reflected the scalp back and to the left, pulled the brain out from the right side of his skull, and preserved the left side of his face.

Humes' words to the ARRB in 1996 further support this analysis. He told Jeremy Gunn: *"Once we got the scalp laid back, some of those pieces could just be removed, you know, by picking them up, picking them up because they were just not held together very well, other than by the dura, I suppose. So other than that, we probably made it like we normally do, in a circumferential fashion from books, like right above the ear around. But it was a real problem because it was all falling apart, the skull. And I can't recall the details of exactly how we managed to maneuver that, because it was a problem."*

Notice that Humes always discussed reflecting the scalp away from the badly damaged skull, toward the back of the head, or flat-out backwards, and that he never once discussed reflecting the scalp over

Kennedy's forehead. This proves Don Thomas' claim in his book *Hear No Evil* that "*when I performed craniotomies at the Pathology Department of the Memorial Medical Center in Long Beach, California, I always reflected the anterior scalp forward to the eyebrow before removing the skull cap...the chief prosector, Dr. Humes, stated that he followed this procedure...*" not only untrue, but doubly untrue. Not only did Humes not claim he'd followed this procedure, he specified that he didn't have to perform a procedure of any kind in order to remove the brain. (Sorry, Don.)

This suggests something else as well. The scalp was reflected back and to the left.

After reading an online article by Dr. Chad Zimmerman, in which he correctly pointed out that to reflect the scalp to the left the doctors would have needed to cut along the base of the skull at the back of the head, and that Dr. Humes told Gunn and the ARRB that he didn't make any incisions beyond the one between Kennedy's ears, however, I realized that things were not as clear as I'd like them to be. After re-reading Humes' and Boswell's discussion with the pathology panel, from 19 years earlier, however, it became clear there was some minor cutting along the back of the head. Boswell: "*we just folded that back and this back and an anterior flap forward and that exposed almost the entire—I guess we did have to dissect a little bit to get to...*" Humes: "*To get to this entrance, right?*" Boswell: "*But not much...*"

Since the scalp by the entrance near the EOP (the only entrance the doctors could have been discussing) is indisputably intact in the official interpretation of the open cranium photographs, moreover, Humes and Boswell's statements to the HSCA support that the scalp was reflected to the left, and that the mystery photos were taken from behind. Everything fits.

In Dr. Zimmerman's interpretation of the "mystery" photo, on the other hand, the President's right ear is at the end of a line of reflected scalp. But if this is so then the gaping hole directly in front of the ear (where the wing of bone is flipped outwards in the other photos) is hidden by this line of reflected scalp. This raises the question of just how one reflects badly lacerated scalp over an area where there is no bone.

And that's but one of the problems with Zimmerman's orientation for the photo. In an attempt to explain how he was able to understand the open cranium photographs to a greater degree than the autopsy doctors, Zimmerman said I "tend to believe that the color prints were not shown to the autopsy physicians during their interview with the HSCA investigators." This is self-serving and inaccurate, since the doctors were shown *all* the photos in 1966, and 1967, and again by the ARRB in the late 1990's, and failed to come to the conclusions espoused by Zimmerman. It's also misleading in that the record shows the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, not the HSCA "investigators" cited by Zimmerman, showed Dr.s Humes and Boswell open cranium photograph number 44. Number 44 is, of course, *a color print*.

The Color of Deception???



Groden autopsy photo



Two versions of the Fox autopsy "mystery" photo found on the internet.

Are the three photos above in fact the same photo?



At left, HSCA Figure 25, a blow-up from photo #44

The Color of Deception???

Dr. Zimmerman is not alone, however, in his obsession with the colors in the photo. In *The JFK Myths*, Larry Sturdivan similarly suggests that the key to understanding the mystery photo rests not only in its features, but in its colors. (The color versions of the photo are, of course, inaccessible to most researchers.) Sturdivan, for example, claims that the area appearing to be neck is really blue cloth. He also claims that *"The entry crater was filled with what seemed to be clotted blood with a dark hole through it. On the poorer view, #45, there was a blue highlight on the side of this hole. All other highlights were white. The shade of blue on this one highlight, however, was the same shade as the blue cloth lying behind the head. We took this as an indication that the hole through the clot extended all the way through the skull and the highlight was reflected light from the underlying cloth."* (The "we" refers to Sturdivan and the Dr. who accompanied him to the archives...Dr. Chad Zimmerman.)

This momentarily threw me for a loop. I couldn't remember anyone else noting that a blue cloth was visible through an entrance. While there were no color versions of this photograph available on the internet, the late researcher Tim Carroll was able to locate one in a brochure put out by Robert Groden, and post it where I could download it. The appearance of this color photo raises some interesting questions.

One: which photo is it? Well, since Figure 25 is purportedly a blow-up of photo #44, and since the beveled bone in Figure 25 does not precisely match the beveled bone in this photo, this must be the only other color photo of this beveling, photo #45. This means it's the same photo in which Sturdivan saw the blue cloth. When one looks at this photo, one sees a dark blue smear across the bottom of the photo, but this blue smear extends onto the skull in places and does not seem to correlate to any blue towel. The far right part of what appears to be neck is not blue at all, but flesh colored. If this is an accurate copy of photo #45, then Sturdivan is wrong. ***

Two: how do we know this is one of the color photos, and not a black and white photo colorized by Groden? We don't. We do know, however, that Groden had access to the color prints, through the

HSCA, and made himself copies. He told the ARRB “I went in and made copies for test prints. I kept some of them... They were made from the duplicates in the House Committee’s collection, not from the originals.” We also know he had this photo in his collection as far back as the mid-80’s, when he was writing his book, *High Treason*, with Harrison Livingstone.” Livingstone mentions this in his 1992 book *High Treason 2*. In the lawsuit Groden brought against Livingstone as a result of that book, Groden testified that the five color copies he obtained while working for the HSCA were “two photographs of the rear of the head, one photograph of the left side of the head, and one photograph of the right side of the head.” He has published only one other photo of the back of the head. Finally, we also have Groden’s stating, when discussing the autopsy photos he brought before the ARRB, that “There are photographs here I don’t believe were even used in the book” (a reference to his book *The Killing of the President*). Sure enough, this photo was not included in that book. Still, one has to wonder why this photo looks identical to the black and white photos when so many of those who’ve visited the archives report that the color photos have a much field of view than the black and white. Did Groden crop the photo to match the black and whites? If so, then why?

(In November 2009, I spoke to Groden and asked him about the blue and green colored smear across the top of the neck on the version of the photo in his pamphlet. He acknowledged that it was a flaw in the development process. He gave me a copy of his pamphlet. Upon subsequent inspection, I noticed that there was an asterisk next to the color version of the photo. The asterisk was explained elsewhere on the page, and indicated that the photo had indeed been colorized.)

Still, my decision not to accept Sturdivan’s interpretation had less to do with the Groden colorized photo than with Dr. Chad Zimmerman’s conflicting account of his trip with Sturdivan to the archives. In an essay on the trip on his (now-defunct) website, Zimmerman explained: “At first we did not notice the entrance in the posterior scalp. However, upon close examination between the two available color prints, I noticed a blue-grey spot on one of the prints...It wasn’t until I noticed this “spot” that I could see that the film of blood had broken and we could actually see through the hole. The blue-grey area was the reflection from the *underlying stainless steel examination table* behind the President’s head.” Yes, you got that right. In Sturdivan’s version the back of Kennedy’s head lay atop a blue cloth, but in Zimmerman’s it lay atop a stainless steel table. Confusing matters even more, the other single-assassin theorist to visit the archives in recent years, Dr. Robert Artwohl, assured an assassination conference audience in 1993 that what is here interpreted as Kennedy’s neck was not the blue cloth noted by Sturdivan, but a *yellow block*, and that the transverse lines on this block were not neck lines, but artifacts.

Needless to say, I’ll swear by Sturdivan’s blue towel, or Zimmerman’s stainless steel table, or Artwohl’s yellow block, when I see these photos myself.

Forehead Analysis



Fox autopsy photos.
(Left lateral image inverted)



When the rulers in the photos are made to match in size, and the mystery photo, left, is compared to the back wound photo, below, which makes more sense – that the bone in the mystery photo represents the back of the head, as at left, or the forehead, as at right?

If these three photos were all taken with the same camera and lens, and the mystery photo depicts a forehead, the head in the photo at left, should be nearly as large as the head at right.

Size of the forehead in the mystery photo at right appears to be larger than the forehead in the profile view, and yet the head in the profile view is still way too large.



Note: the curvature of bone at the front hairline fails to match

Forehead Analysis

Since autopsy photographer John Stringer told the ARRB he would “very seldom” change lenses during an autopsy shoot and would ordinarily use a standard or normal lens, it seemed logical to try and find out what lens was standard for the 4 by 5 Graphic view camera purportedly used to take the autopsy pictures, and if this lens was compatible with the open cranium photo as interpreted by the HSCA. Since a Department of Defense memo to the HSCA mentioned a 135 mm Zeiss Jena Tessar lens that was purchased along with the camera, I decided to see what the field of view was for this lens.

Sometimes one finds the information one needs in unexpected places. While rummaging through a Goodwill Store I found a 1961 book on press photography by the authors Rhode and McCall. This book, appropriately entitled Press Photography, reported that a 4 x 5 Speed Graphic camera, a hand-held variation of the Graphic view camera used by Stringer, would have a 51 degree field of view when equipped with its “normal” lens of 135 mm. Assuming this 51 degree field of view, then, and using the ruler in the back wound photo (which is apparently a 32 cm ruler) to measure an approximately 54 cm field of view at the distance of the ruler, I was able to estimate that the camera was about 56 cm from the ruler in the back wound photo. Since the open cranium photo, once the rulers were matched in size, was barely half as large as the back wound photo, this indicated that it was, in turn, taken from a distance of 28 cm, with a field of view at the depth of the ruler of about 27 cm. This was confirmed by

subsequent measurements.

Now it gets tricky. Since the ruler was about 28 cm or 11 inches from the camera in the open cranium photo, and since the ruler would appear to be 5 1/2 inches or less behind the bone in the skull closest to the camera, one is forced to conclude the camera was at least 5 1/2 inches from this bone. Assuming this bone is the forehead, this seems too far. (While messing around with a 35 mm camera I had to get within 3-4 inches of a skull before its forehead could fill the frame so completely.)

If one is to assume the ruler in the photo is 11 inches away, and that the closest part of the skull to the camera is 5 1/2 inches away, moreover, then one can calculate that the closest part of the skull is 100% larger in the photo in comparison to the ruler (based upon the roughly one to one ratio between the distance and the width of a 51 degree field of view). From this we can approximate the apparent size of the forehead. Since what is purported to be forehead is 5 times as tall as the ruler is wide in the photo, this means the forehead, once one takes into account that the forehead has been distorted in size by 100%, was roughly 3.64 inches tall. (5 x the approximately 37 mm width of the ruler, divided by 2, and then divided by 2.54, the number of cm per inch). This is bigger than the size of my forehead. While one might assume Kennedy's forehead was larger than normal and that this would seem to confirm the official interpretation of the photo, this confirmation, remember, is reliant upon the ruler being 5 1/2 inches behind the forehead within the skull, which at this angle means it's at the left ear. As there were no incisions reported on the largely undamaged left posterior quadrant of the skull, moreover, these measurements necessitate that the doctors tore this section of the skull apart with their hands for no apparent reason. This seems unlikely.

When Kennedy's forehead in the left lateral photo is sized to match the purported forehead in the open cranium photo, the problems with the official interpretation of the open cranium photo come clearly into focus. As the lateral photo depicts an over 12 inch field of view at the depth of Kennedy's face, we can assume the photo was taken from over a foot away. If one is to allow that the closest part of the skull to the camera in the open cranium photo is 5 1/2 inches away, this means the lateral photo was taken from about two and a half times further away, and should be approximately 2.5 times the size of the open cranium photo once the forehead is made to match. This means the lateral photo should be about 25% larger than the back wound photo (which is twice the size of the open cranium photograph) once all three photos are made to match. Instead, it's more than 50% larger!

Since an actual measurement of the lateral photograph reveals it to be about 2.8 times as large as the photograph of the open cranium once the foreheads are made to match, and since the lateral photograph appears to have been taken approximately 12 inches from the forehead, this indicates the camera must have been about 4.3 inches away from the skull when the open cranium photo was taken. This is in line with my earlier guesstimates. If this is true, however, since we've already ascertained that the ruler in the photo was approximately 11 inches from the camera, this would mean the ruler in the photo was 6.7 inches behind the part of the skull closest to the camera, which would place it at around 3/4 inch outside a normal-sized skull by the left ear, or at the far back of the skull.

It seems more than a coincidence then that there are no problems with the photo when one interprets it as being taken from behind. Since the ruler is in what would appear to be the posterior cranial fossa, it would be at most 3 1/2 inches beyond the bone closest to the camera. This would make the skull 7 1/2 inches away. If we calculate that the skull at the back of the head, from the neck up to the fracture near the crown is about 5.8 (the height of the skull at the back of the head in comparison to the width of the ruler) divided by 1.47 (the relative distance of the ruler to the closest part of the skull) times 1.46 (the presumed width of the ruler), we can deduce that this section of skull appears to be about 5.75 inches tall. When one looks at the back of a normal sized head at the downward angle suggested by the appearance of the posterior cranial fossa in the photo, moreover, one will find that the crown of the head, where the fracture appears to be on Kennedy's skull in the open cranium photograph, is roughly

at this level. We can suspect this is not a coincidence.

NOW, I am the first to admit the measurements in the preceding paragraphs are speculative and imprecise, but the basic point I'm aiming for is not. There's just no getting around it. When one compares the mystery photo to the other autopsy photos available to the public and considers that the photos are purported to have been taken with the same camera and the same lens, and to have not been cropped in any significant way, then it becomes fairly obvious, even to a layman, that the mystery photo depicts the back of Kennedy's head, and not his forehead.

The problem with the camera and its lens was the subject of a 29-page memo by the ARRB's Doug Horne in 1998. Horne was trying to locate the camera used at the autopsy, so that its negatives could be compared to the negatives of the autopsy photos, and help confirm their authenticity. But what he found was proof of deception. While the HSCA report on the photographic evidence insisted that "the Department of Defense was unable to locate the camera or lens used to take these photographs", Horne found memos from the Department of Defense asserting that they'd in fact found the camera, and a series of memos from the HSCA staff acknowledging the receipt of this camera. Even more unsettling, Horne uncovered a March 27, 1978 letter from HSCA Chief Counsel Robert Blakey to Secretary of Defense Harold Brown admitting "After examining the camera and comparing its features with characteristics on the autopsy photographs, our photographic experts have determined that this camera, *or at least the particular lens* and shutter attached to it, could not have been used to take the autopsy pictures. We have requested additional information in an attempt to locate another camera that might have been used and to determine if the lens could have been changed subsequent to November, 1963."

On April 20, 1978, John G. Kester, an assistant to Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, responded to Blakey's letter as follows: "It is presumed that the camera previously provided to the Committee was the camera used at the autopsy; the camera was described in a previous Committee request as a 4 X 5 Graphic View type, and the camera provided the Committee was the *only one* of that description in use in 1963. Although other lenses were also in use at the Medical Center during that time they have been replaced." While many, including Horne, suspect this indicates that one or more of the photos in the archives were not taken by photographer John Stringer on November 22, 1963, and are fakes, I suspect the real significance of Blakey's statement is that the 135 mm lens purchased at the same time as the camera and handed over by the Defense Department along with the camera could not have been used to take one or more of the photos. As the HSCA photographic experts left no notes detailing their failed comparison of the camera to the photos, one can only speculate which photo or photos failed to match. As the other photos are fairly uniform and consistent with what one would expect from a standard autopsy camera shooting standard autopsy photos, it seems likely that the photo whose "characteristics" were in disagreement with the 135 mm lens was the mystery photo when interpreted as depicting a forehead. No matter which photo or photos presented the problem, however, Horne's discovery demonstrates that the HSCA staff rejected and concealed the Department of Defense's identification of the camera rather than seriously question the authenticity and/or official interpretation of the photographs. In May, 1978, the HSCA was preparing to parrot the Warren Commission's conclusions. In light of this one shouldn't be surprised to find that Michael Baden, the head of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, told Horne he was never even notified of the conflict between the camera and the photos. Equally unsurprising, no one could tell Horne the current whereabouts of the camera.



Focus on the Focal Length

In July 2006 my conjecture about the camera and the mystery photo received a response. Single-assassin theorist Jerry Logan expressed online that the erratic difference in ruler size between the various photos reflects only that the photographs were taken with different effective focal lengths. He stated further that in his opinion the mystery photo when interpreted as depicting a forehead *is compatible* with a Graphic View camera and a 135 mm lens, and that the mystery photograph as forehead appeared to have a 1:1 ratio (whereby the 4 x 5 negative captures the image of a 4 x 5 area). He explained that a 135 mm lens is 135 mm only when focused on infinity (with the lens as close to the film as possible), but that it would be 270 mm when focused on a close-up object with a 1:1 ratio. He suggested that the mystery photo was taken with the 270 mm focal length, as opposed to the other photos which were taken with the camera focused on infinity. He said “I’ve personally taken photos with a view camera and single lens that covered a greater range of magnifications than that shown in the autopsy photos.” He went on to theorize that the HSCA photo experts rejected the camera and lens turned over by the Department of Defense not for the reasons I suspected but “because of what they saw in the lens and didn’t see in the pictures.” He suggested that perhaps they discovered a flaw on the lens provided by the Navy, and that this flaw convinced them the lens was not used during the autopsy. In my opinion, he overlooked that the photo experts also considered the possibility the problem was with the camera. To me this suggests the problem had something to do with the proportions in one or more of the photographs and not with any feature specific to the lens.

While my understanding of photography and optics is admittedly rudimentary, I believe Logan missed other key points as well. As he admitted, when focusing on a close-up object such as the bone in the mystery photo, one would *increase* the focal length. In so doing, however, one would make the ruler in the background of the photo grow *larger in proportion to the forehead*, and appear too *BIG* when compared to the other photos, not too small. By way of example...if the bone is 8 inches away from the camera, and the ruler 14, an inch of bone would appear to be roughly 1.75 inches on the ruler. If the focal length was increased, however, so that skull 8 inches away filled the frame as if it were 4 inches away (when the camera was focused on infinity), the ruler would still be proportionate to the skull, and appear to be 7 inches away. In other words, the ruler would appear to be only 3 inches behind the bone and appear too *BIG* in the mystery photo in comparison to the other photos, not too small. This brings up the issue of whether the View Camera delivered by the Navy was capable of *shortening* the focal length of its lens. As acknowledged by Logan “The view camera has a bellows that allows the lens to focus much more closely than the 35mm. That’s why it’s possible to take macro photos (1:1) with an ordinary large format lens, while 35 mm cameras require special macro lenses or bellows.” There is nothing in the view camera to reverse this process, and allow it to take (short focal length) wide-angle shots with an ordinary large format lens, such as the 135mm Zeiss Jena Tessar handed over by the Navy. Autopsy photographer John Stringer’s statements to the ARRB, moreover, indicate that he didn’t use the bellows for magnification, but only to focus. In discussing the camera used at the autopsy, he explained: “It was a Graphic view camera...It was on a monorail that you focused back and forth. You had the different lenses for magnification...” In the 2006 book Terminal Ballistics, Karen Byrne confirms that this is as expected, stating “Occasionally, the photographer is required to know the focal length used to take a particular image...Because of the general superior quality, fixed focal length lenses are the preferred choice for forensic photography.” The 135mm Zeiss Jena Tessar handed over by the Navy was of fixed focal length. All this leads me to believe that the mystery photo as forehead is incompatible with the Graphic View camera supplied by the Navy, unless the mystery photo was *mistakenly taken with a wide angle lens*, and the photo then enlarged and cropped. While this seems ridiculous on the face of it, so is this entire discussion.

If a photo expert wishes to explain how increasing the focal length would decrease the size of the ruler in the background, I’ll include their explanation in my next update.

The Drainage Problem

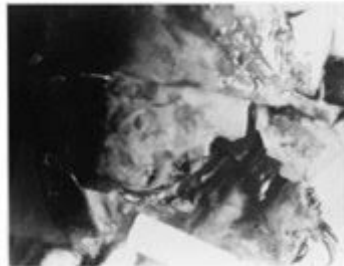


At left: the mystery photo orientation of Richard Tobias. The drainage hole is smaller than in the top of the head photo at right, even though it would appear to be closer to the camera.



Some researchers claim the drainage hole proves the photo was taken of the forehead, and not the back of the head, But does it really prove the opposite?

Fox
Autopsy
Photos



At left: the mystery photo when sized to match the Tobias orientation. The beveled bone and reflected scalp in the photo are not angled away from the camera as in the Tobias orientation, but are in fact flat to the camera.

At right: a blow-up of the drainage hole in the mystery photo.



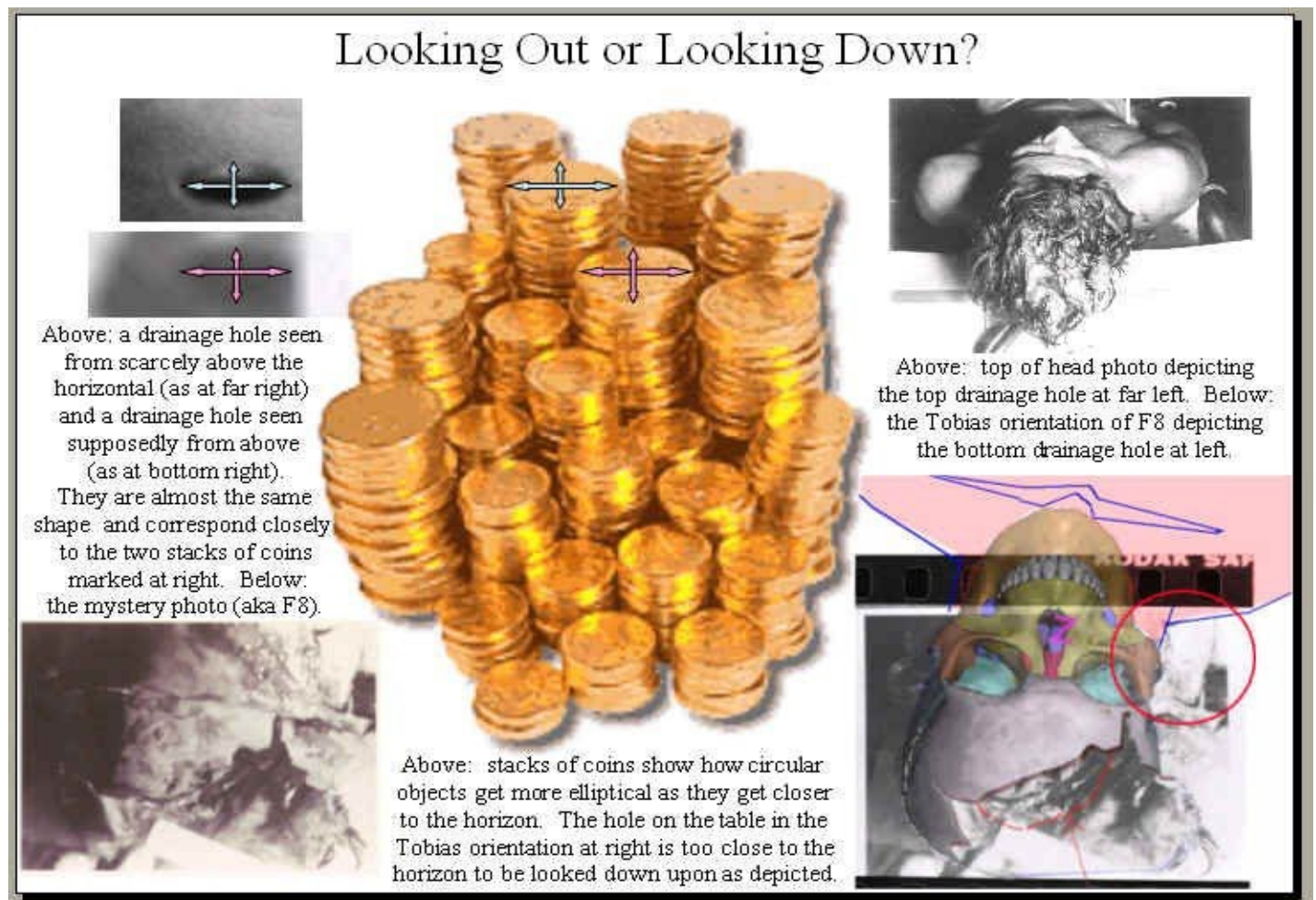
The Drainage Problem

Perhaps the biggest challenge to my understanding of the mystery photo came not from a single-assassin theorist, but from a fellow conspiracy theorist named Richard Tobias. After looking through my online presentation, Tobias e-mailed me his appraisal of the photo, which closely parallels Larry Sturdivan's appraisal of the photo. (Evidently, Tobias was an influence on John Canal, and John Canal was an influence on Sturdivan.) A circled feature in Tobias' image, however, and a key factor in Tobias's orientation of the photo, was a drainage hole visible on the autopsy table. This, admittedly, took me by surprise, as the images I'd been working with, available on such websites as JFK Lancer, had cropped off this drainage hole.

Annoyed that I'd never noticed this feature before, I immediately compared the drainage hole in the Tobias orientation to the drainage hole visible in the top of the head autopsy photo. I suddenly felt at ease. The drainage hole hadn't proved my orientation to be incorrect at all, but had given us yet another reason to believe the mystery photo depicts the back of the head. You see, the drainage hole in the Tobias orientation, purportedly by Kennedy's neck, was much smaller in comparison to his skull than the drainage hole in the top of the head autopsy photo, even though the hole in this photo was further from the camera, and beneath Kennedy's right shoulder. From this, I knew Tobias' orientation

was incorrect.

When I compared the Tobias orientation image to the actual mystery photo, I noticed even more inconsistencies. While the skull in the mystery photo appeared even, with the bone and scalp equidistant from the camera, Tobias had the skull angled sharply away from the camera in his orientation. This was undoubtedly misleading. The skull in the mystery photo is not curved in such a manner. There were also the ongoing problems with the forehead interpretation, including the whereabouts in the photo of the scalp from the left rear of Kennedy's skull.

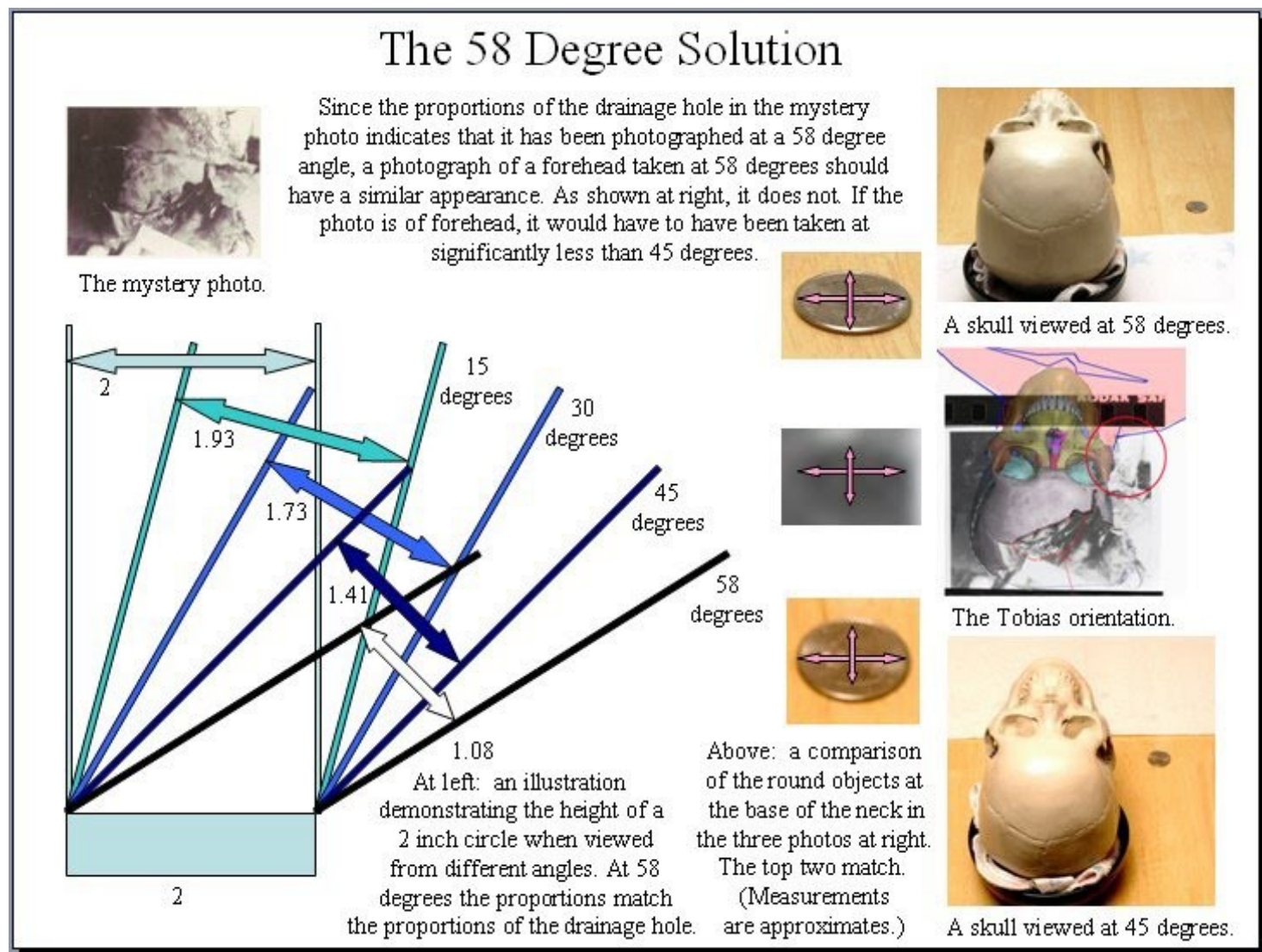


Looking Out or Looking Down?

The most convincing piece of evidence that the mystery photo was taken of the back of Kennedy's head when he was lying on his side, however, came when I measured the proportions of the drainage hole in the Tobias orientation, and compared them to the proportions of the drainage hole in the top of the head photo. Despite the fact that the Tobias orientation has the camera looking almost straight down on a prone Kennedy, and the top of the head photo has the camera looking at the autopsy table from only slightly above the horizon, the shapes were quite similar. While the hole in the top of the head photo measured roughly 40 x 87, the hole in the mystery photo measured roughly 47 x 87. Since a photo with the camera looking straight down would be 87 x 87, reflecting the round shape of the hole, this meant that the mystery photo was taken more from the side of the table than from above. (If anyone has any evidence suggesting the holes were not round, please speak up.)

It was at this time that I came across a photo of numerous stacks of coins. As the coins on the taller

stacks—closer to the level of the camera-- appeared more elliptical and less round, this photo allowed me to see that the approximate angle of the camera to the drainage hole could be determined.

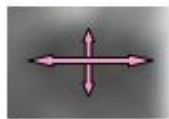


The 58 Degree Solution

While I knew that the angle of the camera to the drainage hole could be determined by the hole's proportions, I couldn't remember how to do so. One's mind forgets a lot of math after 30 years of non-use. To solve the problem, then, I just began measuring the distance between two parallel lines rising from the edge of a two inch round shape at different angles. At 58 degrees from vertical, I found the proper angle to account for the 47 x 87 proportions of the drainage hole. When I took a photo of the Tobias orientation from 58 degrees, however, I found that the camera was looking at the top of the head, not the forehead. When I took a similar photo of the skull at 45 degrees, the camera was still not as high in the sky as the camera would need to be for the Tobias orientation to be correct. Tellingly, the round shape representing the drainage hole in the 45 degree photo was already far too round and not remotely similar to the proportions of the drainage hole in the mystery photo.

Anatomy of a Mistake

Below: a comparison of the coin and the drainage hole.



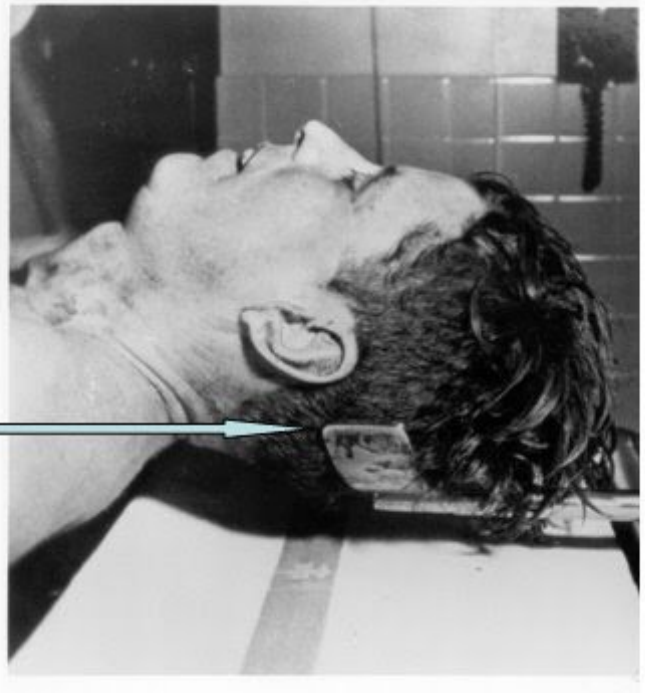
At right: the mystery photo.

At right: a blow-up of the steel edge and glass object in the mystery photo.



Above: a comparison between the glass object in the mystery photo and a glass sitting on a table.

At left: an attempted re-creation of the mystery photo. The proportions of the coin at the level of the neck are a close match to the proportions of the drainage hole in the mystery photo.



Above: the left lateral autopsy photo. Note that the edge of the steel head rest is at the same level as what appears to be a steel edge in the mystery photo (when interpreted as the back of the head on its side).

Anatomy of a Mistake

When I attempted to recreate the mystery photo with the skull on its side, however, I found that a camera looking down on the drainage hole from 58 degrees from vertical could indeed take a picture of the back of a skull as proposed.

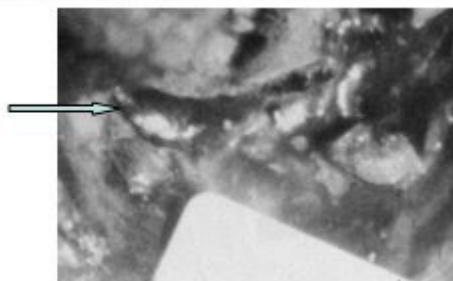
But I can't gloat about this discovery. While studying the mystery photo, I noticed two other reasons to believe the mystery photo depicts the back of the head, and was quite mistaken on each. First, when comparing the mystery photo to the left lateral autopsy photo, I noticed that the steel edge of the head rest seen in the left lateral photo was at a similar height as what could possibly be a steel edge in the mystery photo. This seemed more than just a coincidence. Secondly, I noticed that an unidentified object under the neck in the mystery photo appears to be a glass jar sitting on the table. It seemed a bit of a coincidence that this glass shape appears to be right below the low entry wound on the skull, where tissue was removed during the autopsy for further inspection.

I was so convinced of the importance of these observations, in fact, that I created a slide for this chapter called "New Perspectives On Old Mysteries." The slide above is the same slide, only re-titled "Anatomy of a Mistake" to reflect my loss of faith in my impressions regarding the head rest and the glass. The recreation of the mystery photo on this slide, while proving its point, was also inaccurate.

At the root of all these mistakes was one mistake: I had the photo upside down. The photo depicts

Kennedy lying on his right side, not his left.

The Light From Above



A number of factors indicate this photo was taken when Kennedy was on his right side (as at top left). One is the lighting, which comes from above in this orientation, but not in the others. Two is that the light reflects from the far rim of the drainage hole in this orientation, as one would expect. Three is that, in this orientation, what appears to be a pool of blood at the base of the skull (as pointed out by the blue arrows) pools in a manner consistent with gravity.

The Light From Above

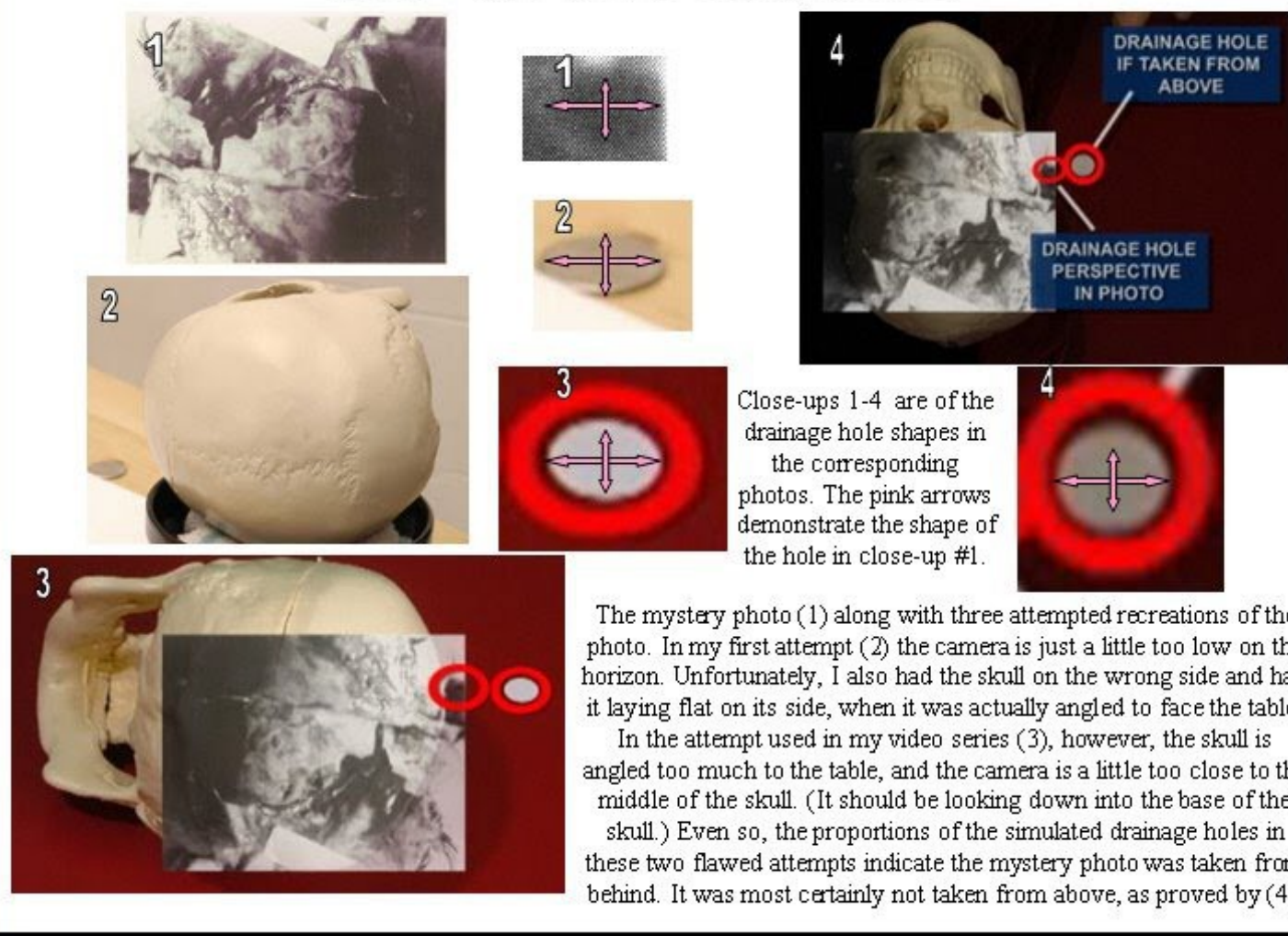
In November 2008, while working on part 4 of our video series, series director Braddon Mendelson gave me a call, and told me we had the photo upside down in our re-enactment. I went into my bedroom, whipped out the copy of the photo in High Treason 2 and took a good look. A few minutes later I called him back to confirm his impression.

I'd stupidly made the assumption that because the photo of the back of Kennedy's head before his scalp had been reflected showed him to be on his left side, the mystery photo was most likely taken with him on his left side. I'd taken my belief that I'd spotted a head rest and a glass in the photo as further confirmation he was on his left side.

But Brad, as a video director, wasn't looking at the photo with these pre-conceptions; he was looking at the lighting of the photo. And it seemed obvious to him the photo was lit from above. And he's right. The glare on the reflected scalp--apparently held in place by one of the doctors, indicates that the reflected scalp is above the skull cavity. Brad was also correct to note that the drainage hole would be lit on the inside of the far rim, and not the outside of the near rim.

After having seen this light, I noticed also that the "pool of blood" I'd previously noticed in the base of the skull was now consistent with gravity. I also noticed that, in this orientation, the triangle of scalp hung down from the head, and was similarly more consistent with gravity. In short, everything made much better sense in this orientation, except that darn metallic object I'd confused with a head rest and that darn glass object I'd confused with a beaker. I'm still not sure what they are, but perhaps they are tools used to reflect the scalp or hold it in place, once it's been reflected.

If At First You Don't Succeed



If At First You Don't Succeed

Having realized my earlier mistake, Brad and I set out to re-create the photo in its proper orientation. As demonstrated in photo 3 above, a still from Part 4 of our video series, we got pretty darn close. The camera seems to be at the proper vertical angle to the skull, but the slightly rounder "drainage hole" in our photo indicates the skull is tilted a little too much towards the table. The top of the skull should also be pulled back slightly toward the camera, so that the base of the skull more closely aligns with the base of the skull visible in the photo. But that's beside the point. We were simply trying to demonstrate that the shape of the drainage hole indicates the photo was taken from an angle incompatible with the bone in the foreground of the photo being forehead (as demonstrated in photo 4 above), and that the photo was therefore most logically taken from behind.

Even so, the thought occurs that an exact reproduction can be accomplished. If an experienced photographer with the right equipment wishes to try to more accurately recreate this photo, I will be glad to assist them in the positioning of the skull.

If at first you don't succeed...

Game, Set, No Match

At right: the mystery photo. Below: John Canal's photo of a mannequin head, supposedly taken from the same angle as the mystery photo. The angle of the camera to the bone at the center of the photos, however, fails to match.



When one compares the drainage hole in the mystery photo, above left, with the circle representing the drainage hole in Canal's recreation, above right, one finds further proof that his recreation is in error. The hole in the mystery photo is far more elliptical. This, then, proves the photo was not taken looking down into a skull laying flat on a table, as purported by Canal, but from much lower to the table.

The shoulder in his re-creation is also a problem. Where is it in the mystery photo? Canal's re-creation is simply wrong, wrong, wrong. Not that he'll ever admit as much.

Game, Set, No Match

In 2010, I became aware that author John Canal, who had devoted much of the past ten years trying to prove the mystery photo depicted Kennedy's forehead, had also claimed to have re-created the photo at the proper angle to the drainage hole. When his supposed re-creation was posted online, however, (ironically, by single-assassin theorist extraordinaire, John McAdams), I realized Canal was just blowing smoke. The proportions of the "drainage hole" in his re-creation were, as they are in all simulations of the photo in which the bone in the photo is forehead, not even close to the proportions of the drainage hole in the mystery photo.

His re-creation had other problems as well. As the camera was slightly closer to the table in his re-creation than it was in the Tobias orientation, more of the table below the skull should have been visible. So where was Kennedy's shoulder? The right shoulder of the mannequin in Canal's photo is clearly visible.

In sum, then, Canal's failure to re-create the image only confirmed what I'd been saying all along: the photo was taken from behind Kennedy, and depicts the back of his head.

Back of the Head?



The open cranium photograph as interpreted
by Dr.s Humes and Boswell in November, 1966.
The back of the head is in the foreground.

Or Forehead?



The open cranium photograph as interpreted
by Dr. s Humes and Boswell in January, 1967.
The forehead is in the foreground.

Back of the Head? Or Forehead?

Still, it seems quite possible all this discussion of the proper way to view this photograph is a waste of everyone's time, as it seems quite possible there are many men familiar with this photo who know full well its proper orientation. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, for instance, whose panel interpreted this photo as being taken from the front, told researcher James Douglass in 1998 that Jacqueline Kennedy was reluctant to return the autopsy photos in 1966 due to her fear the photos would fall in the wrong hands, and her children "would have to live with the head of their father pictured on the cover of Life Magazine...with *half the back of his head* blown off." Clark appears to have forgotten, or maybe he never understood, that his experts decided there was no photo depicting *half the back* of Kennedy's head missing.

When one looks at the report of Clark's Panel there is even more reason to suspect some sort of cover-up. Remember, the Clark Panel refused to attach any significance to the open-cranium photographs, stating: "*Due to lack of contrast of structures portrayed and lack of clarity of detail in these photographs, the only conclusion reached by The Panel from study of this series was that there was no existing bullet defect in the supra-orbital region of the skull.*" Similarly, the report of Dr. Richard Lindenberg for the Rockefeller Commission noted that the medical panel looked at a photo depicting

the “*cranial cavity with brain removed from above and from the front*” but failed to note the supposed beveled exit, or any of the other signs now considered so important. None of the other reports written for the Rockefeller Commission even mentioned the photo. My suspicion that this cover-up is organized was heightened, moreover, when I contacted a noted forensic pathologist, one who has regularly disagreed with his colleagues over much of the autopsy evidence, and asked for his help in understanding this photograph. Despite his previous offer to help me understand the forensic evidence, and my repeated attempts to contact him, he failed to respond. While this was most probably a coincidence, or a reflection of his personal distaste for discussing the photograph, there’s just too much other strange behavior surrounding this photograph to ignore.

Consider the case of Dr. Humes and Dr. Boswell, who changed their interpretations on this, the darkest, deepest, most disturbing autopsy photo, probably ever taken, and then supposedly forgot all about it. On November 1, 1966, on a list of the photos prepared for the National Archives, Humes and Boswell described the black and white photos taken from this position as “*depicting missile wound over entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of the scalp*” and the color transparencies taken from this position as depicting a “*missile wound in posterior skull, with scalp reflected*.”

On November 10, 1966, moreover, Humes and Boswell, along with autopsy radiologist John Ebersole and autopsy photographer John Stringer, signed a version of this report prepared by the Justice Department that changed these words only slightly, quite possibly as a result of a typo. This report described the black and white photos as depicting a “*missile wound of entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of scalp*.” The “over” had been changed to “of” and “the scalp” had been changed to simply “scalp”. The color transparencies taken from this position, not surprisingly, bore the same description as earlier.

On January 26, 1967, less than 3 months later, however, on the report of the examination conducted for the Justice Department, Humes and Boswell said these photos “*show the other half of the margin of the exit wound; and also show the beveling of the bone characteristic of a wound of exit*.” They went on to state that two of the photos “*show that the point of exit of the missile was much larger than the point of entrance being 30 mm (1.18 inches) at its greatest diameter*.” As Dr. Humes in his testimony before the Warren Commission in 1964 and Dr. Finck in his letter to his commanding officer in 1965 expressed that there was no beveled exit visible at the large defect, outside the beveling on one of the recovered skull fragments, and as Dr. Boswell failed to mention any beveling on the intact skull when interviewed by Josiah Thompson on 1-11-67--only NINE days before the doctors' January inspection--the January report's description of a beveled exit visible on the intact skull is yet another reason to believe this so-called Military Review was written by someone other than the doctors.

Two years after the “Review,” in fact, during the trial of Clay Shaw, Dr. Finck seemed unaware he’d even signed a document claiming there was beveling on the intact bone. He testified “*I could make a positive determination of a wound of exit, of a portion of a wound of exit, in a bone fragment submitted to us during the course of the autopsy...it was during the course of the autopsy this fragment was brought to us and allowed us to determine that this was the wound of exit*.” For his part, Dr. Humes seemed conscious of the change. He told the ARRB in 1996 that when inspecting the exit defect, he found that “*the bone fragments that were placed—that remained in place, halfway in place—were shelved on the outer table of the skull. And when we got the fragments from Dallas...we almost could complete the circle of what appeared to be the actual exit wound*.” Perhaps the knowledge of this fabrication has haunted even Humes, however, as neither he nor the other two original autopsists has ever pointed out this beveled exit on the autopsy photos when given the chance.

When asked about this photo by the HSCA forensics panel for example, Humes and Boswell escaped without committing themselves one way or the other. They were shown the color version of this photograph by Dr. Petty and asked “*Could you, Dr. Humes or Dr. Boswell, either one, from*

examination of the photograph purported to show the posterior cranial fossa locate the point of in-shoot into the skull? Now we're looking at photograph No. 44." Dr. Humes then responded *"How about here, Jay?"* and began discussing it with Dr. Boswell, who became confused, which then led Humes to conclude *"I don't think the photograph permits us to say with accuracy where it is."*

The HSCA had even less success with Dr. Finck. When asked if he'd seen any evidence of an exit defect at the margin of the large defect, as proposed in the January 1967 report written for the Justice Department, Finck played it safe and replied *"I don't recall."* When then shown photo 44 and asked if it refreshed his memory, he held his non-committal ground, stating *"No."* When counsel Andy Purdy then pushed a little harder, and asked Finck if he saw *"anything on that photograph which would represent the exit hole of a bullet?"* Finck once again played dumb, stating *"I don't know what this is."* When a clearly exasperated Purdy then pointed out the beveled notch in the photo, and asked Finck if this semi-circle could be an exit wound, Finck stood by his story, stating *"No. Hazy, blurred."*

When asked about this photograph by the ARRB in the late 1990's, moreover, the doctors continued to play it safe. Despite their unanimous recollection of a photograph being taken of the occipital region demonstrating the wound of entrance after the brain had been removed (tellingly, none of them remembered taking a photograph of the frontal bone demonstrating the wound of exit after the brain had been removed), when shown this photograph, all three claimed they were unable to figure out even which part of the skull it represented!!! Humes: (When asked to orient the photographs) *"Boy, it's difficult. I can't. I just can't put them together... Very disappointed. No, I can't...they're disappointingly confusing to me...There's what appears to be a notch in a major portion of bone here centrally located, but I'm not at all sure about it. I don't know what it is or—I can't get oriented at all. I just can't;"* (when shown an earlier description of the photo) *"down here opposite the edge of the ruler, I presume that, is what we're talking about right there...I have to presume is what we're talking about right there...I don't know. I have trouble with this. I can't really recognize it there."* Boswell: *"I'm sorry. I can't orient this at all...I'm afraid I can't...what we were attempting to show here, I don't know;"* (when asked if the hole in the skull appears towards the front) *"I can't be sure;"* (when confronted with his earlier descriptions of the photo) *"I can't identify anything else in here to tell where we are...This is what appears to be calvarium, a piece of bone plate, skull plate...And if you look at this beveling of the bone here, this would be a wound of exit...there's no way this could be called a wound of entrance, now the only other thing is that if—on the reflected scalp here, there is a wound or something...It's such a dilemma."* Finck: *"I cannot say much about this...I have difficulties to orient this;"* (when shown the semi-circular notch that Boswell latched onto as possibly showing outward beveling and asked if it helped him remember what the photo depicts) *"No."*

When asked by the ARRB the million-dollar question of why they changed the official interpretation of the photograph between November 10, 1966, and January 26, 1967, for that matter, the memory of these lifelong medical men grew even foggier. Humes: (when asked if he even remembered the January report) *"If you've got such a statement, I presume we did. I don't remember the details of it...I don't know who wrote this, it doesn't seem like I wrote it, just because of the phraseology and some of the comments...I don't recall anything about it. I really don't. I don't recall it. Other than—other than the earlier, longer report that takes the photographs number by number."* Boswell: *"This is Jim's (Dr. Humes') language, I think;"* (When confronted with the two different interpretations of photo #44) *"I think they were both wrong, and I think the reason is that it's just such a terrible photograph;"* (When asked why they changed the description) *"I don't remember that Pierre (Dr. Finck) came over for that... Well, that may be the answer right there. See, Pierre was a forensic pathologist, and he was extremely able relative to ballistics. And he may have talked us into this. That's the only thing I can think of."* Finck, however, remembered no such thing: (When asked if he'd ever seen the January report) *"I don't know when, but I think I did;"* (When asked if it was his signature at the bottom) *"I*

recognize my signature;” (When asked if the report was written by the doctors or by someone else) “Oh, *I wouldn’t have signed this if it had been written by somebody else. I am pretty sure I participated in this.*” (Let’s recall here Dr. Finck’s 1967 report on this very review, in which he wrote: “*the statement had been prepared by the Justice Department. We signed the statement.*”)

These life-long pathologists reversed the official interpretation of the most significant autopsy photograph anyone had ever seen, and then forgot all about it? I must admit I’m skeptical.

Dr. Humes, I suspect, knew exactly what had happened. His February 13, 1996 testimony before the ARRB has some revealing exchanges. Few more so than this--

GUNN: *When you were referring to that photograph in your previous answer, were you referring to the photographs from View 7 that are in front of you now? (NOTE: these are the mystery photos) You can hold off on the answer. Maybe if you can--if you could just--*

HUMES. *Well, these are quite obviously from the outside of the skull. They're not from the inside. That's perfectly obvious. So I don't see one from the inside of the posterior cranial fossa where the defect was. And I'm disappointed because I thought we had such a photograph.*

So there you have it. Humes told the ARRB he had no recollection of the January '67 report in which the mystery photo was purported to depict a beveled exit on the front of the skull, and only recalled the “*earlier, longer report*” in which it was purported to depict a “*missile wound of entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of scalp.*” He then proceeded to reject completely that the photo depicted the “*posterior cranial fossa where the defect was.*” By saying the interior of the skull depicted in the photo was not “*where the defect was*” (low on the back of the head), however, Humes was as much as admitting that the “outside of the skull” depicted in the photo was not the forehead. He was, in effect, telling Gunn, AND the world, that the photo, taken “*quite obviously from the outside of the skull,*” showed what he’d claimed it had in the “*earlier, longer report*” he recalled, i.e., a “*missile wound of entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of scalp.*”

Still, the possibility exists that the doctors couldn’t make sense of the photo because it had been cropped in some way. My concern for this was heightened after reading Dr. Boswell’s 1996 interview with the ARRB. When asked if he remembered seeing any of the photographs now purported to be missing, including the one Dr. Finck remembers taking of the entrance on the back of the skull, he told them “The one of the skull wound, I thought I remembered seeing it, but I--now, I’ve seen a lot of pictures like in Livingstone’s books, where those come from, I don’t know. And whether they’re fabricated, some of them, or not—and I may be confusing pictures I’ve seen that are alleged to be autopsy photographs.” He is referring, of course, to Harrison Livingstone, whose book *High Treason 2* included the Fox set of autopsy photographs. That Boswell was unsure if these photos were real, and thought he saw a photo of the entrance on the skull among them, and then FAILED to orient the skull photos he was shown minutes later by the ARRB, made me suspect the photos in the archives did not match the Fox set. Fortunately, there are others who swear they are the same.

In 1993, Dr. Robert Artwohl told an audience that the Fox set of photos was genuine and matched the photos in the archives, but that the archives photos were much clearer. He also stated that the area appearing to be neck was really a yellow block and that the scalp was reflected onto Kennedy’s left forehead. In 2004, Dr. Chad Zimmerman and Larry Sturdivan came away from their visit to the archives with slightly different impressions. On Zimmerman’s website, he recounted his visit to the archives. He mentioned that the Fox photo posted on his website is “significantly cropped as compared to the color prints” at the archives. This is a confusing statement. As the black and white prints are reportedly separate photos, taken moments apart, they are not “cropped” but are instead photos taken from closer to the skull, with a smaller field of view. By saying “cropped” Zimmerman implies there are images on the black and white negatives that were not printed, something he would have no way of

knowing unless he studied the negatives. Since the doctors were not studying negatives, but prints, the thought occurs that Boswell's confusion may have come from the progressive lightening of the "mystery photo" by researchers seeking to highlight what appears to be lines on the back of Kennedy's neck; perhaps the original is very dark. Still, Artwohl, Zimmerman and Sturdivan see so many things on the photos that are not apparent on the Fox set of photos, it really makes one wonder--are the photos at the archives different than those on the internet?

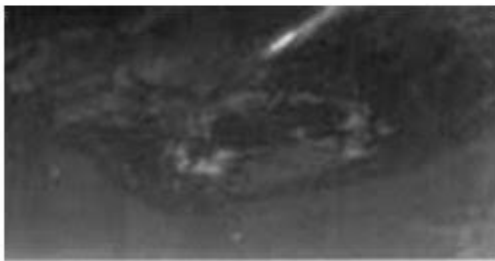
Dr. David Mantik, thankfully, helps clear this up. After nine visits to the archives, he concurs with Zimmerman that the black and white photos #17 and #18, which have a smaller field of view, are difficult to orient, but says that photos #44 and #45 were "taken from the rear" and that studying them was "essential" to his conclusion that there was a large defect in the right rear of the skull—a conclusion one could not make if interpreting the bone in the foreground as forehead. Since his conclusion is in opposition to the conclusions of Artwohl, Zimmerman, Sturdivan, the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, and the Clark Panel, and since Dr. Mantik is one of the few conspiracists ever allowed to see the photos, this leads me to suspect that one's interpretation of the photos is based as much on what one expects to see as what is actually there. As the autopsy doctors were shown all 4 photos by the ARRB, then, their inability to make a decision appears to be unrelated to the subtle differences in field of view described by doctors Artwohl, Zimmerman, and Mantik, and everything to do with their refusal to commit to an interpretation of the photo. Since they are strangely the only three single-assassin theorists to see the open-cranium photos and not assert they were taken from in front and above, one can't help but suspect this is because they *know* the photos were not taken from that perspective. On the other hand, this amazing coincidence might have come as a result of the doctors' peculiar predicament. If they said the photos were taken from the front, they would be at odds with their original inventory of the photos created in 1966, the one they *remembered* creating. If they said they were taken from the rear, on the other hand, then they would be at odds with the Military Review they signed a few months later, not to mention all the doctors who examined the photos for the HSCA. Playing stupid may have simply been their way of avoiding controversy.

Even so, it's hard not to take the doctors' refusal to make an interpretation as an additional reason to believe they were forced to lie back in '67. Let's not be naive. In November, 1966, they identified a piece of bone on which a beveled exit seems apparent as bone on the posterior skull. Then, but a few days later, former Warren Commission counsel Liebelser sends out a letter to, among others, fellow former counsel David Slawson, now working directly for the Justice Department as an attorney for President Johnson in the Office of Legal Counsel, detailing the eyewitness evidence for a shot fired from the front, and exiting from the posterior skull. Then, in January 67, after the Justice Department decides that another report is needed, in part to assuage CBS News, which is starting to look at these issues, the photo of the bone on the posterior skull is re-interpreted, and is now presented as a photo of an exit on the front of the skull by the forehead...a photo that couldn't even exist, according to the sworn testimony of Kennedy's chief autopsist, Dr. Humes. Now, perhaps the doctors by January 67 had simply forgot what they'd said previously, and had honestly come to believe the photo was taken from the front. Stranger things have happened. Well, if they honestly believed the photo was of the forehead then, why not restate so later, with so many prominent pathologists on their side? It just doesn't wash. Someone's hiding something.

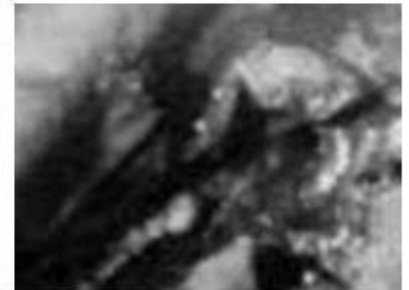
(FWIW, in Volume 3 of his 5 Volume epic, Inside the Assassination Records Review Board, Doug Horne posits that this photo was indeed a photo taken of the back of the head. As Horne believes the autopsy photos, x-rays, and Zapruder film have all been faked, however, he holds that the beveling apparent on the back of the head was also faked, and added in by some government employee under the belief the photo was taken from the front. This makes little sense, IMO. Such beveling was not described in the autopsy report. If Dr. Humes was instrumental in the cover-up, and had personally

supervised the alteration of Kennedy's wounds, as Horne posits, why would he not be told that, oh yeah, we've added an exit onto the forehead of one of the autopsy photos, and you're to write about this in your autopsy report and testify about this should you be called to testify before a government commission? If Horne claims this was done without Humes' knowledge, after the completion of his report, furthermore, it makes even less sense. I mean, we know the photos in the archives are identical to those copied by James Fox but a few days after the assassination, and subsequently made available to the research community. So...are we to believe someone added an exit wound to the forehead in an autopsy photo within days of the shooting--but failed to tell the doctor whose testimony would be required to place such a wound into evidence? I don't think so.)

The "Missing" Missile Wound



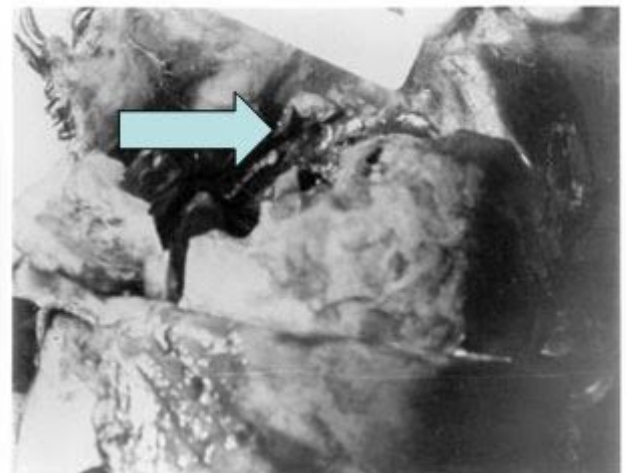
While the hole at left demonstrates the "tunneling" reported by the doctors, the hole at right shows little if any of the beveling reported by Dr. Finck to the Warren Commission.



Fox autopsy photo



The HSCA's report asserted that the hole by the arrow at right is a semi-circle. It also proposed it is the inside view of the HSCA's "cowlick" entrance. As this hole is considerably below the ruler, which appears to be below the level of the supposed "cowlick" entrance, this makes little or no sense, even to single-assassin theorists.



Which one of these holes represents a "missile wound over entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of the scalp"?

The "Missing" Missile Wound

As clear as it is to most that the doctors changed their interpretation of the mystery photo between November 1966 and January 1967, there are those who insist this is a conspiracy myth. Dr. Chad Zimmerman, for example, is so convinced that the photo shows forehead that he refuses to believe the doctors ever could have thought it was the back of the head. Accordingly, he has convinced himself that the doctors' 1966 description of a "missile wound over entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of the scalp" is not a description of the back of Kennedy's head at all, but a description of the front of

his head, showing the *interior aspect* of the missile wound in the posterior skull, and the scalp reflected over the forehead. Never mind that it says "over entrance in posterior skull," implying that the photo is of tissue just above the skull. Never mind that "following reflection of scalp" modifies "posterior skull" and not "anterior skull" or "forehead." Never mind that there is no mention that the entrance is inside the cranium anywhere in the photo's description.

Vincent Bugliosi, in his 2007 opus *Reclaiming History*, drifts even further out to sea than Zimmerman. On page 261 of his endnotes, he asserts that the allegedly missing autopsy photo of the entrance on President Kennedy's head is in fact in the collection. He asserts that this photo of the president's skull with his brain removed was properly described in the November 1, 1966 inventory of the autopsy photos. As stated, this inventory claims the photo depicts a: "missile wound over entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of the scalp." In January 1967, of course, the doctors changed their interpretation of this photo, and said it depicted an exit on the president's forehead. Bugliosi, in keeping with Zimmerman, refuses to acknowledge that they changed their interpretation, however, and instead asserts on page 238 and 262 of his endnotes that both descriptions were correct, and that the photo depicts the interior of the back of the head when viewed from the front, as well as the beveled exit on the frontal bone in the foreground of the photo. To explain why there was no mention of the beveled exit on the skull prior to the January 67 review, Bugliosi suggests that the doctors, who'd only spent 6 hours or more staring at the president's body, looking for bullet wounds, only discovered this exit during the 1967 inspection of the photos.

Bugliosi goes on to make a statement that distances himself from Zimmerman, however. On page 261 of his endnotes, Bugliosi states "The HSCA forensic pathology panel subsequently concluded that the images depicted both the entrance wound bevel (in the background of the image) and the exit wound bevel (in the foreground of the image)." He implies this conclusion supports his analysis of the 1966 and 1967 reports, and his contention that they really aren't in conflict.

Well, there's a number of problems with this. One problem comes from the exact wording of the passage cited by Bugliosi. On page 129, the HSCA panel's report claims "a possible portion of the beveled inner table corresponding to the semicircular margin of the entrance wound at the back of the head" can be seen in the depths of the mystery photo. Later, however, it claims an "anterior bone fragment" with a "semicircular defect" is visible in the photo. This is clearly the supposed exit. Bugliosi's circle is therefore complete--both an entrance and an exit are discussed in relation to the photo. The report is therefore claiming that both an entrance and an exit are visible in the photo.

But it is not to be believed. The key to understanding why is the phrase "semi-circular margin of the entrance wound at the back of the head." Well, there was NO semi-circular margin of an entrance wound at the back of the head. None was described at autopsy. None was discussed in the testimony of Dr. Humes before the Warren Commission. None was discussed in the testimony of Dr. Baden before the HSCA. While, on page 107 of the pathology panel's report, it is claimed that "Stereoscopic visualization of the inside of the cranial cavity at its depth, after removal of the brain, reveals a semicircular beveled defect of the inner table in the posterior parietal area to the right of the midline, from which fracture lines radiate corresponding to the entrance perforation indicated in the skull X-rays" it seems clear the writer of this passage was just blowing smoke. The ONLY "semi-circular margin" on the skull discussed previously, after all, was the supposed exit in this very photo.

Still, even if one were to grant Bugliosi that the HSCA report supports that the photo shows both an entrance and an exit, and that there is nothing problematic about the supposed entrance supposedly visible in the depths of the mystery photo, one can't claim all is well. You see, the '66 and '67 reports Bugliosi has tried to reconcile are unanimous in that the entrance wound depicted is the entrance described at autopsy...on the occipital bone. And the so-called "cowlick" wound described in the HSCA report is on the parietal bone, four inches away.

This yields surprising complications. You see, every, and I mean EVERY, single-assassin theorist researcher concluding the mystery photo was taken from the front, and shows an entrance in its depths, has concluded that the entrance shown is the one described at autopsy. This EVERY includes Larry Sturdivan, the HSCA's wound ballistics expert, Dr. Chad Zimmerman, and author John Canal, all of whom were in contact with Bugliosi during the writing of his book. And it's easy to see they are right. When one interprets the photo as being taken from the front, it becomes obvious that the hole in the back of the skull is in a ridge of some sort. As there was no such ridge anywhere near the cowlick entrance, moreover, it becomes obvious that this entrance is the one by the EOP noted at autopsy. When one views the photo in this light, moreover, it's debatable there's any bone by the cowlick in which there could be an entrance!

Bugliosi's rejection of his advisers' opinions on this point is indeed strange. On page 238 of Reclaiming History's end notes, Bugliosi declares "the keys to the correct orientation of the images are a lip of a glass specimen jar on, and a drainage hole in, the autopsy table, which are both visible in the photographs and are located at the top of the autopsy table. These details show that the photographer was standing at the head of the autopsy table, looking down into the cranial cavity, with the president lying on his back." This could have been written by Canal, who has been making similar claims for years. So why didn't Bugliosi mention that Canal, Sturdivan, and Zimmerman, among others, believed that the photo demonstrates an entrance on the inside of the skull in the location described at autopsy? His book, after all, was supposedly designed to answer all the questions, settle all the disputes. So why didn't Bugliosi mention that some of his advisers on the autopsy photos and medical evidence--Canal, Sturdivan, and Zimmerman--adamantly disagreed with his interpretation of the photo? Why didn't he acknowledge that they'd used this photo to conduct all sorts of tests, and that their tests uniformly proved that his #1 expert, Dr. Michael Baden, who'd testified before congress with this photo upside down after conducting NO tests on the photo, was incorrect in his understanding of the photo, and of the entrance wound location? Why didn't he settle this dispute, or even acknowledge its existence?

Perhaps he was far too subservient to "experts" like Michael Baden to tell his readers they were wrong, no matter how obvious it was to everyone else.

Or perhaps Bugliosi really had no interest in settling disputes, but was concerned instead with giving the appearance of settling disputes. Perhaps he felt it would prove "counter-productive" to admit that the "experts" to whom he so readily defers can't even agree on something as basic as the location of the bullet entrance on the back of Kennedy's head.

Note: on 10-1-10, on the alt.assassination newsgroup, John Canal, whose strident belief the mystery photo was taken from the front actually exceeds my strong belief it was taken from behind, responded to the above slide by as much as admitting he had no explanation for the bullet hole depicted on the left side of the slide. In his orientation, remember, this apparent bullet hole is on the left side of Kennedy's skull. Here is his response (with spelling errors corrected):

Pat, for us to continue discussing this F8 orientation issue makes no sense...we are obviously at a stalemate....and have been for a few years.

Besides the replications that show the face on orientation is correct, I have the signed statement of the autopsy photographer that says the same thing.

In fact, I can't think of one forensic expert who has examined the originals and concluded the back of JFK's head is in the foreground in F8. If I missed anyone, I'm remiss, but would add there's certainly not too many.

Also, you have the bone flap, most easily seen hanging of the front right of his head, hinged by the scalp, in the BOH photos, but also seen in--of course--the same place in F8.

Lastly, I'm baffled at how you have the gall to try to convince us to accept your misorientation of F8 over its face-on orientation as diagrammed by the HSCA's highly credentialed forensic anthropologist, Dr. Lawrence Angel....who examined the "originals" and probably did it with a stereoscopic viewer. No one was more qualified to determine the correct orientation than he was.

Pat, I'd appreciate it if you'd respect my wishes for us to not to discuss this F8 orientation issue, or any issues related to its orientation, anymore.

Thank you.

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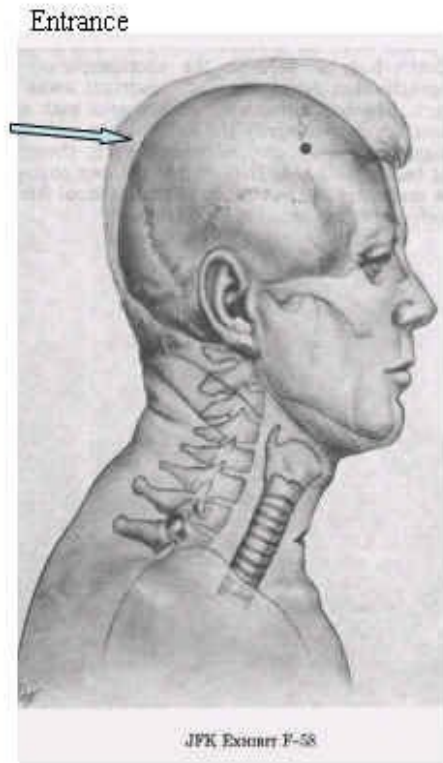
John Canal

Notice that he fails to discuss the issue at hand, and instead lists some red herring reasons why he "knows" he's right. The bullet hole disproves his orientation, and he can't bring himself to admit it.

Chapter 15: The Tangled Web

An examination of the HSCA's trajectory analysis, and its dishonest treatment of the head wounds

HSCA Outshoot / Autopsy Photos Comparison



Fox Autopsy Photo: left side image inverted and red star added for comparison.

Left: HSCA Exhibit F-58



Groden Autopsy Photo

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

HSCA Outshoot/Autopsy Photos Comparison

Once one gets past the shocking fact that the HSCA pathology panel couldn't tell the back of Kennedy's head from his forehead, one can begin to understand the incredibly confusing tangle of contradictory information that is the HSCA's depiction of the head wounds.


When one compares exhibit F-58 with the autopsy photos one finds that in their attempt to make sense of the beveled bone on the forehead in the mystery photo (which I hope you now agree is not a mystery) the forensic pathology panel adopted an outshoot on the President's right forehead just above his temple. One not insignificant problem with this is that this location is visible through the v-shaped tear in Kennedy's scalp apparent in the right lateral autopsy photo. That solid bone seems to be all around this location, and that the tear of scalp appears to have come as a result of an explosion from somewhere above the President's ear, at least an inch away, only highlights how unlikely it is for this location to be the location of the outshoot. There is simply no large hole here. While there is no shortage of missing skull back of this location, this is just not the exit location for the largest fragment

of the bullet.


But like a row of dominoes, one mistake led to another, and then another, and then another....

The Tell-Tale Art


A quick comparison between Warren Commission Exhibit CE 388 and Exhibit F-66 of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel shows that the HSCA adjusted the Warren Commission's findings in order to depict both the proper position of Kennedy's head at the moment of impact and the higher bullet entrance proposed by the Clark Panel.




So WHY doesn't HSCA Exhibit F-141, below, the "calibration photo" used by the HSCA's trajectory analyst to determine Kennedy's precise position at the moment of impact, correspond to the forward lean apparent in F-66 and the Zapruder film?




Zapruder frame 312 (or Z-312), Kennedy's position just prior to the impact of the fatal head shot.



Warren Commission Exhibit CE 388, the autopsy doctors' depiction of Z-313



HSCA Exhibit F-66, the Forensic Pathology Panel's depiction of Z-313.



HSCA Exhibit F-141, purported to correspond to Z-312

At left: Zapruder frame 313

The Tell-Tale Art

When one looks through the various HSCA exhibits, particularly those regarding the head wounds, one gets the distinct feeling one is walking through a house of mirrors. Unlike the Warren Commission exhibits, which, while occasionally misleading—let's not forget the Rydberg drawings—were at least for the most part consistent with one another, many of the HSCA exhibits are in complete disagreement with one another, and even with the established evidence.

When one looks at Exhibit F-66, for example, which we've already demonstrated was in disagreement with the autopsy photos of the back of Kennedy's head, one can quickly observe that it was in disagreement with the Zapruder film as well. While Zapruder frame 313 shows the explosion of Kennedy's skull occurring on the front half of his skull, F-66 shows it to begin behind his ear, at the rear of his skull.

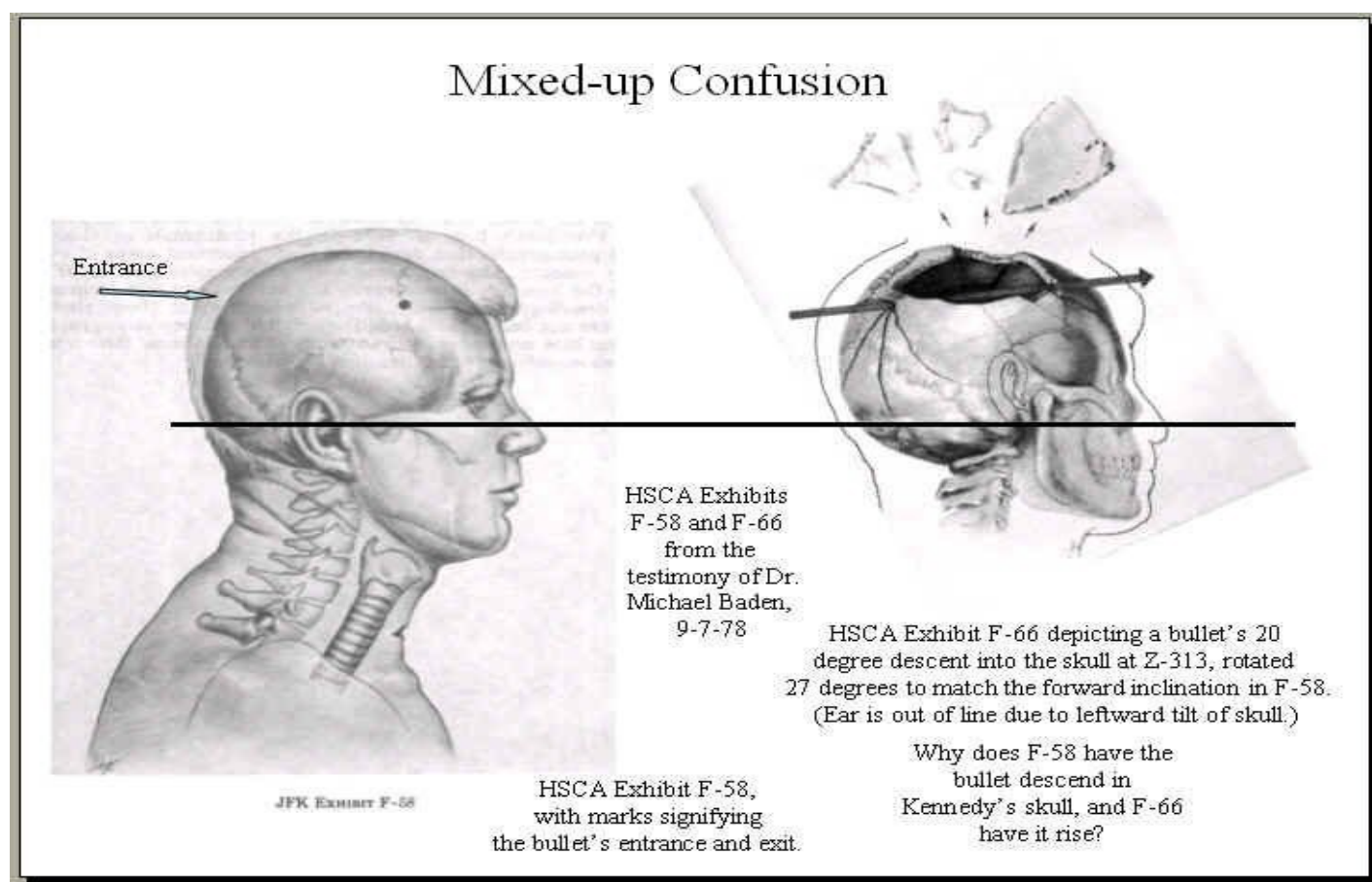
It should be acknowledged, however, that this exhibit, which seems to be in disagreement with every other exhibit, is absolutely correct on one pertinent detail: the drawing replicates Zapruder frame 312 and depicts Kennedy leaning forward 27 degrees at the moment of impact. Since the drawing has the

bullet descending 20 degrees, one can take from this that the bullet ascended 7 degrees in Kennedy's skull. If one projects 20 degrees backwards from Kennedy's position at Z-312, moreover, one can create a trajectory that hits the school book depository within 20 feet of the sniper's nest. This would be close enough for most not already skeptical.

The HSCA, on the other hand, apparently wanted something more precise. They hired a trajectory expert from NASA, Thomas Canning, and asked him to establish the precise locations of the shooter or shooters by connecting the wounds, establishing the positions of the victims at the time of the shots, and projecting backwards. When Canning looked at Zapruder frame 312, amazingly, he came to the conclusion Kennedy was leaning but 11 degrees forward.

Thus, the only HSCA exhibit that accurately depicts Kennedy's position at Z-312 was ignored in favor of a calibration photo, a photo created for Canning using an anatomically accurate mannequin, which was placed in different positions and photographed until Canning could find one that supposedly matched Z-312.

Does it match?



Mixed-up Confusion

Should one wonder if there were legitimate reasons for the HSCA to hire Thomas Canning, one need only compare two exhibits presented in the testimony of Dr. Michael Baden on 9-7-78. When one compares the trajectory drawing F-66 with F-58, the lateral view of Kennedy purportedly depicting his wounds, and rotates F-66 the 27 degrees necessary to present Kennedy's nose even with his EOP (the bump on the back of his head) one finds that the bullet ascends 7 degrees in Kennedy's skull in F-66,

but descends 3 degrees in Kennedy's skull in F-58. This means there is a 10 degree discrepancy between the two drawings. Equally disturbing is that, while both entrances are the same distance from the lambda suture at the back of Kennedy's head (where the parietal bone meets the occipital bone), the entrance on F-66 is lower. The suture moved with it. While one might counter that F-66 was drawn in haste and even depicted Kennedy's ear and nose in the wrong position in comparison to the back of his head, this doesn't really help support the accuracy of F-58, once one remembers that F-66 accurately depicted Kennedy's position at Zapruder frame 312.

When one looks at Zapruder frame 312, one can notice a dark line running across the frame. This would appear to be a shadow in the gutter on the south side of Elm Street. Since this line appears to be even, and Elm Street was at a 3 degree decline, this would indicate that Zapruder's film was created at a slight angle. This would indicate that any projections based on Z-312 should be adjusted by 3 degrees. This also means the 27 degree forward lean of Kennedy at Z-312 was really a 30 degree forward lean against the horizontal. While this means the bullet descent in F-66 should rightfully be 23 degrees, which would project back to a point roughly 6 feet above the roof of the school book depository, it means the bullet descent in F-58 should rightfully be 33 degrees, which would project right back to the sniper's nest window, *should the school book depository have been stacked atop a building identical in size!*

The problems with establishing bullet trajectories to or from a head wound with no clear-cut exit have been noted by many, including Dale Myers. Larry Sturdivan, the HSCA's ballistics expert, reflecting on the badly damaged nature of the bullet, has written: "the odd-shaped piece of a bullet is inevitably unstable and will develop some degree of lift that will curve its trajectory in tissue...Of the thousands of examples of yawed, deformed, and broken rifle bullets fired into gelatin tissue stimulant at the Biophysics Division lab and other similar facilities, none had a perfectly straight trajectory. Few are even close...The wound locations have no value in reconstructing the exit trajectory of a yawed or deformed bullet or bullet fragments." In his testimony before the HSCA, Sturdivan was equally dismissive of using the head wounds to project back towards the sniper's nest. He told them "no bullet goes straight when it enters a solid mass." In their final report, the pathology panel concurred with Sturdivan, doubting their ability to accurately reconstruct the paths of intact bullets as well as fragments: "The panel is concerned as to the degree of accuracy attainable in determining the missile trajectory based on backward extension of a bullet track from within the body, particularly if precision within the range of a few degrees is required. An intermediate or high velocity bullet creates a temporary bullet track relatively larger than that of the bullet itself. This precludes reconstruction within the required degree of accuracy." While these statements can be taken as a disavowal by the doctors of the work of Thomas Canning, they should have acknowledged the added difficulty they created for him by misinterpreting the autopsy photos and forcing him to try and link an entrance that was not entrance to an exit that was not an exit.

Forward Lean Comparison



Croft Photo corresponding with Z-161. Image inverted
The HSCA trajectory analysis decided this photo represented Kennedy pitched 14 degrees forward against the road surface



HSCA Exhibit F-46, a depiction of the single-bullet strike on Kennedy, which the HSCA determined came at Z-190



HSCA Exhibit F-141
The calibration photo purportedly corresponding to Z-312



Z-312. The HSCA trajectory analysis decided that Kennedy's head in this frame was pitched 8 degrees forward against the road surface

Forward Lean Comparison

Spotlight on Thomas Canning, the HSCA's trajectory analyst. While little is known of his hiring, it's clear it came late in the game. A 2-27-78 HSCA executive session transcript reveals that chief counsel Robert Blakey was pushing for the usage of the Rochester Institute of Technology at USC to not only test the photographs, but "to give us the measurements that we worried about—that is, where Kennedy was. They are very confident that they can reconstruct the President's skull and project in whatever direction back from the head the projectory (sic—trajectory) analysis." This indicates Canning was hired as an afterthought, and had little time to prepare for his 9-12-78 testimony. This is reflected in his work. Although he was introduced by Blakey as an over 30 year employee of NASA and as an expert in flight trajectory, his testimony is as problematic as can be, forcing one to ask the question: can brilliant men really be this stupid? When one reflects that Canning was given the authority to disagree with the Forensic Pathology Panel, and had the right to move or re-interpret President Kennedy's wounds at his discretion, one might rightly wonder whether Canning was hired more as a salesman than as a scientist.

Even so, when one compares the various exhibits prepared by the HSCA, and Canning's final conclusions, the HSCA house of cards meets a hurricane. While Canning found that Kennedy was leaning forward anywhere between 11 and 18 degrees (from the road surface, which was descending at 3 degrees across the plaza) at frame 190, he was quite convinced Kennedy's head was leaning forward at precisely 11 degrees (from Zapruder, who was standing on a flat pedestal) at frame 313. Since he decided to go with a forward lean of 14 degrees for frame 190, based upon the previously mentioned 11 to 18 degrees he interpreted as Kennedy's forward lean in the Croft photo taken at Z-161, this meant

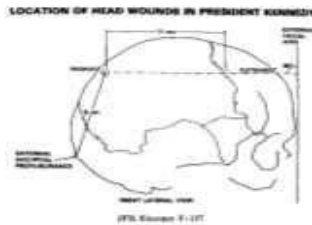
then that he believed Kennedy was leaning slightly forward at frame 190, was hit in the back, *and then sat up* before being hit in the skull at 313. This is exactly the opposite of what the Zapruder film reveals. ANYONE who has seen the film can tell you that Kennedy reaches for his neck, slumps forward, and then gets shot in the head. Since the eyewitness testimony is filled with references to Kennedy slumping after first being hit, moreover, it would appear Canning believed Kennedy somehow slumped *upwards* in his seat.

All it really takes to determine something is wrong is to compare the aforementioned Croft photo, in which Kennedy is supposedly leaning forward 14 degrees from the road surface (thus, 17 degrees against horizontal), with Zapruder frame 312, which supposedly depicts Kennedy leaning forward 11 degrees from Zapruder (and thus only 8 compared to the road surface). It's impossible to imagine that anyone could actually believe that Kennedy was leaning considerably further forward in the Croft photo than he was at Zapruder frame 312, and yet that is exactly what Canning's analysis contends. Is it possible that single-assassin theorists, including historian John McAdams, who promote Canning's conclusions, really believe this? While one might rightly point out that my comparison of 17 degrees to 8 degrees reflects a comparison of the forward lean of Kennedy's torso versus the forward lean of his head, it is obvious that Kennedy's head is leaned far more forward of his body at Z-312 than in the Croft photo. Consequently, in order for Kennedy's head to be leaning forward only 8 degrees from the street at Z-312, his torso must be bent over backwards. It's not. As a result, one can only conclude Canning was either incompetent, insane, or a liar.

This is made even more obvious by looking at exhibit F-46 of the pathology panel. This drawing, depicting the forward lean required for the single-bullet theory to work, depicted the president leaning twice as far forward as he was in the Croft photo, which Canning said supported the theory. And yet, the figure in this drawing has an almost identical forward lean to Kennedy at frame 312, a frame in which Kennedy is supposedly sitting more upright than in the Croft photo!

Animator Dale Myers also believes Canning's work on the head wounds was seriously in error, and has concluded that Kennedy is pitched forward 27 degrees at Z312. Holy smokes, we agree on something!

The Big OOPS

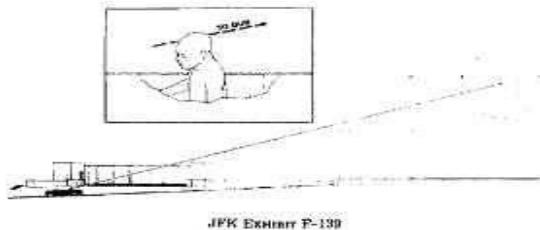


HSCA Exhibit F-137, depicting a flat trajectory through the skull.

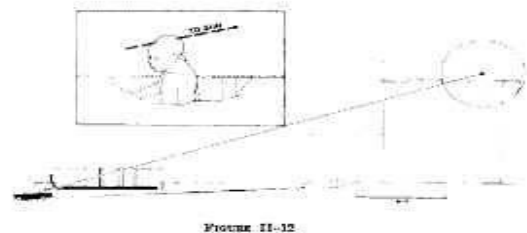


JFK Exhibit F-141

HSCA Exhibit F-141. Kennedy's head is pitched forward 11 degrees



HSCA Exhibit F-139, September 12, 1978, depicting a bullet descending 13 ½ degrees through head, 17 through air.



HSCA Figure II-12, March, 1979, depicting a bullet descending 13 ½ degrees through head, 18 through air.

The Big OOPS

When one looks at the exhibits Thomas Canning presented in his testimony and report, one can only be amazed that so many take his trajectory analysis seriously. Seriously flawed, yes, but serious evidence that the shots all came from the school book depository? Afraid not. To begin with, there was exhibit F-137. Canning described this exhibit as follows: "If one draws a line straight from the in-shoot wound in the right lateral projection, it turns out to be very close to 90 degrees relative to the external facial axis..." From this it's obvious this exhibit was supposed to depict a flat trajectory through a skull in the upright position. Problem is that the trajectory was neither flat nor the skull in the upright position.. That the skull in the diagram was not upright is made clear by comparing it with the calibration photo created by Canning to represent Zapruder frame 312 and the supposed position of Kennedy's skull at the time of the headshot. The slope of the top of the head is so similar on the two exhibits that at first I thought F-137 was designed to represent the skull at Z-312. A close reading of Canning's testimony, however, reveals that F-137 is supposed to be an upright skull while the head in the calibration photo is supposed to be pitched forward 11 degrees. That the forward pitch is indistinguishable between the two should have alerted someone that something was wrong.

But that's just the beginning. When one considers that a flat trajectory through a skull pitched forward 11 degrees would project backwards at an 11 degree angle through the air, one can't help but wonder why Canning's exhibit F-139 depicting the head wound trajectory displays a 13 ½ degree descent through Kennedy's head on the close-up insert. Even worse, it has a 17 degree descent from the window next to the sniper's nest into the car on the longer view. As the FBI measured a 15 degree angle from the sniper's nest to Kennedy for the Warren Commission, one should wonder how Canning could project an 11 or 17 degree angle to the adjacent window.

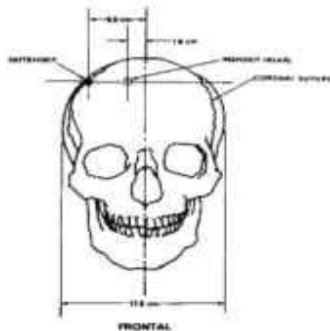
That something is wrong becomes even clearer when one looks at Figure II-12 in Canning's final report. Despite the fact that Canning revised his estimation that the bullet had a flat trajectory through

the skull, realizing that a 5 degree descent through a skull pitched forward 11 degrees would project back 16 degrees to just above the sniper's nest, he failed to lift the rear projection of the trajectory the 5 degrees one would expect on Figure II-12. Inexplicably, he lifted it just one degree from 17 to 18. The close-up trajectory of 13 ½ degrees through the head stayed the same. Since neither the 17 degrees in F-139 nor the 18 degrees in II-12 are mentioned in Canning's testimony or report, it seems probable these were just mistakes related to his using drawings not properly made to scale. That these were not made to scale can be demonstrated by comparing the official measurements of the headshot from the sniper's nest—265 feet through the air from a 60 foot elevation (for a ratio of 4.4 to 1), with the drawing in F-139, which has a distance to elevation ratio of only 3.7 to 1, even though the trajectory led back within a few yards of the sniper's nest. Disturbingly, when asked in his testimony if the diagram was made to scale, Canning said "yes". While I hesitate to accuse the man of deliberate mischief, that he changed the backwards trajectory from Kennedy's wounds from 11 degrees in his testimony to 16 degrees in his report and had the point at which this trajectory hit the face of the school book depository change by only 10 feet or so in the exhibits he submitted to the committee, smells like a dead rat left inside a gym locker over summer vacation. The 5 degree increase in slope should have raised this location by nearly 30 feet.

When one looks at the HSCA Final Assassinations Report published by Bantam Books, one finds additional cause for concern. In this report, which, prior to the internet, was the only work by the HSCA widely available to the public, exhibits F-122 and 139 were re-printed, even though Canning had since modified the trajectories on display. (F-122 was a photo of school book depository with overlapping trajectory circles.) Presumably, no one noticed that Canning had updated his trajectories. Or maybe someone, like the parade of fans stalking Woody Allen in his film *Stardust Memories*, just liked the early ones better.

Shrunk Head Analysis

LOCATION OF HEAD WOUNDS IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY



JFK EXHIBIT F-147

LOCATION OF HEAD WOUNDS IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY

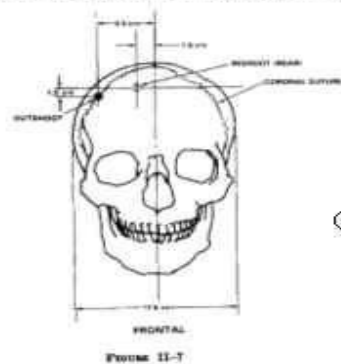
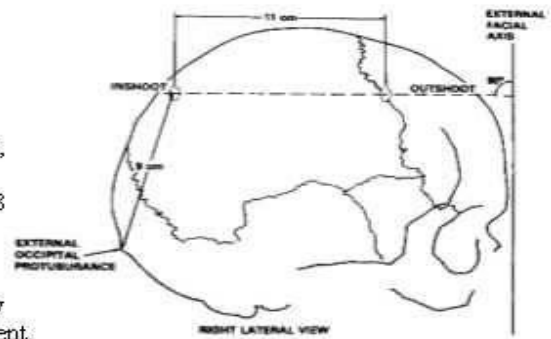


FIGURE II-7

At left and right: HSCA Exhibits F-147 and F-137, from the testimony of Thomas Canning, 9-12-78

Skulls at right are sized by Canning's 11 cm measurement.

LOCATION OF HEAD WOUNDS IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY



JFK EXHIBIT F-137

LOCATION OF HEAD WOUNDS IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY

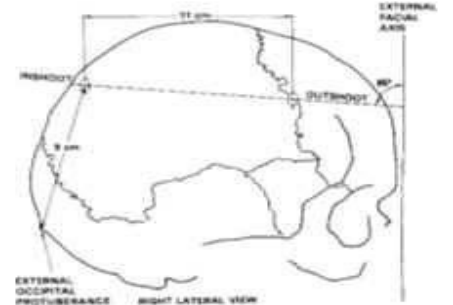


FIGURE II-8

At left and right: HSCA Figures II-7 and II-6, from the HSCA trajectory analysis, March, 1979

Canning has shrunk Kennedy's skull by almost 7 per cent!

Shrunk Head Analysis

When Thomas Canning testified before the HSCA on September 12, 1978, he presented them with HSCA Exhibit F-137, and told them "The diagram on the left is actually generated from a tracing of a pre-mortem x-ray that had been taken of the President's head, so that one is a true scale representation of the President's skull." Six months later, when he submitted his final report, he presented them with a nearly identical diagram. Either this second diagram is a complete sham or Canning lied in his testimony.

As already mentioned, in F-137, Canning depicted a flat trajectory through the skull. Since Dr. Michael Baden had presented F-58, with a slight trajectory through the skull, to the committee only days before, it is embarrassing but not suspicious that Canning might present his exhibits as planned, and then make a few changes in his final report. A footnote on page 35 of the HSCA trajectory analysis addresses this issue: "The interpretation of the head wounds used in defining trajectory reported in testimony on September 12, 1978 differs from this report because the final illustration from the Forensic Pathology Panel showed the exit wound to be 1 centimeter lower than the entrance, rather than level with it as had been concluded earlier. Thus, the resulting trajectory is somewhat steeper." Fair enough. The problem is with the other footnote on that page: "The above conclusions differ to some extent from the testimony given by Thomas N. Canning... In *each case*, the differences reflect new information or analysis resulting from work concluded subsequent to the presentation of preliminary findings at the hearing." Well, as Dr. Michael Baden submitted F-58, depicting a slight descent within Kennedy's skull, 5 days *before* Canning testified, this footnote would appear to be a lie.

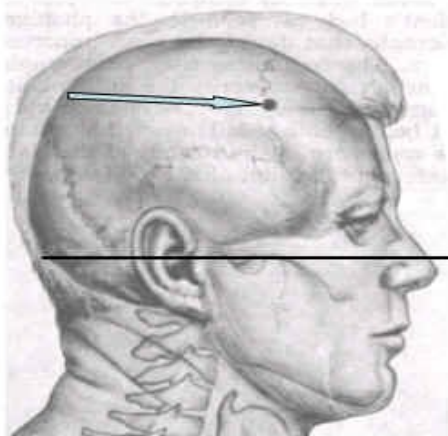
But it gets worse. Since the pathology panel determined that the bullet descended 1cm in Kennedy's skull, and since they decided it exited on the coronal suture connecting the frontal and parietal bones,

this meant the bullet would have to have been heading on a greater left to right trajectory through the skull. As the coronal suture, viewed from the front, runs at roughly a 55 degree angle in this stretch, an exit 1 cm lower and on the suture would also be an exit slightly more forward and approximately 8 mm further to the right on the skull. This meant that Canning would have to recalculate both his vertical and horizontal trajectories. The 5 degree greater decline in Kennedy should have made Canning lift his trajectory circle pointing back to the school book depository by 20 feet or more. He lifted it far less. It should also have led him to move the circle considerably to the east. If we take a 4 degree increase in left to right angle and project it backwards onto the face of the school book depository, which is at a 45 degree angle to the trajectory, we find the movement is magnified to 6 degrees, approximately 24 feet. The trajectory circle in F-137, however, would appear to be less than that distance from the east side of the school book depository. Therefore, this mere 1 cm movement of this exit wound should have forced Canning to move the center of his trajectory circle across the street to the top floor of the Dal-Tex Building, roughly three windows north of Elm and Houston. Instead, well, he found a way to keep the bullet on its former trajectory, but still have it exit further to the right on Kennedy's skull.

He shrank Kennedy's skull! On II-6 the length of the bullet's passage through the skull is identical to F-137, even though it exits further forward on the skull. A comparison of F-137 and II-6 in which the 11 cm passage through the skull is made to match demonstrates that the skull in II-6 is indeed 6.67% smaller. What's worse, since the distance from the EOP to the in-shoot supposedly remained 9 cm, this would indicate Kennedy's skull was not only shrunk, it was crushed, as the reduction in size occurred laterally.

But Figure II-7 wasn't any better. In order to maintain that the bullet traveled the same distance through a 6% smaller skull and still exited on the coronal suture, Canning moved the suture forward on the skull. So much for preserving the "true scale representation of the President's skull" ...

The Ten Degrees of Misinformation



HSCA Exhibit F-58 from the testimony of Dr. Michael Baden, representing the findings of the Forensic Pathology Panel

Drawing by Dr. Lawrence Angel,
Taken from Addendum E of the HSCA
Forensic Pathology Panel Report

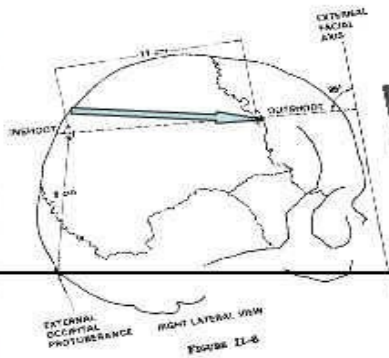
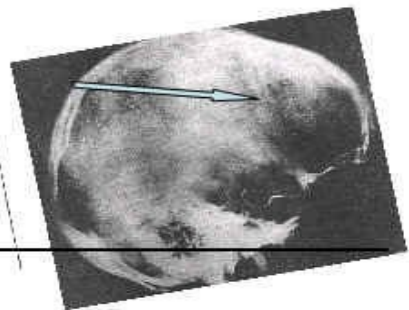
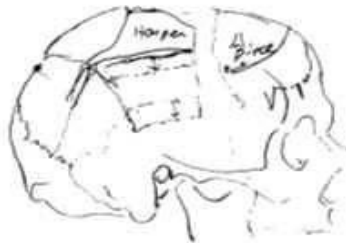


Figure II-6 from the final report of trajectory analyst Thomas Canning, rotated 10 degrees.



HSCA Exhibit F-297, Kennedy's pre-mortem x-ray, rotated 10 degrees.

Blue arrows represent the trajectory in F-58.

The Ten Degrees of Misinformation

After noting that both F-66, the Ida Dox Drawing depicting the bullet trajectory through the skull, and F-137, the trajectory analysis depiction of this same passage, were pitched forward 10 degrees when compared to the other exhibits, I was at a loss. After all, both the HSCA's exhibit F-58, and the drawing of Dr. Lawrence Angel, a renowned expert on the human skull, presented the skull in a basically upright manner, with the bump at the back of the head (the EOP) in line with the end of the nose. Both of these exhibits appeared anatomically correct, in line with other depictions of skulls online and in anatomy books. So why are exhibits F-66 and F-137 not in line with these drawings? While I was immediately suspicious, I was unable to determine how and why such a mistake could be made. After all, by depicting a 10 degree greater descent through Kennedy's skull it would force Canning to project Kennedy's wounds up onto the roof or above, a fate that was only avoided through Canning's bizarre interpretation of frame Z-312..

Upon re-reading the testimony of both Canning and Ms. Dox, however, I found an answer to the first part of my question—the how. It seems President Kennedy's lateral x-rays were used in the creation of both F-66 and F-137. Upon close inspection, furthermore, I discovered that the skull in these x-rays was already pitched forward ten degrees (or more). Larry Sturdivan, in an online review of the autopsy materials created after his 2004 trip to the archives, said that his measurements of the President's teeth in the un-cropped postmortem x-ray indicated that “the head is tilted forward about 5 degrees in the published lateral view.” So I'm not alone in my assertion that the lateral isn't upright.

Ironically, this led me to be more suspicious about the second part of the question—the why. When one looks at the pre-mortem x-ray, which was entered into evidence as Exhibit F-297, one can't help but notice the crop. For some reason, the face and jaw have been removed. This was supposedly done for the Kennedy family's privacy. Since Kennedy's face is viewable on the A-P x-rays, however, and

these were entered into evidence, this makes little sense. What's more, since the x-rays of Kennedy's jaw and teeth were used to confirm the authenticity of the x-rays, and were released as public exhibits during the testimony of Dr. Lowell Levine, the decision to crop the x-rays is indeed curious. Could the x-rays have been cropped in order to confuse those most likely to study them, the conspiracy "buffs" so despised by the "experts"?

Perhaps. As I said at the introduction to this review of the evidence, I discovered more mistakes related to incompetence than to anything sinister. It turns out that the proper positioning of a skull in a lateral x-ray has little correlation to the anatomically correct position used by illustrators in anatomy books. According to Medical Radiographic Technic, an x-ray machine guidebook put out by General Electric in 1943, the central ray of a lateral x-ray is centered on the mid-point between the frontal bone and occipital protuberance, and the interorbital line (an imaginary line connecting the eye sockets) is made vertical. In other words, the head is situated to get as pure a profile shot as possible. NOTHING is said about framing the x-ray so that the skull on the film appears in an anatomically upright position. It could very well be then that Canning and Dox assumed this was done and created their exhibits under an incorrect assumption. And we all know what happens when we assume things...

Calibration Photo/ Z-312 Comparison



FIGURE II-B.—Calibration photograph corresponding with Zapruder frame 312.



Calibration Photo/Z312 Comparison

When one looks at the calibration photo prepared for Thomas Canning to demonstrate the President's actual position at frame 312, one can sense how desperate Canning was to find a position for the President's skull where a trajectory would point back to the school book depository.

On the calibration photo, most noticeably, the President's right shoulder is lifted far off the back seat of

the limo, resulting in a turn of his whole body sharply to its left. That this 27 degree turn makes it possible for a bullet traveling 8 degrees right to left to enter near the mid-line of the President's skull and exit from the right side of his head at the location picked by the pathology panel would have to be taken as more than a coincidence. That this turn is greatly exaggerated can be demonstrated by simply projecting Mrs. Kennedy into the calibration photo. When one creates a comparison where the heads are the same size one can see that while the President in Z-312 is looking just to the right of the first lady, the President in the calibration photo is looking just to the left.

An interesting point about this photo. On one of the footnotes in his report, Canning defends the changes from his testimony by re-stating his probably false claim that the doctors moved the wounds on him after his testimony. He goes on to say "The remaining revisions resulted from the availability of a superior enhanced reproduction of Zapruder frame 312 for comparison with the calibration photographs." This undoubtedly indicates he changed his interpretation of the calibration photo between his testimony and his report. The numbers given in each instance, however, were exactly the same: In both cases, Canning asserted that Kennedy was turned 25 degrees from Zapruder, was tilted 11 degrees forward, and was leaning 15 degrees to his left. This footnote makes me wonder if someone has changed Canning's testimony. If Canning originally said the calibration photo demonstrated Kennedy to be leaning forward 15 degrees, for instance, this might explain both the strange footnote cited above and the failure of F-139 to match the 11 degree descent implied in Canning's testimony. In any event, Canning's interpretation of Zapruder frame 312 is clearly, and incredibly, wrong...

Dale Myers is another writer/researcher who rejects the accuracy of this calibration photo. While creating his computer simulation/cartoon he ignored Canning and developed his own interpretation of the President's position at Z-312. When he projected backwards from the HSCA outshoot back through the in-shoot in the cowlick, however, Myers found that the trajectory led back to someone hanging in space, well above the Dal-Tex Building. He determined from this that there was no clear outshoot and acknowledges on his website that his depiction of the head-shot is not based upon a precise alignment of the wounds. ABC, of course, failed to point this out in their Beyond Conspiracy special presenting Myers' work.

And, incredibly, they weren't the first to play this game with Myers' animation... In 1998, Gus Russo, author of *Live By the Sword*, made similar use of Myers' animation, and, was even less honest re Myers' conclusions about the head wound trajectory. Despite the fact that Myers claimed the head wound trajectory could not be accurately identified, and pointed high up in the air, Russo not only cited the HSCA study--which Myers acknowledges is bogus--as evidence the head shot was fired from the sniper's nest, he told his readers that "Myers' work is conclusive that the wounds track back to the sixth floor window..."

What a load of crap!

But I digress.

A Nose is a Nose Analysis



Z-268: Kennedy's nose is easily discernible.



Z-284: less than one second after 268.
Kennedy's nose is still there.



Z-304: barely one second after 284.
Kennedy's nose is still there.



Z-312: less than a half second after 304.
Is that still his nose or what?

A Nose is a Nose Analysis

When Congressman Christopher Dodd pointed out to Canning during his testimony that the calibration photo depicted Kennedy turned far more sharply to his left than in Z-312, Canning delivered a surprising response: "I can assure you the images play games with you...For instance, the dark lapel of Mrs. Kennedy's blue blouse has a notch which is in close juxtaposition with the President's nose. The notch makes it look as if the President's nose extends much further than it really does...On the other hand, when we account for where other pink and blue elements are and behind the President's face we conclude that his facial profile is well to the left of its apparent position when only a cursory examination is the basis."

According to the book *Mortal Error*, Canning said much the same thing to ballistics expert Howard Donahue when he contacted Canning and questioned his analysis.

When one looks at the whole Zapruder film, however, and keeps their eye on Kennedy's nose, one can see that Kennedy's nose is exactly where it is in Z-312 for many frames beforehand, and that it would be very hard to confuse his nose for Jackie's ever-moving clothing. From this it would seem obvious that Canning spent too much time staring at Z-312 and talked himself into believing he was looking at Jackie's clothing. Perhaps he realized that if it was Kennedy's nose he was looking at, then Kennedy wasn't turned far enough to his left to allow a bullet to enter his cowlick and exit his right forehead on a straight trajectory from the sniper's nest. Indeed, it seems Canning himself knew his interpretation of Z-312 would be controversial, for the last section of his report reads like a pre-planned alibi: "Serious impediments to accurate interpretation of the photograph (Z-312) were occasioned by the extremely complicated background to the President's face resulting from Mrs. Kennedy's pink suit and dark blue blouse and by the interior surface of the left side of the limousine. These problems were overcome in part by a computer-enhanced version of Zapruder frame 312."

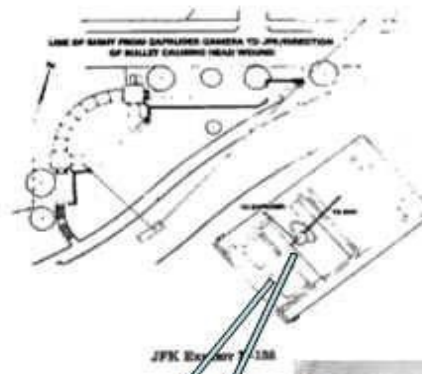
While it's tempting to say that if Canning really believed the nose in Z-312 was Jackie's blouse, then he must have swallowed the Kool-Aid, I will refrain from such a cheap shot. Due to his NASA background, one might logically assume that instead Canning swallowed some TANG.

Mary Moorman Photograph Analysis



Above: Zapruder frame 315 showing Mary Moorman at far left of frame, taking her photograph.

If Kennedy's head was turned 26.6 degrees to his left at 313, how come Moorman couldn't see his face?



At left: HSCA Exhibit F-138, the trajectory analysis of the shot at 313 (arrows added)



X marks the estimated position of Moorman relative to the limo at 315.

Direction of Kennedy's gaze as per HSCA trajectory analysis.

Proposed actual angle



At right: Mary Moorman photograph taken between Z-315 and Z-316

Mary Moorman Photograph Analysis

When one looks at the Polaroid photograph taken by eyewitness Mary Moorman just after the headshot one finds further reason to disbelieve the HSCA's trajectory analysis. While Moorman's photo clearly reveals the *back* of Kennedy's head, the HSCA's analysis is clear that her photo should have shown the *side* of Kennedy's head.

The HSCA exhibits show that they concluded the limousine was turned 8 degrees to the right of a straight line coming from the sniper's nest at the time of the fatal headshot. The calibration photo reflects that Kennedy was turned roughly 27 degrees to his left. From this the HSCA could conclude that a bullet fired from the sniper's nest and entering near the middle of the back of Kennedy's head and exiting near his temple would be traveling roughly 19 degrees to his right. Canning's trajectory analysis backed this up, stating that the left to right angle across Kennedy's skull connecting his wounds was 18.6 degrees. All the ducks seemed to be in a row. But what if the bullet didn't travel in a straight line? Since accepting this possibility would leave the door open for conjecture that the fatal head shot came from somewhere other than the TSBD, that would have been troublesome for the HSCA.

And what if it can be demonstrated that Kennedy was not turned 26.6 degrees to his left?

Since Mary Moorman's photograph shows Kennedy in line with the back tire of the limo and the stairs on the grassy knoll, one can fairly accurately place both her position on the grass and the timing of her photograph. Consequently, most have her taking her photograph between Z-315 and Z-316. Ironically, she can be seen in the Zapruder film snapping her photograph in the far left area of the sprocket holes in frame Z-315. The limousine has scarcely passed her. Since the limousine was heading away from Moorman at 40 degrees left of her view, and since Kennedy was supposedly turned 27 degrees from the direction of the limousine, this means that in Canning's analysis, Kennedy should have been only 23 degrees removed from profile to Moorman. As you can't even see his face in the photograph, it would appear he wasn't really turned that far.

But what if he'd changed his head position between 312 and 315?

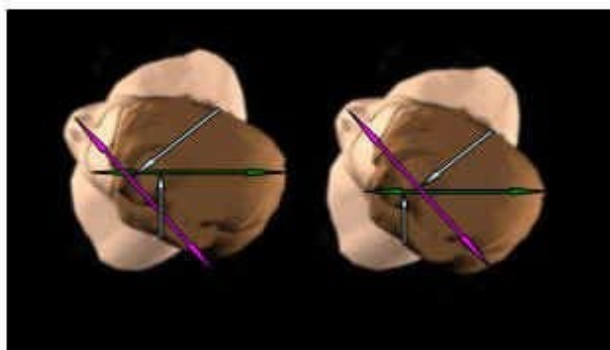
More Moorman Photo Analysis



Mary Moorman photograph taken between Z-315 and Z-316. Is Kennedy turned further away from Moorman in this photo or from Zapruder in the frames at right?



Zapruder Frame 312



Perspectives of Moorman (green arrows) and Zapruder (pink arrows) as per the HSCA trajectory analysis, on left, and our new perspective, on right. Blue arrows mark the relative positions of the ear.



Zapruder Frame 315: relative position of ear (just behind the splayed open part of the skull) to the back of the head appears to be the same as at Z-312. Thus there was no rapid turn to the left as purported by the "jet effect" theory.

More Moorman Photo Analysis

To be sure the angle of Kennedy's head hadn't changed between Z-312 and Z-315, one need only to look at the photos side by side and note the position of his ear. A turn to the left or the right would change the position of his ear relative to the rest of his head. As there appears to be little change, one can assume his head did not turn upon immediate impact of the bullet.

This pretty much demolishes the so-called "jet effect" theory, as proposed by Nobel prize-winning physicist Luis Alvarez. The "jet effect" holds that the force of brain matter exploding from Kennedy's pressurized skull was significant enough to fling his whole body backwards, as seen in the frames

following Z-313. Well, if the “jet effect” from matter exploding from the right temple of Kennedy’s head was strong enough to push his body it should also have been strong enough to turn his head. If you turn your head slightly to your left and apply the slightest pressure to your right temple area it will turn your head further to the left. And yet there is little change in Kennedy’s position between Z-312 and Z-315. Even worse, for Alvarez’ theory, the Moorman photos show Kennedy’s head is turned too far to its *right*, when compared to the HSCA’s trajectories. If there really was a “jet effect” it would mean then that Kennedy had started out looking nearly straight ahead, but if he’d been looking straight ahead, a bullet entering near the midline of his skull on an 8 degree right to left trajectory would have exited out near his *left eye*, and not his right temple. If anyone knows of any reason why the “jet effect” would fail to move the skull until after all the ejected brain matter was long gone, I’d appreciate the explanation.

When one turns a skull 23 degrees from profile, the perspective of Moorman on Kennedy should he really have had his head turned 27 degrees to the left within the limousine at Z-312, one can see that the skull is not far from profile, with the ear almost in the middle and the left side of the face visible. When one turns the skull the degree I theorize Kennedy was actually turned, 36 degrees, the ear moves closer to the face and more of the right side of the head becomes visible. When one realizes none of Kennedy’s face is visible in the Moorman photo, due at least in part to Kennedy’s hair being draped to his left, it becomes clear that this new perspective makes a lot more visual sense than Canning’s trajectory analysis. A quick measurement of the relative positions of the ear within the two theories is convincing, assuming the anatomic models used are similar to Kennedy. While Zapruder frame 312, after the frame is rotated 30 degrees so that his skull is made upright, depicts the back of Kennedy’s ear at roughly 50% the horizontal distance between the tip of his nose and the far back of his head, and our new perspective is in close agreement, the Canning perspective depicts the ear at only 39% of the distance. The head is turned too far to the left.

If one should continue to doubt that a NASA scientist could screw up to such a degree, one should sit back and consider that by deciding Kennedy’s head was turned 27 degrees to his left, Canning also decided that Kennedy was more in profile to Moorman, to the extent that Kennedy was turned only 23 degrees from her at the time of her photograph. Since, as part of this same analysis the HSCA determined Kennedy was turned from Abraham Zapruder by approximately 25 degrees at frame 312, this means the HSCA determined that Kennedy was turned further away from Zapruder at frame 312, where he’s almost in profile, than he was from Moorman at the time of her photograph, which doesn’t even show his face! When one considers that the limousine was still heading towards Zapruder at 312, and reached exact profile around 315, this means that Kennedy was turned an additional two degrees away from Zapruder at 315, or 27 degrees. And yet Kennedy’s horribly-damaged head in the Zapruder film at 315 is still obviously more in profile than in the Moorman photo, even though it should be turned 4 degrees further away!

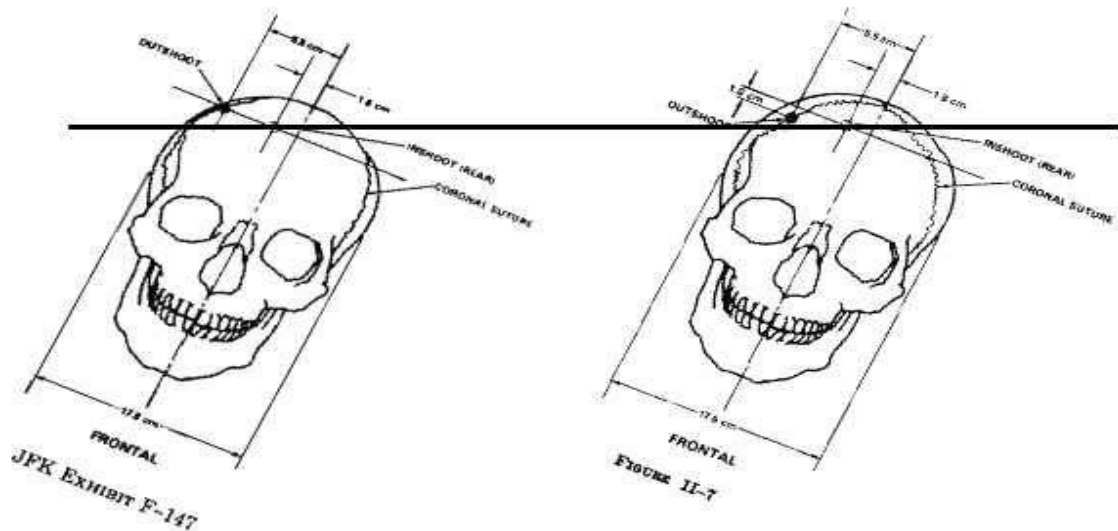
By now, it should be clear that virtually every exhibit created for the trajectory analysis was misleading, and most all the conclusions in Thomas Canning’s report false. This leads one to ask “But how could this have happened? If the HSCA had hired Canning in order to move things around and make a case for Oswald as a lone assassin, why did the Committee turn around and find a conspiracy was likely? The answer is I’m not sure. Researcher Jim Di Eugenio reveals in his article *The Sins of Robert Blakey* that somewhere in his investigation Canning stopped listening to Dr. Baden, the head of the forensic pathology panel, and started a back-door channel to two of its more conservative panelists, Dr. Loquvam, who was quite demonstrative in his urging that all disputes between panelists be kept off the record, and Dr. Weston, who’d already confirmed Oswald’s sole guilt on a 1975 CBS special. Canning’s frustration with Baden and in general is confirmed by his January 1979 letter to chief counsel Robert Blakey. In this letter, Canning complained of the adversarial staff lawyers and the

difficulty of getting “quantitative data—and even consistent descriptions—from the forensic pathologists.” That Canning was not diabolical, but simply sloppy, seems to be confirmed by this letter, as Canning recorded the date as 1978 when it was in fact 1979.

Further understanding of Canning’s errors comes from studying his testimony. First of all, Blakey introduced Canning by telling the audience that “the trajectory analysis itself was a joint effort between the committee and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. An engineer with NASA Space Project Division, Tom Canning, constructed the final product from information provided by the committee from its various panels.” Hmm, so the man has no experience with wound ballistics but has nevertheless been tasked by a government agency dependent on congress for survival with creating “product,” based on information given to him by the committee. Doesn’t exactly sound like an independent search for truth, now does it? Canning’s own words tell the rest of the story: When asked by Congressman (now Senator) Dodd, about the small size of his trajectory circles (the area from which a shot was most likely fired--derived through rear-projection of a path between two known wound locations), Canning admitted his circles were much smaller than would normally be created by a forensic pathologist, whom he described as overly “conservative.” This indicates that Canning felt he had a new bold approach whereby he could accurately pinpoint the location of a shooter to a far greater degree than any of his more-experienced colleagues. One wonders then if this “boldness” was a factor in Canning’s employment, if not a prerequisite, since it clearly was not his experience. Just as troubling as Canning’s over-playing his hand is that Dodd’s request for more “conservative” exhibits, which included the areas of the Dal-Tex Building which fell within the trajectory circles, went unheeded. The final report was printed and distributed using Canning’s admittedly bold exhibits, without any conservative or thorough exhibits for balance.

An overall view of the HSCA may also be enlightening. While the HSCA eventually found for a conspiracy, this was based on last-minute testimony that a recording of the assassination revealed more shots than Oswald could have fired alone, and a subsequent confirmation of this testimony from a separate group of experts. This means that until the last minute, as late as December, 1978, three months after the public hearings, the HSCA was heading towards the conclusion that Oswald acted alone. Is it any wonder then that the medical exhibits and trajectory exhibits, most prepared for testimony many months before the final report, were so bold in their attempts to show there was only one shooter? The men who prepared these exhibits had reason to believe that this was what the HSCA was looking for: convincing proof that Oswald acted alone. No one wanted another investigation.

The Forgotten Angle



Above: HSCA Exhibits F-147 and Figure II-7, rotated 25 degrees to recreate Kennedy's leftward lean in Z-312. At right: a crop from the Moorman photo demonstrating the severity of the lean.



The Forgotten Angle

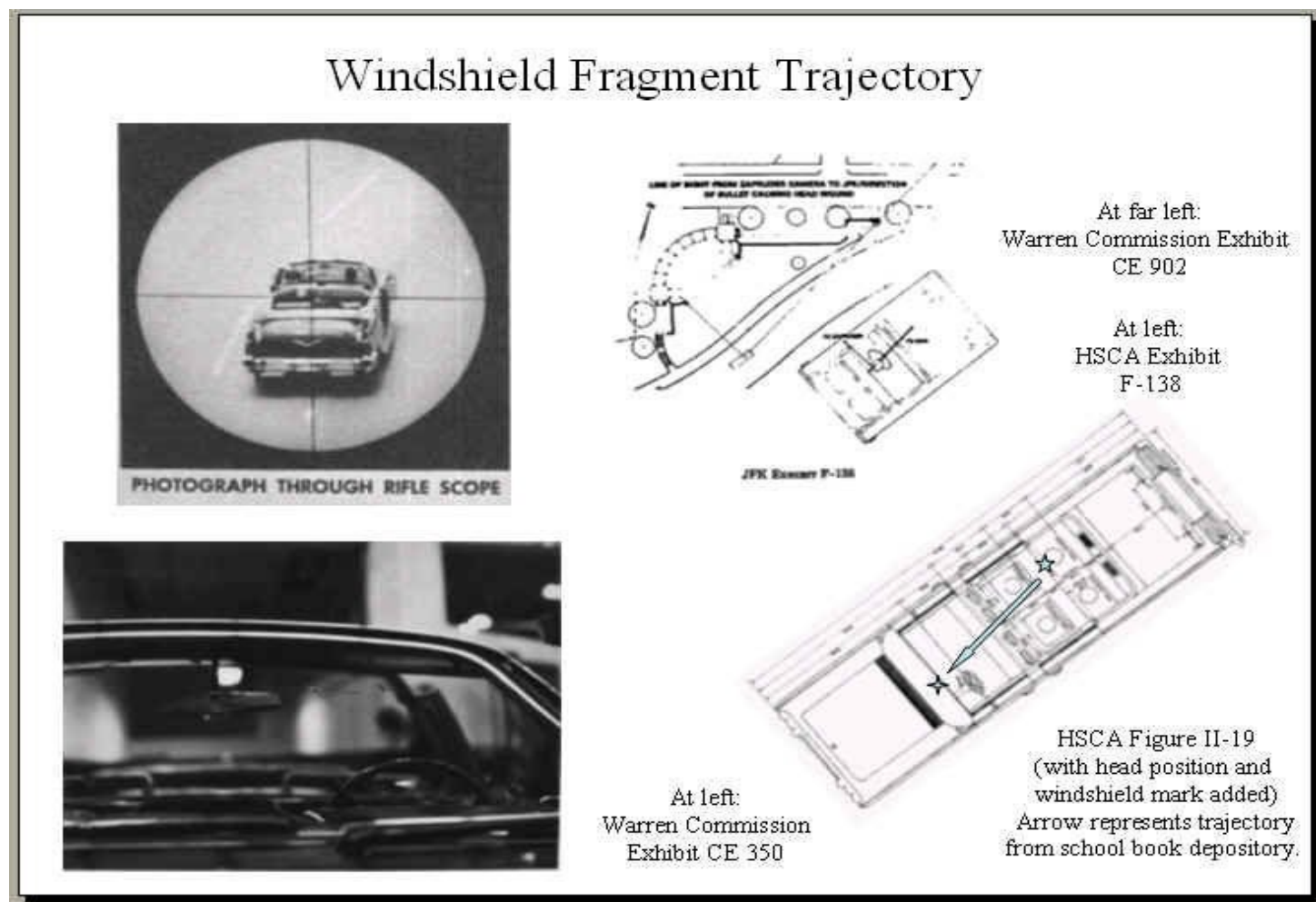
Should one still have trouble believing that the HSCA trajectory analysis, performed jointly with NASA, was a complete sham, one need only look at the Moorman photo and reflect on Kennedy's severe pitch to his left. While Canning's interpretation of the calibration photo acknowledged Kennedy was leaning 15 degrees to his left, a careful reading of Canning's report reveals that this 15 degrees was 15 degrees from Zapruder, and that Zapruder was elevated 10 degrees from Kennedy, standing on a flat pedestal. This indicates that Kennedy was actually leaning 25 degrees to his left when compared to true vertical. A few degrees of this might have been caused by the road surface, which appears to be slanted ever so slightly towards the middle of the plaza. (If someone has measured this, please let me know.) In any case, this 25 degree lean is supported by Kennedy's appearance in the Moorman photo. Ironically, it would appear to be one of the few correct measurements made by Canning. So why didn't he use it?

His avoidance of the ramifications of this measurement becomes clear when one looks back at the frontal views of the head wounds. Since Canning initially testified that the bullet headed left to right and that the entrance and exit of the bullet were on the same level, a 25 degree rotation to the left will lift the exit to a point above the entrance. Considerably above the entrance. A quick measurement using Canning's own diagram tells us that the exit in F-147, once adjusted for the leftward lean, was in fact 1.6 cm above the entrance. Based upon Canning's own calculations that a 1 cm drop within the skull represented a descent of 5 degrees, this meant that the bullet causing the wounds in F-147 in fact *ascended* 8 degrees within the skull. Since Canning's interpretation of the calibration photo held that Kennedy was only leaning forward 11 degrees, this meant that Canning, when taking into account the leftward lean, should have determined that Kennedy was killed by someone on the ground, somewhere behind him on Elm Street, as Elm Street descends 3 degrees throughout the Plaza.

Adding to the confusion is that this lean to the left decreases the left to right angle through Kennedy's head by a degree. If one were to trust Canning's calibration photo completely, this would indicate that someone on the north side of Elm Street back towards the school book depository fired the fatal shot.

When one looks at exhibit II-6 from Canning's final report, of course, things are slightly better. But only slightly. Here, the ascent in Kennedy's skull is only 3 degrees. Since Canning stuck by his determination that Kennedy was leaning forward but 11 degrees at Z-312, he should, if he would have bothered to take into account Kennedy's severe leftward lean, have also determined that the bullet killing Kennedy was descending 8 degrees, from the second or third floor of the school book depository. Since Oswald was seen on the second floor shortly after the shooting, Canning may have been able to make this one fly. He would have had a problem explaining how or why Oswald ran up to the sixth floor, hid his gun, and then raced back down to the floor of the shooting, however.

I'm being facetious, of course, but the HSCA trajectory analysis is so flawed it's simply ridiculous. Why anyone still defends it or claims it as support of their theories is beyond me.



Windshield Fragment Trajectory

One final reason to doubt the HSCA trajectories comes from a close inspection of the Warren Commission and HSCA exhibits depicting the fatal head shot. Significantly, they all place Kennedy near the middle of the limousine, directly contradicting the Zapruder film, which shows Kennedy,

sitting on the far right side of the limousine, slumped slightly to his left. It is Mrs. Kennedy that moves towards the President, and not the President who moves closer to Mrs. Kennedy.

This confused me until I began to wonder if this movement placed the exit wound more in line with the crack found on the windshield. Since the bullet fragment found in the seat directly below the crack was the nose of the bullet believed to have hit Kennedy in the skull, this only made sense.

This led me to wonder what would happen if one projected back from the windshield fragment itself, at the 8 degrees which would presumably lead back to the school book depository. This trajectory led back to the President's position several inches closer to the door than depicted by the HSCA, or as re-enacted by the FBI for the Warren Commission. So why had they moved him further to his left than necessary?

I then realized that this movement of Kennedy's body to its left by a foot or so along with Canning's excessive turn of Kennedy's head to its left allowed for the nose of the bullet to traverse the *right side* of the President's skull and continue on to hit the windshield, in a straight line. A proper placement of Kennedy in his seat, taking into account a slight slump to his left, however, reveals that the trajectory from the position of Kennedy's wound to the crack on the windshield was *greater than the 8 degrees of the bullet coming from the TSBD*. This means the bullet, if it had come from the TSBD, was slightly deflected to its *left* upon exit, which makes little sense if it had indeed traveled through the President's skull in a straight line, as Canning maintained.

Even worse, the bullet as tracked by Canning would leave Kennedy's skull still heading 16 degrees downwards, which makes no sense considering that the nose of the bullet ended up hitting the windshield at the same level or slightly higher than its supposed exit from Kennedy's skull. Not that this bothered Canning all that much. He told the HSCA: "I noted qualitatively that damage to the windshield of the car appeared to be in reasonable directional alignment but did not appear to be particularly in good slope alignment. But I did no quantitative work in that line."

Adding to the significance of this fragment's hitting the windshield is that there was a second bullet fragment, a portion of the copper jacket including the copper base, which landed in the front seat after striking a metal strip above the windshield. The discovery of this fragment is a problem for the official story for several reasons. The book *Medicolegal Investigation of Death*, by the Clark Panel's Dr. Russell Fisher and the HSCA's Dr. Werner Spitz, discussed the separation of a copper jacket from its lead core as follows: "Sometimes the jacket of a bullet separates from the core upon impact...In such cases the jacket and the core each assume separate paths. Whereas the core may leave the body, the jacket very seldom does." So, if a copper fragment "very seldom:" traverses a body, why should we conclude one traversed a skull heading downwards and then changed directions upon exit?

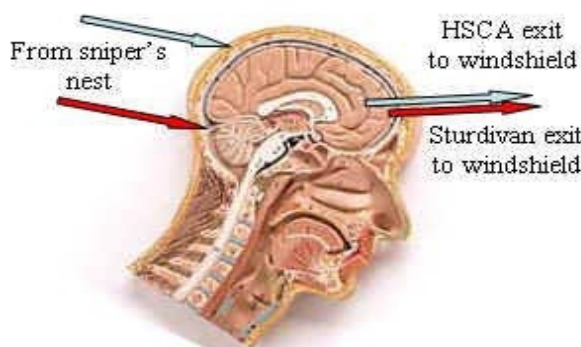
We shouldn't. Certainly there's a reasonable explanation out there for why the two largest bullet fragments ended up on the front seat of the limo...we just have to find it...

Brain Trajectory Analysis

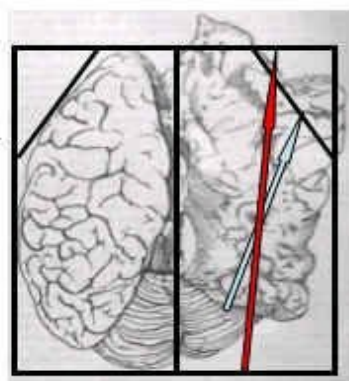


Zapruder frame 312, depicting a 27 degree forward lean

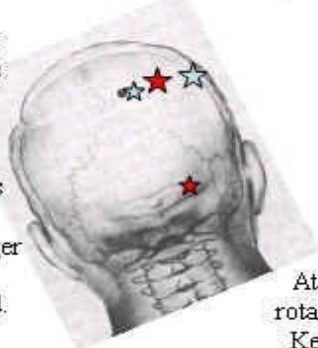
Red stars and arrows represent the EOP entrance, exit, and trajectories (with the exit determined by the location of the beveled bone in Larry Sturdivan's interpretation of the 'mystery photo'). Blue stars and arrows represent the HSCA entrance, exit, and trajectories. Larger stars represent the locations of the exits on the far side of the head.



Cross-section of skull revealing brain in situ, rotated 27 degrees to match Z-312



Above: HSCA Figure 32: a drawing of a photograph of the President's brain viewed from above. Black lines added for purposes of comparison



At left: HSCA Figure 24, rotated 25 degrees to reflect Kennedy's lean at Z-312.



At right: posterior view of a brain, rotated 25 degrees to reflect Kennedy's lean to the left at Z-312.

Brain Trajectory Analysis

When one compares the Warren Commission trajectory, the HSCA trajectory, and the damage to Kennedy's brain one finds another mystery to ponder. Neither trajectory makes much sense. While one of the reasons given by the HSCA pathology panel for accepting the Clark Panel's location for the entrance wound was that they determined by looking at the autopsy photos that "the posterior-inferior portion of the cerebellum" was "virtually intact...It certainly does not demonstrate the degree of laceration, fragmentation, or contusion (as appears subsequently on the superior aspect of the brain) that would be expected in this location if the bullet wound of entrance were as described in the autopsy report," the entrance in the cowlick makes even less sense. For one, a bullet entering the cowlick with the skull leaned as far forward as at Z-312 would have to traverse the brain just beneath the skull for a distance before exploding upwards; this seems unlikely, as the strong impact of a fragmenting bullet with the skull almost on edge would almost certainly guarantee a large "gutter" wound of both entrance and exit and rule out the small oval entrance identified in the autopsy photos. For two, a bullet entering the HSCA's entrance would enter the skull at a point further forward than 20% of the brain, and yet still somehow create a channel running just right of the mid-line of the brain for the length of the brain. For three strikes and out, even though a fragmenting bullet is reputed to leave a trail the shape of an ever-widening cone, the greatest damage apparent in the only released drawing of the brain appears to the left of the HSCA trajectory, with the largest section of intact brain directly in its path.

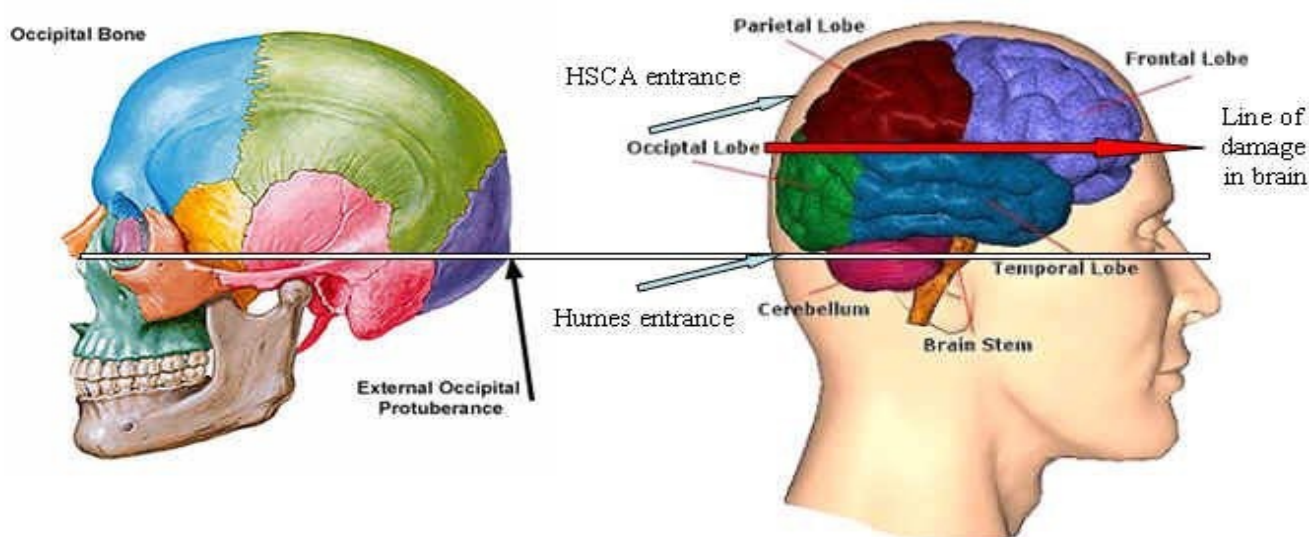
The Warren Commission trajectory is nearly as unworkable. A bullet entering just right of the EOP at frame 313 would almost certainly strike cerebellum, which was reportedly undamaged. While there were extensive lacerations of the brain, they were not reflective of the passage of a fragmenting bullet

from low on the occipital lobe to high on the frontal lobe. Outside of the three autopsy doctors, I'm unaware of any medical doctor looking at the photos of the brain and coming away from the archives convinced a bullet could have entered low and exited high.

The only WC or HSCA expert currently defending the low entrance is, ironically, the HSCA's Larry Sturdivan, who originally testified in support of the high entrance. In his book, *The JFK Myths*, he explains that fragmenting bullets will sail upwards and leave a curved trajectory. While this could very well be, he offers little in the way of explanation as to why the cerebellum remained intact. Even if one concedes the entrance could have been higher than the cerebellum, it still wouldn't explain why the area of the cerebellum closest to the entrance wasn't damaged, as there were areas significantly above the entrance that were destroyed. Sturdivan also acknowledges that a "Gutter wound extends from tip of occipital lobe to tip of frontal lobe," but fails to note that by his own study much of this bullet exited mid-trajectory. Similarly, Sturdivan's trajectory is tainted by his interpretation of the "mystery" photo, which suggests that a fragment exited Kennedy's forehead, where not one of the dozens who saw Kennedy's wounds reported an exit. If Sturdivan were to hold, as the HSCA, that this presumed exit was that of the nose of the bullet, moreover, he would have a difficult time explaining why this bullet, having entered near the EOP, traveled 5 degrees right to left (based on a 17 cm length for Kennedy's skull). This 5 degree right to left angle through the skull, when taken in conjunction with the fact Kennedy's skull was turned at least 14 degrees to his left at Z-312, along with the bullet's 3 degree or more ascent within the skull, would project back to a shooter lying on the ground 10-20 yards behind the President's right shoulder. Perhaps this is why Sturdivan refuses to identify the beveled bone as an exit. Instead, he leaves its identity a mystery and asserts that the nose of the bullet curved significantly upwards within the skull while traveling at better than 1,000 feet per second.

Surprisingly, there is some support for Sturdivan's current belief that the beveled piece of bone in the foreground of the mystery photo, while appearing to reflect the passage of a bullet, does no such thing. During the 1992 ABA mock trial of Oswald, Dr. Roger McCarthy, who'd been conducting test firings on human skulls in anticipation of his appearance, testified: "Skulls are very inhomogeneous--by that I mean they've got different layers and they've got different form and they are not a homogeneous material that is all the same, that always responds to the same impact. In fact, some of the skulls we shot--and this is another one that I shot--actually developed a beveled wound, with a knockout, and it wasn't anywhere near the bullet."

The Canal Canal



Above: this comparison of medical illustrations demonstrates that the large brain laceration described at the autopsy begins much too high to have begun at the EOP or Humes entrance. While the red line above, representing the line of damage through the brain is approximately 6.5 cm below the vertex of the skull and more than 4.5 cm below the vertex of the brain, it is still inches above the EOP entrance.

The Canal Canal

In August 2006, while browsing the many online forums relating to the assassination, I was surprised to find that John Canal, an ardent proponent of the low skull entrance measured at the autopsy, was citing the damage to Kennedy's brain as evidence for this low entrance. This was surprising because the HSCA medical panel listed the lack of damage to Kennedy's brain nearest this entrance as a reason to believe the actual entrance was four inches higher. I re-read the autopsy report to see if Canal had any basis for his statements.

The supplementary autopsy report signed by Dr. Humes on December 6, 1963 reports the damage to Kennedy's brain as follows: "Following formalin fixation the brain weighs 1500 gms. The right cerebral hemisphere is found to be markedly disrupted. There is a longitudinal laceration of the right hemisphere which is para-sagittal in position *approximately 2.5 cm. to the right of the midline* which extends from the tip of the occipital lobe posteriorly to the tip of the frontal lobe anteriorly. The base of the laceration is situated approximately 4.5 cm. below the vertex in the white matter. There is considerable loss of cortical substance above the base of the laceration, particularly in the parietal lobe. The margins of this laceration are at all points jagged and irregular, with additional lacerations extending in varying directions and for varying distances from the main laceration."

Sure enough, by claiming that the laceration began 2.5 cm to the right of the mid-line, the same distance as the bullet entrance on the skull, the supplementary report supported that the brain damage came from the bullet creating this low entrance.

I was still not convinced this laceration lined up with the skull entrance, however. I looked up the word

“longitudinal.” “Longitudinal: The word comes from the Latin *longitudo* meaning length. Hence, longitudinal means along the length, running lengthwise.” Since the brain is longer from back to front than it is tall, the back to front direction is “longitudinal.” This interpretation is confirmed by the doctors' use of the word “para-sagittal,” which means running parallel to the sagittal suture, the suture running from back to front along the middle of the top of the skull. The doctors' use of these terms implies that the bullet track ran straight across the brain. This is made even clearer when one realizes Humes only gave one measurement for the distance of the laceration below the vertex, the top of the brain within the skull. This 4.5 cm measurement is, of course, far too small to suggest that a bullet entered near the hairline and traveled upwards within the brain. Consequently, the only possible explanation I could come up with that would make the brain damage described by Humes compatible with the low bullet entrance is that Humes and Boswell, career pathologists, became confused as to the location of the vertex, and incorrectly assumed the far back part of the parietal lobe was the vertex. But this is not supported by the subsequent statements of the Clark and HSCA Forensic Pathology panels...

Here is what they had to say... The Clark Panel: “The right cerebral hemisphere is extensively lacerated. It is transected by a broad *canal* running generally in a posterior-anterior direction and to the right of the midline. Much of the roof of this canal is missing as are most of the overlying frontal and parietal gyri. In the central portion of its base can be seen a gray brown rectangular structure measuring approximately 13 x 20 mm. Its identity can not be established by the Panel”. The HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel: “On the right cerebral hemisphere is an anterior posterior cylindrical groove in which the brain substance is fragmented or absent. This groove extends from the back of the brain to the right frontal area of the brain and contains within the depths of its central portion a grey brown rectangular area. The majority of the panel considers this to be a blood vessel in the Sylvian fissure.”

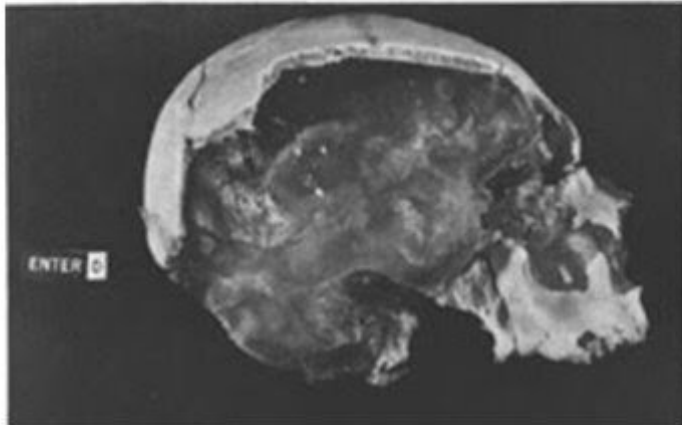
As neither panel noted a laceration rising from low on the occipital lobe to the middle of the frontal lobe, the Warren Commission's trajectory must be rejected. Unless one is to believe, as Canal, that the subsequent panels lied to conceal damage to the brain supporting that Oswald acted alone, one should conclude that Dr. Humes' 2.5 cm from the mid-line measurement of the brain laceration (what I stupidly refer to as the Canal Canal) was just a coincidence, or more probably, the result of his stretching things a little to try and make the evidence add up.

In the following chapters, I will follow his lead and try to make the evidence add up. Hopefully, it won't be too much of a stretch.

Chapter 16: New Views on the Same Scene

A look at the various efforts to simulate and explain the President's head wounds, and a discussion of why they fall short

Reading the Test Skulls



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit 861, one of the ten test skulls fired on for the Warren Commission.

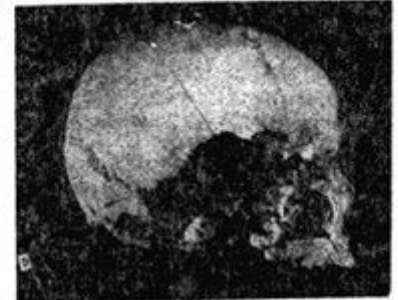
At right: a test skull fired on by Dr. John Lattimer, from his 1980 book Kennedy and Lincoln.



At right: three more of the test skulls fired on for the Warren Commission, from the March, 1965 report of Dr. Alfred Olivier.



4-49478



4-49513



4-49562

Note that Lattimer's test skull, with a cowlick entrance, blew out on the left side, while the Warren Commission's test skulls, with a lower entrance, did not.

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Reading the Test Skulls

In order to determine if the rifle found in the school book depository was capable of creating President Kennedy's wounds, Dr. Alfred Olivier of Edgewood Arsenal was hired by the Warren Commission to perform a series of tests. He testified before the Commission on May 6, 1964. In his testimony, Olivier admitted he was surprised by the damage created by the 6.5 mm ammunition, and introduced a photograph of a skull as Exhibit 861. This was what was left of a gelatin-filled skull after it had been fired upon by a rifle like the one purportedly belonging to Oswald. Olivier noted that the bullet hitting this skull broke into pieces and that these pieces resembled the bullet fragments recovered from Kennedy's limousine. He also acknowledged that the bullet striking this skull missed its mark and hit the back of the skull slightly closer to its side than the reported entrance on Kennedy.

There are reasons to doubt Kennedy's wounds were accurately replicated, however. Since, as subsequently acknowledged by Larry Sturdivan, who worked with Olivier, the shooters were trying to make the bullet follow the Warren Commission's proposed path, entering low in the occipital bone and exiting above the temple, we can only assume the skulls were turned slightly to the left of these

shooters. This, in turn, makes it reasonable to assume that the damage to the bullet and skull cited by Olivier came as a result of the bullet's striking the thick occipital bone almost on edge along the curvature behind the ear. (A bullet striking skull bone on edge meets more resistance and is more likely to explode). Even if the bullet's striking the skull 4 mm to the right of the supposed entrance and at a greater angle than if the bullet were coming from the sniper's nest was irrelevant, however, Sturdivan's admission that they were trying to re-create the wounds, as opposed to analyzing the position of Kennedy's skull in relation to the sniper's nest and shooting at the supposed entrance to see what happened, is telling. It indicates, as with so many of the other tests performed for the Warren Commission, that they were not testing to see if a shot from the sniper's nest would be likely to create the wounds described by the doctors, but were instead trying to create evidence demonstrating that it did. This was to no avail. In opposition to both the Warren Commission's determination that a bullet entering low on the back of the President's skull left a small round hole on the bone (when viewed from the inside), and the HSCA's determination that the bullet entering near the cowlick left a similarly small round hole on the bone, the bullet in Olivier's test shattered the entire right side of the skull, from entrance to exit.

When one studies Wound Ballistics of 6.5 mm Mannlicher-Carcano Ammunition, Olivier's report on his tests, issued in March 1965, one finds more reason to doubt that the tests proved what they were designed to prove. In figure A12 of the report the profiles of three additional skulls are revealed. While the damage is extensive in each one, there is no evidence that a bullet sailed upwards and blew out the top of a skull, the purported course of the bullet striking Kennedy. In fact, even though the skulls were aligned to make the bullet exit the top of the skull (as admitted by Sturdivan) all the shots blew out near the right eye socket. It is also intriguing that there is only one picture portraying the bullet's entrance on the bone in Olivier's report, and that this small entrance was directly in the middle of the occipital bone. Perhaps this is an indication that NOT ONE of the bullets striking an inch to the right of the EOP left anything similar to the small round entrance on the bone observed by the doctors at the autopsy. This might make one wonder if this entrance was even created by a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. When one realizes that the 56 page report, which has 4 pages of cover sheets, 2 pages of temperature readings, and a 7 page distribution list, fails to list the ten test skulls with a break down by entrance location, entrance size, exit location, exit size, and whether or not the bullet broke-up--which was only the most important data obtained by Olivier's tests--one's suspicions should only grow. It should be noted here that when Dr. Olivier testified before the Warren Commission, he was asked by Arlen Specter the exact entrance location on the skull displayed in Exhibit 861, and that he'd consulted a notebook he'd brought along, which had been locked up in a safe. Why this data failed to make the report, which was classified Confidential and not released to the public until 1973, is a matter of conjecture. When one looks back on Olivier's testimony of May 6, 1964, and realizes that he testified accurately at that early date on the three tests described in the March 1965 report, and that no further tests were conducted, however, one should rightly suspect that his report was deliberately delayed and not given to the Warren Commission or released among its papers.

It seems likely from this that someone in the know knew Olivier's tests failed to support the shooting scenario pushed by the Warren Commission.

Howard Donahue, a ballistics expert, also had his doubts that Olivier's tests accurately replicated Kennedy's wounds. In August 1977, Donahue was interviewed on radio station WBAL. He told his interviewer that in the late sixties *"I went and visited the laboratories at Edgewood Arsenal and talked to Dr. Olivier himself. Now he had fired ten shots into ten inert skulls from Oswald's rifle. Now, an inert skull is a human skull which has been filled with gelatin. None of these skulls showed the giant, enormous, macerating effect that Kennedy's head showed. And then I began to look at the two holes in his head. And I realized it couldn't have come from Oswald's rifle. And then a strange pattern of events*

started to occur that everything that supported the Warren Commission was easily obtainable for evidence and that which contradicted it was not available.”

While the skull presented by Olivier in his Warren Commission testimony had had its right side blown off, Donahue concluded it was not as "macerated" as Kennedy's skull. This suggests that the skull fragments blasted from Olivier's test skulls were larger and more contiguous than the fragments blasted from Kennedy's skull, some of which were never found.

Single-assassin theorist extraordinaire Dr. John Lattimer conducted some skull tests of his own. In a February 1976 article in Surgery, Gynecology, and Obstetrics, and then again in his 1980 book Kennedy and Lincoln, he presented another test skull upon which Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition had shattered. Since Lattimer only presented a lateral photo of this skull, it's impossible to compare the size of the bullet's entrance to that measured at the autopsy. Still, as there appears to be some sort of wire holding the back of the skull together where the bullet is presumed to have entered (Lattimer was aiming for the cowlick entrance), it appears this skull exploded, much as Olivier's Exhibit 861. There was certainly no small entrance in the back of the head leading to a huge gaping defect in the front.

The suspicion that this skull showed one massive wound, and that Dr. Lattimer had wired the back of the skull together for this photo, moreover, was later proven correct by...Dr. Lattimer. During his appearance at the '93 Chicago conference on the medical evidence Dr. Lattimer presented a second photo of this skull. This photo showed that the skull wound actually started at the back of the head, near the cowlick entrance, and stretched all the way to the forehead. Despite Lattimer's assertions that the damage to this skull was similar to Kennedy's, and that it confirmed the Clark Panel's interpretation of the head wound, both the photo he'd used previously and the second photo of this skull showed that the left side of this test skull was blown out nearly as badly as its right. Conversely, the fragments of the assassin's bullet, despite supposedly entering Kennedy's skull less than an inch from its mid-line, were not believed to have crossed the mid-line of his brain.

Shooting Skulls off Ladders



Across the top and at left: four frames from one of Dr. Lattimer's simulations purported to recreate the "back-and-to-the-left" motion of Kennedy's skull. Note that the forward momentum of the bullet is transferred into the ladder, and the skull bounces backwards from the recoil.

At right: another one of Lattimer's tests, from the website of John McAdams. Note that the impact location is near the center of the explosion.



Above: Zapruder frame 313. Kennedy's skull has moved several inches forward from the moment of impact. Why is there no cloud of debris enveloping the back of his head?

Shooting Skulls off Ladders

And yet Lattimer fails to note this problem in his article. Instead, he boasts *"In each instance in which a bullet struck one of our skulls in a slightly tangential manner, as with the skull wound of President Kennedy, the bullet apparently deformed enough to cause a larger wound of exit and a large soft-tissue cavity inside the confined brain case with tremendous pressure, which then expanded after the bullet had left and blew the calvarium into several fragments, many of which went upward and forward for distances as great as 20 to 30 feet, as in frame 313 of the Zapruder movie."*

Well, hold it right there... "as great as 20 to 30 feet?" The fragment exploding upward in frame 313 was almost certainly the Harper fragment, which was found on the grass roughly 80 feet from the impact location. An 11-19-75 letter from Lattimer to Emory Brown (found in the Weisberg Archives), far worse, reveals that Lattimer knew the lack of scalp on his test skulls increased the magnitude of the "blast" in his test firings by as much as a factor of 4. So where does he get off pretending his simulations came anywhere near replicating the explosion of bone shown on frame 313? And why does he repeat in his summary that in his tests fragments of bone *"flew 20 to 30 feet upward out of the skull, as with President Kennedy."* Was he afraid to acknowledge any inconsistency?

Apparently so. The only inconsistency acknowledged in the article is one he blames on others. In his article, he reports: *"There was a discrepancy between the drawings in the Warren Commission Report, which indicated relatively minor skull wounds, and our knowledge from our wartime and research experience that much more severe wounds were to be expected from this type of military rifle bullet. It was this discrepancy which had led to our initial skepticism about the accuracy of the Warren Commission Report, as reflected by the illustrations of the President's wounds."*

Well, this is a bit bizarre. Lattimer reported no such discrepancy between the drawings of the head

wound and the autopsy photos after visiting the archives in 1972. Even stranger, in interviews conducted after his visit, he'd intimated that it was the drawings of the single-bullet trajectory that had previously given him so much concern. As the autopsy photographs prove that Kennedy's large head wound, as initially observed, DID resemble the wound in the Commission's drawings in the Warren Report, moreover, it seems possible Lattimer was simply blowing smoke. The skulls on which he fired, with no restrictive scalp, exploded to a far greater extent than the autopsy photos prove Kennedy's skull exploded, and rather than admit this, he sidestepped the issue by claiming the drawings created for the Warren Commission were inaccurate. Methinks the man a weasel.

An article in the November 1998 edition of the Dealey Plaza Echo provides more background on Lattimer and his skull tests. When asked by British researcher Russell Kent why he didn't shoot his skulls from elevation in order to replicate the supposed trajectory in Dealey Plaza, Lattimer replied "*He was leaning forward a bit.*" So much for his concern for accuracy. Lattimer also claimed "*We did know the exact location of the wound of entrance. The prosecutors did not have the time to study the X-rays the way we did. Why do you say that the face is blown off? The forehead was blown off, not the face. The bulk of the skull jumped back at the gun; the other fragments were smaller.*" When asked about the damage to a particular skull he'd claimed was a "Duplication of Kennedy's Head Wound" Lattimer responded "*I was distinguishing our skull wounds with those of Dr. Olivier where the right side of the face was removed when the "lower" impact point was used.*"

From this it's clear that Lattimer believed Olivier's use of the "lower" impact point was the cause of his failure to exactly replicate Kennedy's wounds. Since Lattimer also claimed he knew "*the exact location of the wound of entrance,*" one might rightly assume that Lattimer went to his grave convinced that the higher entrance in the cowlick first proposed by the Clark Panel was the authentic entrance location on Kennedy's skull. But one would be wrong. On August 14, 2006, researcher/writer John Canal, who is convinced that the autopsists were correct about the "low" entrance wound, informed this writer that Lattimer had officially changed his opinion about the entrance. Canal posted two e-mails from Lattimer on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup. These reflected that Lattimer had indeed changed his opinion. On March 24, 2004, Lattimer wrote Canal: "*It does seem to me that you and your colleagues have made great progress in investigating these points, and the curved track in the brain is not only reasonable but is probably demonstrable.*" On April 27, 2004, Lattimer wrote Canal: "*I do not think that the correction about the exact point of entry into Kennedy's head would merit any action from a government official, but (we) would benefit from an article correcting the whole matter, which you could refer to in the literature.*"

The man who once claimed he'd "duplicated" Kennedy's head wound while firing at the "high" entrance location had thereby acknowledged his tests were irrelevant, as he'd been firing at the wrong entrance location.

When one actually watches Lattimer's skull tests, however, one should conclude that they are anything but irrelevant. They are, in fact, strong evidence that the shooting did not occur as purported. For one, the clouds of debris exploding from the skulls in Lattimer's tests inevitably obscure the entire skull. The explosion of blood apparent in the Zapruder film, on the other hand, appears exclusively on the front half of the skull. Researcher Sherry Gutierrez, a professional blood-spatter analyst, has written about this issue extensively. On August 18, 2006, in an online post, she told the Education Forum: "*The velocity and volume of the blood leaving the impact site as back spatter has much less velocity than blood leaving exit wounds as forward spatter; and the back spatter droplets only travel about 3-4 feet from the source...Back spatter does not travel more than 3 or 4 feet and is often described as a multitude of minuscule blood droplets that resemble an atomized spray or mist.*" As back spatter moves slower than forward spatter, and stays closer to the impact location, one should wonder where this back spatter is in the Zapruder film. While there appears to be some mist around the back of Kennedy's

head, this mist is almost certainly related to the large exit defect, which has traveled slightly forward since impact.

(If the skull fragment in Z-313 is traveling at 200 feet per second, as seems reasonable, the bullet impacted at least 1/30 of a second prior to frame 313, as the fragment is 6 or 7 feet above Kennedy in Z-313. This 1/30 of a second delay would place the impact near the middle of the space between Z-312 and Z-313, which were taken 1/18 of a second apart. As the limousine was traveling at 8-9 mph when the bullet impacted, which translates to roughly 12 feet per second, this means the limo traveled at least 5 inches from the moment of impact. This means the supposed entrance on the back of Kennedy's head, at the actual moment of impact, was roughly 5 inches behind its location in frame 313. So where is the back spatter from the "low" entrance noted at the autopsy and currently accepted as the only entrance on the back of the skull by both Lattimer and HSCA ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan? There is no cloud of bloody mist out behind Kennedy's collar.)

There is another troubling aspect to Lattimer's skull tests—the fact that he shot them off ladders. As pointed out by Wallace Milam, the ladders absorbed the forward momentum of the bullet, and rocked forward. The skulls, meanwhile, basically bounced off the ladders back towards the shooter. By placing his skulls on ladders, Lattimer could thereby falsely claim his tests proved that the "back-and-to-the-left" motion of Kennedy's head in the Zapruder film was a normal response to a shot fired from behind, and that the "Jet Effect" from the exploding brain matter caused Kennedy's head to fly backwards.

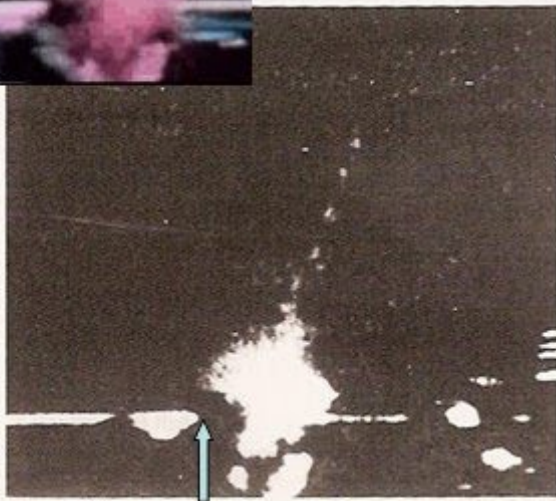
But Milam is not the first man to dispute the theories behind Lattimer's work. After showing the HSCA two of the skull simulations performed by Olivier in 1964, Larry Sturdivan, the HSCA's wound ballistics expert, testified: *"As you can see, each of the two skulls that we have observed so far have moved in the direction of the bullet. In other words, both of them have been given some momentum in the direction that the bullet was going. This is amplified, however, in these skulls because they are not tied to a human body."*

Lattimer's sneaky ladder trick fooled Sturdivan into repudiating his testimony, however. In his 2005 book *The JFK Myths*, Sturdivan wrote *"Dr. John Lattimer conducted some skull shots that resembled the Biophysics Division's simulations, but for which the skulls were filled with animal brain tissue. In his shots, all skulls fell back from the table in the direction of the shooter. Evidently, the lack of a jet effect from the stiff gelatin in the Biophysics Lab's simulation was a bit misleading and there was enough of a jet effect to move Kennedy's head back after its forward surge."* Sturdivan missed that Lattimer's skulls were sitting on the tops of ladders, not tables.

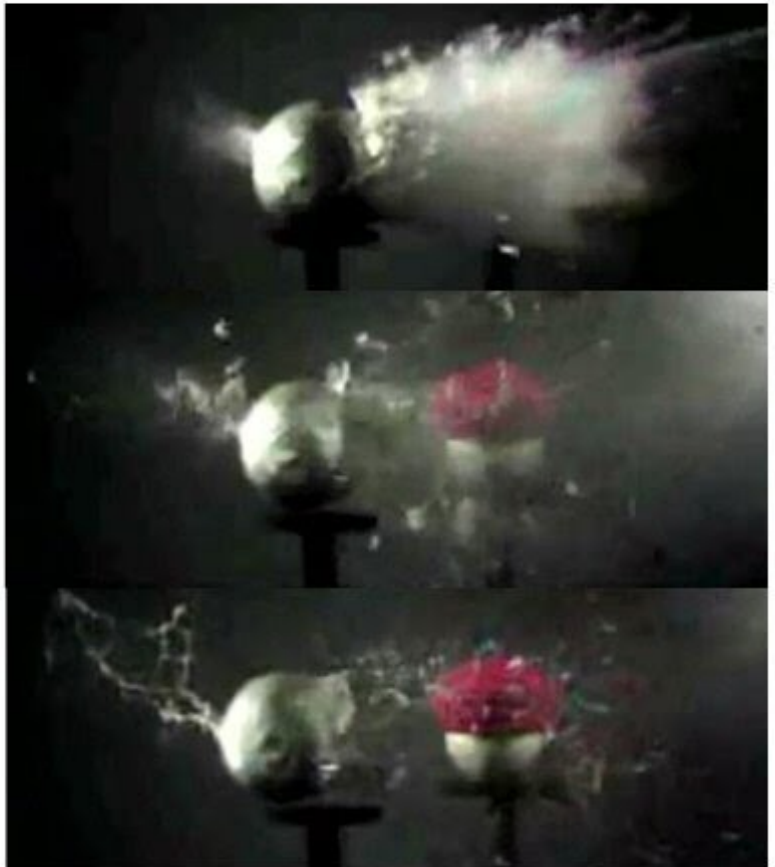
Shooting Melons Off Tables



At left: a crop from Zapruder film frame 313.



Above: A high contrast image of frame 313 prepared by the Itek corporation in 1976. The inserted arrow points to the back of Kennedy's head. Note that there is no back spatter beyond the back of Kennedy's head, even though the limousine was in motion and the presumed impact location would have to have been roughly 5 inches behind the back of Kennedy's head in this image. Compare this to the three frames at left, where the melon emits back spatter throughout.



Above: three stills from an episode of Penn & Teller's Bullshit. They shot a melon off a table to demonstrate that Kennedy's large head wound occurred as proposed by the Warren Commission. Bullshit

Shooting Melons Off Tables

The TV show Bullshit did shoot something off a table, however: a melon. In a 2005 episode purportedly debunking that Kennedy was killed by anyone other than Oswald, they shot a melon to demonstrate that bullets enter small and exit big, and that Kennedy's wounds could easily be replicated. To show that there was no mystery to Kennedy's back-and-to-the-left movement following the head shot, moreover, they showed the melon falling backwards in slow motion after impact.

They were bullshitting their audience, of course. (People seem to forget that the hosts of the show, Penn & Teller, are first and foremost magicians--illusionists.) That they performed multiple takes in order to perfect their trick is confirmed by the fact that in the long shot melon goo flies out and knocks a pink hat off another melon, but in the slow-motion shot that followed the hat never moves. From what I can gather, the trick works like this: 1) the bullet strikes the melon, imparting energy into the melon, and explodes from the far side of the melon; 2) a portion of this energy is projected downwards as the melon expands; 3) this causes the melon to recoil slightly from the table; 4) due to there now being far more melon missing by the exit than at the entrance of the bullet, however, the primary motion of the melon is to roll backwards and re-establish equilibrium; 5) the poorly secured table, recoiling from the expansion of the melon forwards, tilts back towards the shooter; 6) the melon rolls off the edge of the extremely small table. TA DA! If the table had been a larger table the melon would barely have moved.

If the table had been solidly secured and had not tilted backwards the melon would barely have moved. If the melon had had a flat bottom it would barely have moved.

Of course, there's also the fact that a melon isn't a skull. As the forward momentum created by a bullet's impact is in large part determined by the amount of energy expended while entering and exiting the object receiving the impact, and as a skull is many times more difficult to penetrate than a melon, it only makes sense that a skull would be the recipient of far more forward momentum than a melon. An online paper by mechanical engineer Tony Szamboti estimates that a human skull pierced by a bullet will receive 50-100 times the amount of energy and forward momentum as a melon pierced by a bullet. I suspect he's right. I mean, you can't exactly pierce a skull with a toothpick, can you? This simple fact, apparently overlooked by Nobel Prize-winning physicist Luis Alvarez in his own studies, helps explain why the skulls fired on by Alfred Olivier's team in 1964 moved in the direction of the bullet far better than team member Larry Sturdivan's subsequent guess that the gelatin was to blame.

In fact, when one thinks of it, there was a lot that Alvarez, Lattimer, Sturdivan, and the producers of Bullshit!, for that matter, overlooked. In 1978, Mrs. John Nichols, the wife of forensic pathologist Dr. John Nichols, who'd recently passed on, delivered the results of his most recent shooting simulations, in which Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition was fired upon melons and cadaver specimens. (This paper can be found on the Baylor University website.) Nichols' conclusion read: *"This study did not demonstrate the jet effect and would lead us to reject the jet effect as the basis for President Kennedy's backward head movement."* It detailed, moreover, that, among other things: 1) *"All target movement was in the direction of bullet flight path";* 2) *melons fired upon while sitting on a stand exhibited "bullet entry and exit spray," but did not move upon impact;* and 3) *"Movement of all cadaver specimens was away from gun."*

And that wasn't all those peddling the jet-effect have over-looked. In 1996, Stanford Physicist Art Snyder and his wife Margaret attended the JFK Lancer Conference in Dallas and played some films in which watermelons had been fired upon. Some of these tests had been conducted by Dr. Doug DeSalles in 1994. In any event, these films, subsequently discussed in a 1998 article by the Snyders in Skeptic Magazine, and a Fall 1999 article by DeSalles in the Kennedy Assassination Chronicles, demonstrated an important point missed (or ignored) by Alvarez. While melons did indeed fly back toward the rifle when fired upon by 30.06 rifles firing soft-nosed ammunition (as claimed by Alvarez), they failed to do so when fired upon by Mannlicher-Carcano rifles firing full-metal jacket ammunition. This suggested that the "Jet Effect" identified by Alvarez, and used by single-assassin theorists everywhere to support that Kennedy's back-and-to-the-left motion after being struck suggested the shot came from behind, was directly related to the break-up of the bullet within the melon. As subsequently explained by Szamboti, the break-up of the transiting bullet creates a large temporary cavity expanding in all directions from the bullet. As the bullet exits the melon in pieces, it leaves a large hole, and the forward pressure is released. This, then, leaves the backward pressure pushing against a relatively intact back of the melon, and BINGO, it flies backward.

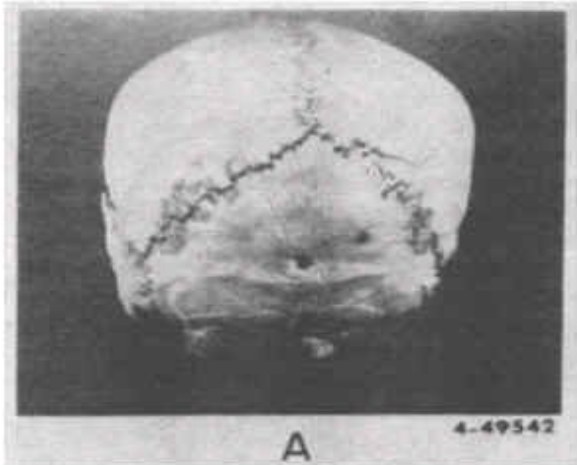
Thus, Kennedy's back-and-to-the-left movement *can* be explained by the "jet effect", provided the skull was as soft as a melon-rind, *and* the bullet broke up within the skull. For only through both circumstances could a tremendous amount of pressure push against the back of the skull without being offset by the forward movement of the skull upon impact.

There's also this: if the rapid expansion of a temporary cavity within the skull caused Kennedy's back-and-to-the-left movement, shouldn't pressurized blood and brain have spurted back out the bullet's entrance?


And so it turns out the melon test on Bullshit was not a waste of time and melon... It once again demonstrated that matter DOES fly back from a bullet's entrance. The melon sprayed fluid backwards

from the entrance as well as forwards from the exit. As Zapruder frame 313, taken within a split second of the bullet's impact, was tested by the ITEK Corporation in 1976 and found to show no signs of spray from the back of Kennedy's head, the melon test supports the possibility that Kennedy was not struck on the back of the head at frame 313.

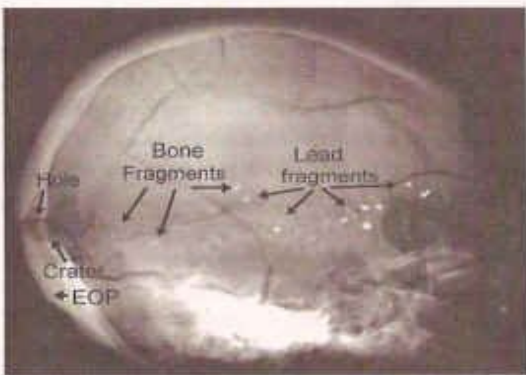
The JFK Myths



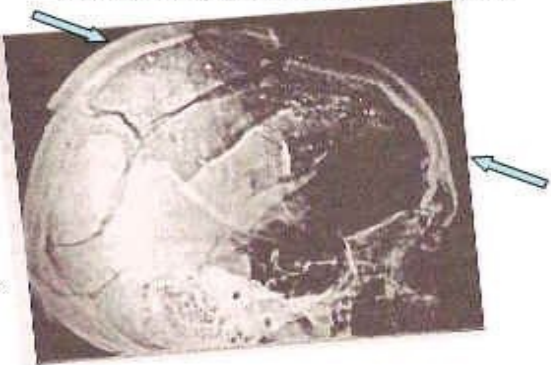
At left and at right: HSCA Exhibit F-306, from the 9-8-78 testimony of Larry Sturdivan. The photo at left is reproduced in Sturdivan's book *The JFK Myths* as Exhibit 51.



Blue arrows point to the "trail of fragments." Why was it so much higher in Kennedy's skull, below, than in the test skull at left?



At left and at right: Figure 38 from *The JFK Myths*. The x-ray at left is from Dr. Olivier's report for the Warren Commission. The x-ray at right is HSCA Exhibit F-53, the right lateral x-ray of President Kennedy.



The JFK Myths

Let's go back to Larry Sturdivan's September 8, 1978 HSCA testimony. As the HSCA didn't have the budget or the desire to test the wound ballistics of 6.5 mm Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition, they relied on the tests performed in 1964 by Alfred Olivier and Edgewood Arsenal. Since Sturdivan was actively employed at Edgewood Arsenal, and had assisted in the 1964 tests, he was given the responsibility of explaining wound ballistics to the committee, and how the tests performed in 1964 were still relevant.

In his testimony, Sturdivan presented photos of yet another test skull to the Committee. In order to show that a bullet creating a small entrance could indeed leave a large exit, Sturdivan presented a skull with a small entrance at its back and a blown-out face in front. It was entered into evidence as F-306. This skull had been one of Olivier's test skulls from 14 years earlier. That the bullet in this test was fired into the thick occipital bone at the back of the skull cut into its value as evidence, however. The HSCA had, after all, relied upon their pathology panel to determine the location of the entrance on the back of Kennedy's skull, and had determined it to have been four inches higher than the entrance on the skull in the photos.

The trajectory of the bullet striking this skull was even more problematic. While the bullet striking Kennedy's skull was purported to have created a large defect at the top of his skull after entering the back, and striking nothing but brain, the bullet creating the large defect apparent on Sturdivan's exhibit had undoubtedly struck the bones in back of the face. This would most certainly have led to the creation of secondary missiles, and a much much larger defect.

The photos were nevertheless revealing. Since the bullet striking low on this skull had exited the face, the photos demonstrated that a bullet fired straight into the skull and striking low on the skull would most likely exit low on the skull, and not sail upwards and out the top of the skull, as so many current supporters of the single-assassin theory, including Sturdivan himself, now contend.

In 2005, Sturdivan released a book explaining his new views. While the book's full title was *The JFK Myths: A Scientific Investigation into the Kennedy Assassination*, and it did indeed debunk many myths, both conspiracy and otherwise, it added a few myths of its own. Here, Sturdivan explained the failure of the 1964 test bullets to simulate Kennedy's wound by asserting that the test skulls were dried, and that a living skull would be more resistant, and that a bullet striking such a skull would be more likely to sail upwards and explode from the top of the head. Maybe someone should tell Sturdivan that bullets don't sail upwards and explode from the tops of live skulls, either.

At another point, when discussing the 1964 tests, Sturdivan writes *"the Biophysic Lab test skulls do not show extensive cracking from the entry holes, even though the dried skulls used in the tests were more brittle than live bone (indicated by more explosive fragmentation at the site of the explosive post-shot rupture). Figure 51 is a typical entry hole from this series. Some had a small crack through the body of the occipital plate similar to this one. Each had, at most, a single crack that ran across the entry hole. None had multiple, displaced cracks radiating from the entry hole."* Sturdivan thereby suggests that the comparatively small entrance hole observed on the back of Kennedy's skull was not unexpected. A close comparison of Figure 51, which depicts the same skull as HSCA Exhibit F-306, with the four Edgewood Arsenal Biophysic Lab test skulls shown on the Reading the Test Skulls slide, however, reveals that the skull in Figure 51 is far from typical. The backs of all four skulls on the Reading the Tests Skulls slide appear to have suffered extensive fractures or are missing bone.

This is most curious. When one reads Dr. Olivier's 1965 report on these tests, one finds that the bullets fired into the ten test skulls *"broke up to a greater or lesser degree in at least nine of the skulls."* This *"at least nine"* is unduly vague. If it was more than nine skulls that would mean ten skulls, which would mean EVERY skull fired upon, right? If the bullet broke up in every skull then shouldn't that have been mentioned? Since the photo in Figure 51 was the only photo of a bullet entrance in Olivier's 1965 report and the only photo of a bullet entrance in Sturdivan's 1978 testimony *and* the only photo of an entrance in Sturdivan's 2005 book, one can't help but be suspicious it was in fact far from typical, and was, in fact, a photo of the entrance on the only skull where the bullet did not break up.

Sturdivan's failure to depict the exit defect in Figure 51 is also suspicious. Since Sturdivan is now of the opinion the bullet entered low on Kennedy's skull in the Humes entrance, and then curved sharply upwards, perhaps he was trying to conceal that NOT ONE bullet curved upwards in such a manner in the 1964 tests, even though *"at least nine"* of the bullets broke up in the skull. and even though Olivier, by Sturdivan's own admission, used *"stiff gelatin"* that would accentuate such a curve.

Sturdivan's treatment of the bullet fragments and x-rays is also revealing. Here is how he described the bullet fragments on the x-rays during his 1978 HSCA testimony: *"this case is typical of a deforming jacketed bullet leaving fragments along its path as it goes. Incidentally, those fragments that are left by the bullet are also very small and do not move very far from their initial, from the place where they departed the bullet. Consequently, they tend to be clustered very closely around the track of the bullet."* Later, he was asked by Congressman Fithian if a bullet fragment will always develop a lift. He

said: *“it will move in the direction it is yawing. If it yaws upwards, then it will tend to move upward. If it yaws down, then it would tend to move down....Unfortunately, the entrance yaw is unpredictable as to direction, so you really can't predict whether it is going to go upward, downward, or to the right or left.”* He then defended the high entrance proposed by the HSCA forensic pathology panel, the very entrance he now says doesn't exist. He said: *“There is extensive deformation at the top of the skull which indicates the radial velocity that was imparted to the tissue, broke it open and, therefore, relieved the pressure at the top...You would presume then, that the soft tissue, which was badly damaged, would have moved somewhat in the direction of that relieved pressure and, therefore, would be displaced somewhat upward from the original track. So I would place the original track as being somewhat lower than the trail of fragments indicated through there, certainly not much lower...there is no indication of any track in the lower half of the skull. It was definitely in the upper part.”* After showing films of the skull tests to the committee, he returned to this theme and once again defended the HSCA entrance as the most logical entrance. He said: *“Once the bullet enters the soft material within the skull, the radial velocity is imparted and the effect is exactly the same no matter at what point it enters. The only effect might be in which portion of the skull is actually blown out. In other words, it might blow out a little higher and a little more toward the top if the bullet entered a little more toward the top rather than blowing out on the side as is indicated in the second exhibit.”*

So, after recently deciding that the bullet entered in the low entrance described at the autopsy, how does Sturdivan now view the x-rays and bullet fragments? In the JFK Myths, he claims: *“many of the fragments deposited in the President's brain were flushed out, along with the brain tissue, as the large amounts of blood flowed out of the explosive wound in the side of his head, in the car and in Parkland. It is evidently some of these that were deposited on the bone flaps by clotting blood that show as a “trail” of fragments near the top of the lateral view. This “trail” does not show on the frontal view, and is much higher than the FPP's reconstructed trajectory. (Note: FPP=Forensic Pathology Panel) In fact, at the apparent location of these fragments there was no brain matter in which the fragments could be embedded.”* Yes, he has once again completely reversed himself, not only on the wound location, but on elementary wound ballistics. While bullet fragments previously did *“not move very far from their initial, from the place where they departed the bullet,”* now *“many of the fragments deposited in the President's brain were flushed out, along with the brain tissue, as the large amounts of blood flowed out of the explosive wound in the side of his head.”*

While Sturdivan is undoubtedly within his rights to change his mind, when he uses his experience as the HSCA's ballistics expert to sell his book, and refutes a number of the HSCA's key findings, and fails to tell his readers that his testimony was vital to these findings, he crosses a line, in my opinion. At one point in the JFK Myths, he writes: *“One hesitates to disagree with the opinions expressed by three panels of expert pathologists who had the autopsy pictures and x-rays to study.”* And yet at another point he admits *“The wound ballistics consultant from the Army's Biophysics Division (the author of this book) was invited to participate in two of the FPP's meetings. During several meetings, the FPP, a few members of the HSCA staff, and other consultants reviewed all the evidence from the autopsy, including the photographs, x-rays, and clothing.”* In an ideal world, he would have followed this admission with a mea culpa grande, confessing that he proceeded to give congress information in sworn testimony he now believes inaccurate. But alas, he ignores this fact completely. While he is, by all accounts, a nice man, Sturdivan's credibility on the JFK assassination ballistics evidence is undoubtedly debatable. He has, after all, given conflicting statements regarding the location of the entrance wound, the location of the exit wound, and the movement of bullet fragments within the skull. What's left?

The Sturdivan School of Wound Ballistics



While Larry Sturdivan, in both his HSCA testimony and subsequent book, *The JFK Myths*, used images from the 1964 tests on the wound ballistics of Oswald's rifle to argue that the rifle would be likely to create the small entrance wound observed



on the back of Kennedy's head, and the large exit wound on top of his head, the skull test films he used to support his testimony in fact prove just the opposite. Here, in skull test film 8167, a gaping wound is created on the back of the head, while the top of the head remains intact. Photos and films of the other skulls suggest this was the rule and not the exception.

The Sturdivan School of Wound Ballistics

Funny I should ask. The climactic moment of Larry Sturdivan's HSCA testimony came when he showed several slow-motion films taken in 1964. These slow-motion films depicted the shooting simulations conducted by Dr. Olivier. Sturdivan's testimony on these films started out badly: "*The movies were taken at approximately 2200 pictures per second. Since the projectile is moving at roughly 2,000 feet per second, we could expect a motion of about 12 inches, 12 to 14 inches between frames as the bullet comes in.*" (Olivier's report on these simulations states: "*Figure A5, part B, shows the camera and lights used to record the sequence of events at a film speed of 4,000 frames/sec.*") Sturdivan's book concurs "*the movie was taken at the framing rate of 4,000 frames/second, over 200 times faster than the Zapruder film.*" The distance traveled by the bullet between frames was therefore more like 6 inches.) Sturdivan continued: "*the bullet has come in from the left, has impacted the skull through the scalp stimulant and is now within the skull. As you can see, the radial velocity that is imparted at the first part of the track has begun to crack the back piece of the skull. This is the very next frame. It shows the fragmented bullet and fragments of the skull being blown away from the front of the skull.... Pieces of the bullet have exited the skull. It is hard to tell whether they have actually gone out of the frame or whether they be incorporated into that white mass which is mostly bone but*

with a little bit of gelatin tissue stimulant in it."



"As you can see, the radial velocity has already begun to fracture the skull extensively along and across the suture lines." Later, Sturdivan would answer Congressman Declan Ford by stating "the skull began to fragment while the bullet was still in passage and so, therefore, you might say that the skull began to come apart almost immediately within microseconds of the impact, continuing to

fracture and move forward.”



In the JFK Myths, Sturdivan expands upon his testimony, and publishes a few frames from one of his skull test films as Figure 33. He dismisses that a large wound on the back of Kennedy’s head would be indicative of a shot fired from the front by claiming: *“This argument is predicated on the assumption that the injury was an exit. It was not. The reader might already have noted that Figure 33 shows what actually happened. The bullet entered the back of the skull and exited in a small spray at the front in*

the space of one frame of the high-speed movie. Only after the bullet was far down-range did the internal pressure generated by its passage split open the skull and relieve the pressure inside by spewing the contents through the cracks. A similar explosion would have taken place if the bullet had gone through in the opposite direction. The only way to distinguish the direction of travel of the bullet is to examine the cratering effect on the inside of the skull at entrance and on the outside of the skull at exit. Thus, whether the explosion was more to the side or back is completely irrelevant.” He then discusses Kennedy’s skull: *“Like the simulations at Edgewood Arsenal, the center of the blown-out area of the president’s skull was at the midpoint of the trajectory—not at the exit point. The midpoint is the point at which the bullet has fully deformed and is giving up the energy at the maximum rate—that is, pushing outward with the maximum force. At its actual point of exit toward the front of his head, the fragment had lost half its velocity and a small amount of mass (more than three quarters of its energy). His forehead was not torn open. The pressure inside the skull at the bullet’s exit location was not high enough to cause the front portion of the skull and scalp to rupture, but the x-rays do show that throughout the president’s skull the individual bony plates were separated at the suture lines and fractured between sutures almost as extensively as those in the simulations.”*

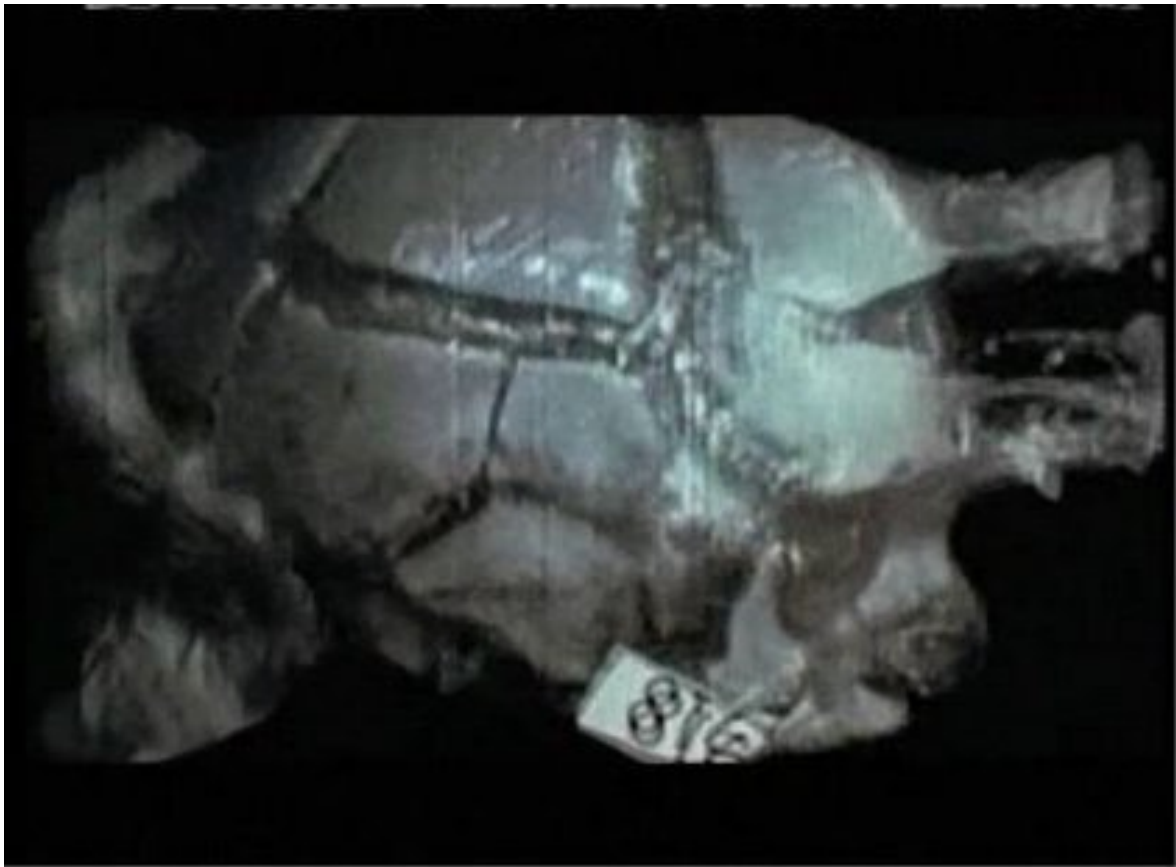
So there you have it. Sturdivan contends that the large defect at the top of Kennedy’s head did not come as a result of the bullet’s actual exit from the skull, but was created instead by the energy it released en route to the exit.

In retrospect, this should not be surprising. The HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, we should recall, concluded that the bullet exited nearly intact from the beveled piece of bone in the "mystery photo," and that the other half of this exit was found on the large bone fragment found on the floor of the limousine. This left no explanation for the explosion of skull visible in frame 313 of the Zapruder film, especially when one considers that the panel concluded that the bone fragment seen exploding upwards came from a location posterior to the large bone fragment found in the limousine, and on the far side of this fragment from the exit defect.

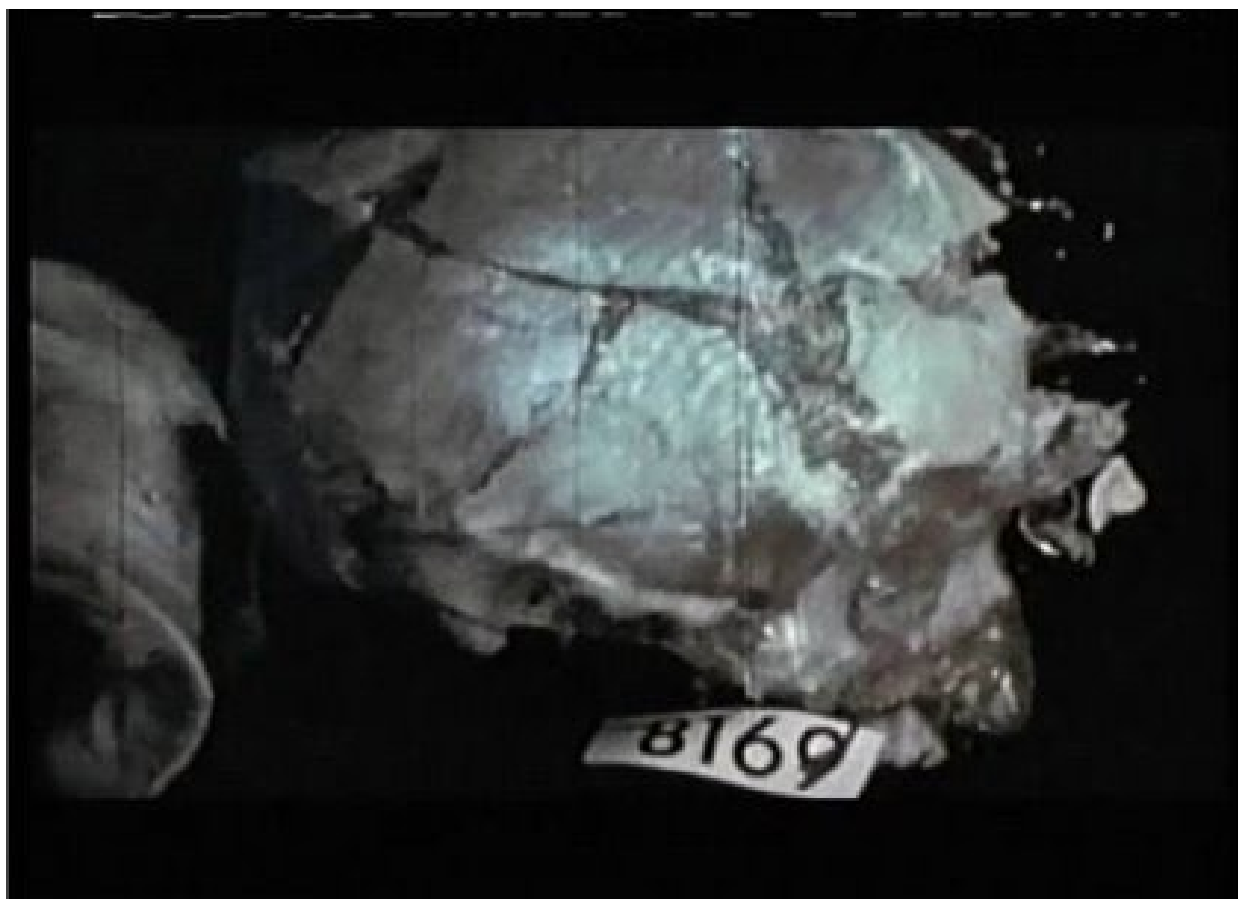
Even more alarming than Sturdivan’s simply making an assertion that the temporary cavity made by the bullet exploded the skull, however, is that he presents this as though this is what one would normally expect from the impact of a high-velocity bullet on a skull. Now, is this assertion supported by the simulation films he cites as support for his theory? I don’t believe so. Well, what about the writings of others, then? Here, once again, I’m saying no.

One reason to doubt Sturdivan is his contention that at the “*actual point of exit*” the bullet had lost only “*a small amount of mass.*” He overlooks that the copper base of this bullet was found in the front seat of the car, empty of all lead, and that the nose of this bullet was found several feet away. As it would be most unusual for a jacketed bullet to enter a skull intact but break up upon exit, it seems obvious the bullet broke up upon impact, and that the lead fragments seen on the x-rays broke off from the middle of the bullet. If Sturdivan fails to appreciate this obvious conclusion, there’s no telling what else he’s overlooked.

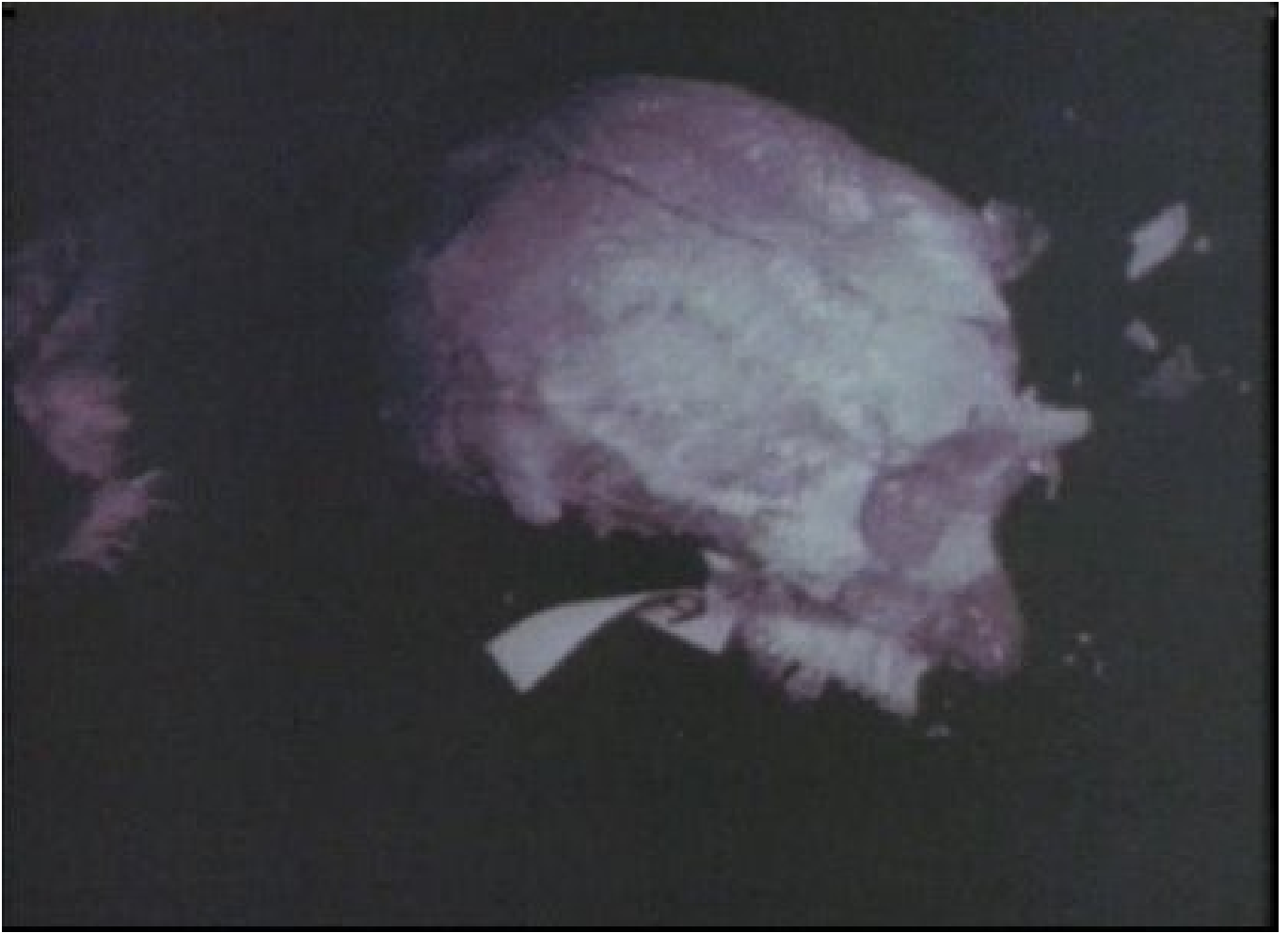
Actually, there is some telling what else he’s overlooked, and here it is... The skull test films depict large fractures running from the entrance locations on the backs of the skulls to the coronal sutures near the fronts of the skulls. Such a fracture line does not appear on Kennedy’s skull. Even worse, while the bullets in the skull tests exploded from the forehead, Kennedy’s face remained intact. Although Sturdivan has recently proposed that the bullet striking Kennedy curled upwards and exploded out the top of his skull, the exhibits he placed into evidence before congress fail to support this conjecture, and he has offered no subsequent tests as support for this proposition.



Sturdivan also fails to see that his basic assertion just isn't true. He states "*Like the simulations at Edgewood Arsenal, the center of the blown-out area of the president's skull was at the midpoint of the trajectory.*" But this is 100% wrong. The available films show that, even though, as Dr. Olivier explained to the Warren Commission, "*you don't have the limiting scalp holding the pieces in,*" (Some studies have concluded that scalp is as much as 50% as strong as bone) the mid-point of the trajectory in the test skulls fractured and separated at the sutures, but did not blow out.



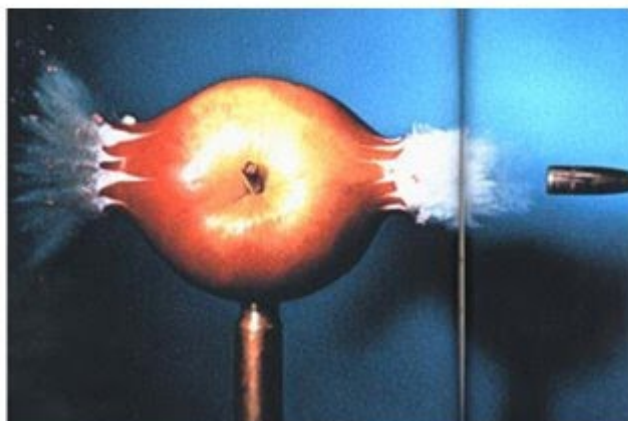
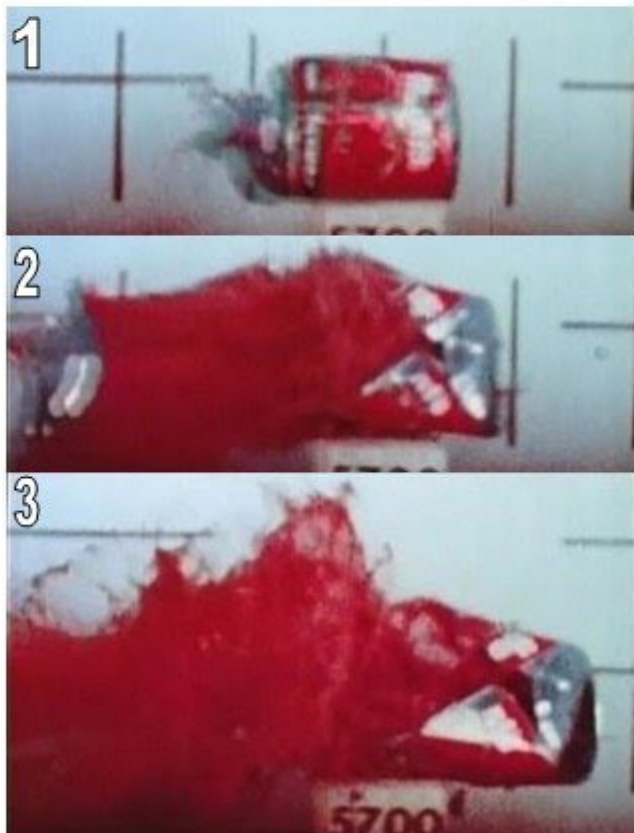
While the final skull test frame in the JFK Myth's Figure 33 shows the skull coming apart and might leave one with the impression that the skull blasted apart, this is an inaccurate impression. When one watches the full simulation as HSCA Exhibit 306, (frames of which are shown above) one sees that the mid-part of the skull regained its form and that the skull, in fact, ended up with a large hole on the back of the head at the entrance and an even larger hole on the front of the head at the exit, with NO hole whatsoever at the top of the head. This is shown below.



And this wasn't an isolated case. It was the same or worse with the other skulls. None of the simulations had a large defect at the top like the one on Kennedy's skull. On NONE of the simulations did a large bone fragment explode upwards as seen in Zapruder frame 313. With but what appears to be one exception, the entrances were not small holes on the bone approximately the width of the bullet,

but gaping holes an inch or more in diameter. Sturdivan's testimony was thereby refuted by...the very exhibits introduced to support his testimony.

Yes We Can Can



Images 1-4 are taken from HSCA Exhibit 304, a film of a high-velocity bullet piercing a tomato can. This film was shown to the committee by Larry Sturdivan. The bulk of the fluid exploded back towards the shooter. That backspatter is the expected result of a bullet's striking a fluid-containing object is further demonstrated by the unrelated image of a bullet's striking an apple. This photo was found on the website of single-assassin theorist Kenneth Rahn.

Yes, We Can Can

Even more surprising, the skull tests were not the only films shown by Larry Sturdivan in his 1978 HSCA testimony that refuted his testimony. To support his statements about the explosion of the president's skull, he showed the committee Exhibit 304, a slow-motion film of a high-speed bullet piercing a tomato can. He describes this film as follows: *"The picture will be much the same as those with the skull. The bullet will be coming in from the left, will strike the can and you will see pieces of the can moving toward the right in the direction of the bullet, but you will also see pieces of the can moving in other directions. Notably the top of the can will be moving back toward the left in the direction from which the bullet came. You notice the backplash as the bullet has entered the left-hand side of the can. The material is beginning to move back out. This is called the backplash of the projectile."* Yes, you read that right. Sturdivan pointed out to the committee that a bullet entering a skull would create a backplash of material from the entrance.

Vincent J.M. DiMaio, in his book *Gunshot Wounds*, described this phenomena as well. He asserted: *"As the bullet enters the body, there is a "tail splash," or the backward hurling of injured tissue."* This

should make one wonder once again why there is no backslash visible in frame 313 of the Zapruder film.

While one might venture that the backslash remained visible for but a brief moment, and was already dissipated within the 1/30th or so of a second between the impact of the bullet on Kennedy's head and the exposure of frame 313, Sturdivan's tomato can film proves this unlikely, as the backslash visible in the Exhibit 304 is still visible long after the amount of forward splash has peaked.

This splashy and colorful simulation is also of interest because it helps debunk the myth that Kennedy's head flew backwards due to the "jet effect". Notice that, in the frames of Exhibit 304 above, while the top of the can flew back towards the shooter, the larger mass of the can flew forwards in the direction of the bullet. If one were to hold that this movement came from a "jet effect" response to the backslash, one would then be forced to return to the last question: where is the backslash in the Zapruder film, and why didn't its "jet effect" thrust Kennedy's skull forwards?

In his testimony before congress, Sturdivan offered his own explanation for the back-and-to the-left movement of the President's skull in the frames following Z-313. He testified: *"Now the extreme radial velocity imparted to the matter in the President's head, the brain tissue caused mechanical movement of essentially everything inside the skull, including where the cord went through the foramen magnum, that is, the hole that leads out of the skull down to the spinal cord. Motion there, I believe, caused mechanical stimulation of the motor nerves of the President, and since all motor nerves were stimulated at the same time, then every muscle in the body would be activated at the same time. Now in an arm, for instance, this would have activated the biceps muscle but it would also have activated the triceps muscle, which being more powerful, would have straightened the arm out. With leg muscles, the large muscles in the back of the leg are more powerful than those in the front and, therefore, the leg would move backward. The muscles in the back of the trunk are much stronger than the abdominals and, therefore, the body would arch backward. The same phenomena has been observed many times by hunters in the Southwest where I came from."*

To support these statements he showed the committee Exhibit 309, a slow-motion film of a goat being shot in the head. He testified: *"First we will observe the neuromuscular reaction, the goat will collapse then, and by the wiggling of his tail and the tenseness of the muscles we will see what I think has been called the decerebrate rigidity, and that takes place about a second after the shot and then slowly dissipates and you will see the goat slump, obviously dead."*





As the film progressed, he narrated: *“Four one-hundredths of a second after that impact then the neuromuscular reaction that I described begins to happen; the back legs go out, the front legs go upward and outward, the back arches, as the powerful back muscles overcome those of the abdominals. That was it.”*



Later, when questioned by Congressman Declan Ford, he disputed that the direction of Kennedy's head movement would have any correlation to the direction of travel of the bullet impacting his head: "*The direction that was imparted by the bullet going forward would have been overcome by the neuro-muscular reaction in about four-hundredths of a second, if we can believe what happened to the animal would be the same in the human being....Four one hundredths of a second, I think, is well between frames on the Zapruder film. So we wouldn't expect to see any forward motion of the head before we saw the violent reaction. In other words, there was very little time to move forward before he began to move backward.*" Sturdivan, therefore, failed to attach any significance to the slight forward movement of Kennedy's head between frames 312 and 313 of the Zapruder film, the movement most single-assassin theorists cite as proof the bullet was fired from behind.

Still later, Sturdivan dismissed another favorite theory of the single-assassin crowd, and rejected the possibility that the cause of the back-and-to-the left motion apparent in the Zapruder film was the "Jet Effect" proposed by Dr. Luis Alvarez and Dr. John Lattimer. He testified: "*It is possible that there would have been enough momentum lost in a forward direction that the skull might have moved backward or at least not move forward as rapidly as it would have otherwise. However, if you recall, in the skull films, most of the momentum was in the side causing the skull to have a reaction in the opposite direction. But each of the skulls did move forward in the direction that the bullet took.*" I wonder how many of today's single-assassin theorists accepting that the forward movement of Kennedy's skull between frames 312 and 313 and the purported "jet effect" afterward demonstrate that the head shot was fired from behind even know that their champion ballistics expert testified before congress that their "proofs" were nonsense.

Sturdivan's explanation had a not insignificant problem of its own. Both his testimony and his goat film suggested that the neuro-muscular reaction he proposed would affect all limbs. Dr. Werner Spitz of the HSCA medical panel shared Sturdivan's analysis; years earlier, he'd told the Rockefeller Commission: "*The subsequent backward movement of the President's head can be explained by sudden decerebration. This position is well known as "decerebrate posture."*

Well, Blakiston's Pocket Medical Dictionary describes "decerebrate posture" as: "*The limbs are stiffly extended, the head retracted...*" This suggests that, if Kennedy's movements were related to a neuro-muscular response, his arms would have straightened out as well as his legs.



They did not; they remained by his side, bent at the elbow, precisely as they were before the bullet impacted on his skull.

As Sturdivan also stated that the goat fell dead, and Kennedy is reported to have lived for more than 20 minutes after he was shot, there is real reason to doubt that Kennedy straightened up as a neuro-muscular response, or that his legs were extended due to sudden decerebration.

But I am not alone in my skepticism. In recent years, Sturdivan's testimony about the neuro-muscular response has come under fire from a most unexpected source: Sturdivan himself. Although he still proposes that Kennedy's body lurched backwards as a neuro-muscular response to the bullet's impact, he now asserts that the rapid acceleration of Kennedy's head backwards after 313 came not from this

response, but from the...jet effect. In the JFK Myths, he declares: *“Dr. Ken Rahn has used the position of the back of Kennedy's head as plotted in Josiah Thompson's book to calculate the velocity and acceleration of the head after the explosion at Zapruder frame 313. Kennedy's head is accelerated rapidly forward (the momentum of the bullet) then rapidly backward, nearly to its original position. The motion is far too soon to be a neuro-muscular response. It had to be from the physics.”* Sturdivan then proposes that the Jet Effect had an effect and that Dr. Olivier's tests at Edgewood Arsenal failed to reveal this effect as a consequence of his ballistics gelatin being just too darned stiff.

Well, no surprise, there's a problem with this. Sturdivan testified before congress that the neuro-muscular reaction takes place within 4/100 of a second. 4/100 of a second is less than one frame of the Zapruder film. The bullet impacts on Kennedy mid-way between Z-312 and Z-313 in the Zapruder film and by Z-315 he is already heading back-and-to-the left. This means the response took approximately 2 frames or, since the Zapruder film was running at 18.3 frames per second, roughly 1/9 of a second. 1/9 of a second is, of course, roughly 11/100 of a second, more than 2 ½ times as long as Sturdivan said it took for a neuro-muscular reaction to occur. And yet Sturdivan now says the reaction comes far too soon for the reaction to be a neuro-muscular reaction. This means that either a) Sturdivan misled congress, or b) he's so anxious to fit in with Warren Commission supporters like Lattimer and Rahn that he'll say almost anything, or c) he doesn't really know what he's talking about.

I'm leaning towards “c.” After all, Sturdivan:

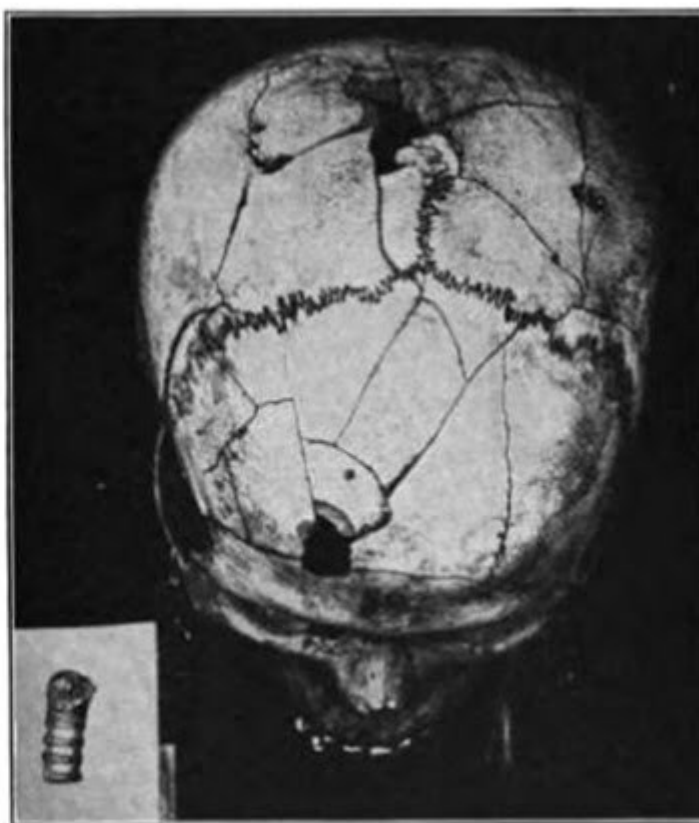
1. testified before congress that the entrance wound was on the upper part of Kennedy's skull, but then changed his mind.
2. testified before congress that small bullet fragments don't stray very far from the bullet's path, but then changed his mind.
3. testified before congress that the forward movement of Kennedy's skull between frames 312 and 313 did not reflect that the bullet impacting his skull had been fired from behind, but then changed his mind.
4. testified before congress that the rapid backward movement of Kennedy's skull following frame 313 was most logically a neuro-muscular response to the impact of a bullet, but then changed his mind.
5. testified before congress that the inch or so of flesh overlying Connally's rib would substantially slow a bullet, so that a bullet striking Connally's rib would suffer much less damage than a bullet striking a much-smaller goat's rib, but that the five and a half inches of flesh in Kennedy's upper back and neck would hardly slow a bullet at all.

Perhaps it's time we make up our own minds...

Chapter 16b: Digging in the Dirt

In which I review the wound ballistics literature and come to a surprising conclusion

Blasts From The Past



Above: Figure 104. At right: Figure 105.

The two figures above, both from La Garde's *Gunshot Injuries* (1916), reveal that, whether or not a WWI-era rifle bullet strikes from back to front (Figure 104) or front to back (Figure 105) the calvarium does not simply explode upwards in the middle of the wound track, as proposed by Sturdivan. Note as well that the entrances are much larger than the entrance found on the back of Kennedy's head, and the exits much smaller than the large defect found on Kennedy's skull.

Blasts From The Past

In 1916's *Gunshot Injuries*, by Louis Anatole La Garde, two similar skulls are displayed. One skull is of a man shot in the back of the head, with the bullet exiting his forehead, and the other skull is of a man shot in the forehead, with the bullet exiting the back of his head. The trajectory connecting these wounds is only slightly lower in the brain than the trajectory of the bullet through Kennedy's brain as proposed by the HSCA. Neither of these skulls, however, demonstrates a disruption at the center of the skull from the explosion of a temporary cavity, as one would expect from reading Larry Sturdivan's book, *The JFK Myths*. In both cases, the entrance of the bullet on the skull was considerably larger than the entrance on Kennedy's skull, and the exit considerably smaller. In both cases, large skull fractures stretched forward from the entrance location. While this is consistent with the fractures in the films shown by Sturdivan, it bears repeating that there are no such fractures on Kennedy's skull. This is incredibly problematic for those, as Sturdivan, who claim Kennedy's wounds to be pretty much what one would expect.

One possible explanation for the failure of these skulls to burst open is that the bullets striking these men transmitted far less energy, and thus created a much smaller temporary cavity in the brain, than the bullet striking Kennedy. But this just isn't true. The bullet striking the skull in Figure 104 was reported to be a Krag-Jorgensen .30 caliber, jacketed bullet. It was fired on an escaping prisoner. This bullet

weighed 220 grains, as compared to the 160 grains of the bullets to Oswald's gun, and traveled at an initial velocity of 2000 fps, as compared to the reported 2165 fps of bullets fired by Oswald's rifle. It was also fired from 90 feet away from its victim, much closer than the distance of the sniper's nest to Kennedy at frame 313 of the Zapruder film, 265 feet.

As the closer proximity of the shooter to the victim pretty much cancels out the slightly faster initial velocity of a bullet fired from Oswald's rifle, this leaves us with the difference in bullet size as the only essential difference between the shootings, (or at least as they've been proposed). The bullet in this shooting was 37.5 % heavier than the bullet hitting Kennedy, and traveling at basically the same speed. So why didn't this bullet burst the prisoner's skull open in the middle, and send large bone fragments sailing across the sky?

The other skull featured in Gunshot Injuries confirms there's a problem. The bullet striking the skull in Figure 105 was a .45 caliber bullet, weighing 500 grains, fired from a Springfield Rifle, with an initial velocity of 1301 fps. This bullet was fired at a cadaver from a simulated 250 yards. A chart found on WWW.frfogspad.com, a webpage devoted to the Springfield Rifle, reports that this bullet would be traveling around 1075 fps at 250 yards. This suggests that the bullet striking the skull in Figure 105, all things being equal, transmitted only about 10% less energy to the brain and skull than the bullet striking Kennedy, while creating a permanent cavity nearly twice as large. Shouldn't this skull also have burst open?

The most palatable explanation is that all things weren't equal, and that the bullet striking Kennedy exploded, and thereby transmitted all its energy to the brain. One can then contrast that the bullets striking these two men did not explode, and that they in fact continued on to strike other objects. This explanation, however, is undercut by Sturdivan himself and his assurance that at the "*actual point of exit*" the bullet striking Kennedy had lost only "*a small amount of mass*." As it's hard to see how an exploding bullet could lose only "*a small amount of mass*," it seems clear that Sturdivan, not unlike Dr. Baden and his HSCA colleagues, doesn't actually believe the bullet exploded. As Sturdivan contends that fragments from this bullet cracked the windshield of the limo, and that another dented the metal trim, and that still another chipped concrete more than 200 feet past Kennedy's location at frame 313, moreover, it seems clear he believes that, not only did the bullet not expend all its energy in the brain, but that it had plenty in reserve. Well then why did Kennedy's skull erupt mid-trajectory, when skulls struck by more powerful bullets on a similar trajectory did not?

Other blasts from the past only amplify this problem. The 1896 Annual Report of the U.S. Secretary of War, found online, presents the autopsy protocols of three men struck in the skull by bullets fired from the Krag-Jorgensen rifle. As we've seen, these bullets were larger and more powerful than the bullets fired from Oswald's Carcano.

The first of these protocols, written by Surgeon L.M. Maus, describes the wound of an apparent suicide victim, with the doctor estimating that the rifle was fired from but one foot away, with the bullet entering the left forehead and exiting from the top of the head. The doctor describes the large wound of both entrance and exit as being 16 cm long by 14 cm wide, which would make it slightly larger than the measured size of Kennedy's wound. He notes, however, that some of this missing bone was still adherent to the lacerated scalp, and that, once this bone was put back into place, the defect was only 6 cm by 6 cm. This is smaller than the defect on Kennedy's skull. This is a bullet more powerful than the bullet striking Kennedy, fired from only a foot away, and it has blasted away less skull at its entrance and exit combined than the bullet striking Kennedy did solely upon exit.

The second protocol, written by Surgeon Alfred C. Girard, describes the wounds of an escaping prisoner shot in the back of the head from 90 feet away. This is clearly the victim whose skull ended up as LaGarde's Figure 104. The protocol, however, fills in that "*a furrow corresponding to the injury to*

the dura mater was plowed through the right hemisphere, in the region of the superior convolution, about half an inch deep." Well, this is interesting, as the bullet striking Kennedy, and, according the HSCA panel, traveling on an almost identical trajectory, created a laceration 4.5 cm below the vertex of the brain. This is about 1 1/4 inches lower on the brain. That the amount of damage to this brain was far less than to Kennedy's is further confirmed by Girard's conclusion that *"Death was evidently caused by the concussion, as no vital parts of the brain were injured and the hemorrhage was not considerable."* Hmm. If that doesn't make one doubt that a bullet entering the purported cowlick entrance on JFK would behave as it purportedly did, I don't know what will. Anyhow, the autopsy protocol for this prisoner also confirms that the exit created by this bullet was much smaller than the exit of the bullet on Kennedy, and was only 1 1/2 inches long by 3/8 inches wide.

The third protocol was also written by Girard, and describes the wounds of another suicide victim. The bullet this time left both a small entrance and a small exit, even while badly fracturing the calvarium. Notes Girard: *"The enormous distension of the skull was striking; skin intact except a small circular opening 2 inches back and 2 inches above the right orbit; and a similar one at the junction of the left temporal and lower third of the parietal region. The head felt like a bag of detached bones. Blood flowed from the nose and ears."* Well, this is already very interesting. The structural damage to this skull was, as expected, considering that this bullet was more powerful than the bullet striking Kennedy and considering that it was fired at point blank range, greater than the damage to Kennedy's skull, but the top of the head did not explode and the exit was much smaller than Kennedy's. Girard notes further *"The actual place of entrance could not be distinguished among the debris...The place of exit was a distinct, small round hole one-fourth by five-sixteenths of an inch at the junction of the squamous portion of the temporal bone and the inferior border of the parietal bone, about 2 inches from the posterior inferior angle."* Girard goes on to theorize that the small size of the entrance and exit of this bullet and the lack of comminution of the skull came as a result of the *"slight resistance offered by the temporal bone."* This, of course, suggests that bone offering more resistance, such as the occipital bone, would lead to larger fractures. So why were the fractures on the back of Kennedy's head so minor in comparison to those by the supposed exit? The protocols published by the Secretary of War should make one doubt both the Warren Commission's and HSCA's interpretations of Kennedy's wounds.

More extensive studies on the wound ballistics of the jacketed ammunition of this era are also available. In *Wounds in War*, published 1898, William Flack Stevenson reported on a series of tests performed under the guidance of Dr. von Coler, at the suggestion of the German Minister of War. These tests were designed to study the wound ballistics of the new jacketed ammunition, just coming into use. The steel or copper-jacketed Mauser bullets fired in these tests were for the most part .311 caliber, and weighed 227 grains. They had an initial velocity of 2,034 fps. These bullets were more powerful than those fired in Oswald's weapon. Nearly 1,000 shootings of animals and dead men were studied, along with the suicidal or accidental shooting of 22 living men. Stevenson reported that *"In bullet wounds of the head at very short ranges, the entrance and exit wounds can be defined as such: the roof of the skull is broken up, and the sutures burst open, but the lines of fracture follow no regular order: the scalp for the most part preserves its continuity and shows apertures only at the entrance and exit holes, from which brain matter protrudes. Even at 110 yards diminution of the destruction is observed: the extent of the injury is not so visible outside: but if the skull can be handled, the shattering of its roof and sides can be distinctly felt, and the splinters perceived to crepitate against each other. Brain matter protrudes at the exit wound, but rarely at the entrance side."*

Thus, at 88 yards one would not expect an explosion of the skull and scalp at the point of the bullet's greatest release of energy, as subsequently proposed by Larry Sturdivan.

But Stevenson didn't stop there: *"From range to range, as distance increases, a regular and steady decrease occurs in the amount of damage to the bony roof. Zones of splintering around the entrance*

and exit holes continue, but lines of fracture unconnected with these apertures, though present, become less numerous. From 1100 yards the lines of fracture are radial about the entrance and exit holes, and at 1760 yards they begin to cease to be observed, though one line of fracture which joins the apertures is always apparent up to this distance. At 1320 yards splintering around the entrance and exit holes is still fairly extensive: but at 1760 yards a clean-pierced entrance hole was first observed in a full skull, similar in all respects to one seen in a skull from which the brain had been removed."

Thus, according to these findings, at 88 yards one would not expect a small round entrance hole on the back of the head, with only a few small stellate fractures emanating from the hole, as was proposed by the doctors conducting Kennedy's autopsy.

Stevenson's description of the damage to the brain is also intriguing: *"The destruction which occurs to the brain itself from bullet hits is, at short ranges, enormous. This is evidenced not only in the immediate neighbourhood of the bullet track, but throughout all the mass of the brain, a considerable quantity of which is driven out through the entrance and exit apertures. As the range increases the injury to the brain diminishes so rapidly that even at 110 yards the bullet may make a small cylindrical channel through it."*

Thus, the damage to Kennedy's brain is also unexpected. If the fracturing of the bullet led it to behave like a bullet fired at much closer range, why was so little, if any, brain matter driven out the entrance aperture?

And it's not as if Stevenson's book or von Coler's tests were out of line with what one will find in other books from this era. They are the rule and not the exception.

In *Fractures and Dislocations*, published 1915, Dr. Miller E. Preston wrote: *"The completely jacketed high-velocity projectile, such as used in the army, may penetrate the head with a minimum of trauma: the wound of entrance is small and clean-cut; the wound of exit is only a trifle larger."* He nevertheless warns: *"Any projectile either low or high in velocity is likely to produce extensive comminution when the skull is struck a glancing blow."* Thus, Preston not only contradicts Sturdivan's assertion that the temporary cavity created by this kind of ammunition would be significant enough to explode skull into the sky, he suggests that the angle of the bullet's entrance may be the actual cause of the extensive damage seen on Kennedy.

Treatise on Fractures in General, Industrial, and Military Practice, published 1921, provides yet another example. Here, Drs. John Roberts and James Kelley presented the findings of yet another German doctor, Ernst von Bergmann, who had fired a *"hard lead, steel-mantled bullet"* from a *"small calibre arm and had an initial velocity of 2,000 feet per second."* This could very well have been Oswald's rifle. Anyhow, von Bergmann fired upon what we can only hope were cadavers, and found *"that with the modern, hard-shell, high velocity bullet at short range, the skull cap, together with the scalp covering it, is torn off. At a range of 50 meters there is a wound of entrance and one of exit, the scalp is preserved, and the skull held together, although the latter was broken into many fragments. At 100 meters there is less destruction of the skull; and the lines of fracture are arranged radially, in part encircling the bullet holes like a bending and bursting fracture. The diameter of the wound of exit is about 20-30 mm..."* Hmmm... It seems more than just a coincidence that this supports von Coler's findings that a skull hit by a bullet like the one striking Kennedy would fracture but not explode into the sky. It also seems more than a coincidence that this description fits the wounds seen on the skulls above almost perfectly, and that Kennedy's skull suffered far more damage.

This metaphorical trip through Google's stacks leads me to conclude then that the damage to Kennedy's skull was not as expected, and that Sturdivan's explanation for Kennedy's wounds just doesn't pass muster.

But who am I kidding? Most readers will, understandably, automatically defer to the opinions of a modern ballistics expert like Sturdivan over a layman such as myself. To better explain wound ballistics and its bearing on this case, then, let's consult some experts from our more recent past.

Blasts From the Present



The scientific community continues to blast away at the Warren Commission's conclusions. The black and white photo below is from Vincent J. M. DiMaio's *Gunshot Wounds*, 1998. It shows the torn scalp discovered when someone is killed by hunting ammunition. Since the bullet striking Kennedy's skull disintegrated in much the manner of hunting ammunition, it only makes sense the scalp on the back of Kennedy's skull would be similarly torn.



So why were NO scalp lacerations on the back of Kennedy's skull reported in the autopsy protocol? Or depicted in the autopsy photos? (As shown in the Groden autopsy photo at far left...)

The photo below, from Tom Bevel and Ross Gardner's *Bloodstain Analysis*, 2008 is also problematic.

The bullet in this photo heads left to right. It demonstrates two important concepts. 1) blood sprays from a skull at an angle perpendicular to the skull's surface, and not in the direction of the bullet; and 2) the relative amount of blood spraying from an entrance or exit is related to the amount of blood in the surrounding tissue, and is not indicative of the direction of the bullet. As a consequence, one cannot say whether the blood spraying from Kennedy's skull in frame 313 of the Zapruder film (which is depicted at far right) sprayed from the bullet's entrance or its exit...



Blasts From the Present

Dr.s Harvey, McMillen, Butler, and Puckett, Chapter III, Mechanism of Wounding, contained in Wound Ballistics, edited by Dr. James Beyer, published by the Medical Department, United States Army, 1962. (Beyer was Kennedy autopsist Pierre Finck's predecessor at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.) *"The pressures which accompany a high-velocity missile moving through tissue are enormous. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that a steel sphere fired into the head can produce a temporary cavity in brain tissue, despite the apparent strength of the cranium which must resist the pressure. The cavity formed by a missile in the brain of an intact cranium is of finite size, partly because brain tissue is forced through regions of less resistance (such as frontal sinuses and the various foramina of the skull) and partly because of the stretching of the cranium itself. When the energy delivered is very great, skull bones are actually torn apart along suture lines...The explosive effect of high-velocity missiles within the cranium increases with increased energy. With very high velocities there is complete shattering of the skull, usually along suture lines... Movement of brain*

tissue during expansion of the temporary cavity pushes the bone apart." (Later in this book the tests using "very high-velocity" missiles, in which the skulls usually separated at the sutures, are described in more detail. The missiles in these tests were traveling at 4,000 fps or more, more than twice as fast as the bullet striking Kennedy.) So here we have confirmation that skulls don't normally explode from temporary cavities and that when they do it's usually along suture lines. Kennedy's skull did not explode along suture lines. Not only did the fractures on the right side of the skull not run along suture lines, but there was no separation along suture lines observed on the left side of the skull. There was also little damage to the left side of the brain, which would seem unlikely should the brain have expanded to the degree necessary to explode the skull. It follows then that these experts would consider the explosion of Kennedy's skull highly unusual. As confirmed below...

Dr. James Beyer, as quoted in a 12-19-63 AP article on Kennedy's head wound. (In this article, perhaps inadvertently, Beyer second-guesses the conclusions of his successor at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Dr. Pierre Finck.) *"I'm still surprised at the reported size of the head wound if a normal, completely jacketed, military type bullet was used—and if it did not strike some object, such as a portion of the President's limousine before hitting the president's head." Ordinarily, he said, a military type bullet, if fired from a range of about 100 yards as the fatal bullet apparently was, would cause only a relatively small wound at the point of entry and would not necessarily cause extensive damage inside the skull. In contrast, he said, a soft-nosed hunting-type bullet—whose soft nose tends to mushroom out after striking a target-- could cause a head wound of the devastating type described even though the initial entrance was not large. Also, he said, if an ordinary military-type bullet "just grazed" a portion of the limousine before striking the president's head—without losing much of its energy—the slight instability imparted to the missile could have resulted in the large wound described. Beyer wrote the section on wound ballistics to the Army's official medical history of World War II."* While Beyer was obviously unaware of the tendency of 6.5 mm ammunition to break-up on the skull, his statement that a shot from 100 yards using 6.5 mm military-type ammunition "would not necessarily cause extensive damage inside the skull" is a clear indication that the temporary cavity (which, as we shall see, is larger with intact bullets than non-intact bullets) of Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition was not particularly destructive. This totally contradicts Sturdivan's contention that the temporary cavity of the bullet striking Kennedy was the primary factor in the explosion of his skull.

Dr. Alfred Olivier, 5-6-64 testimony before the Warren Commission. *"This type of a stable bullet I didn't think would cause a massive head wound, I thought it would go through making a small entrance and exit, but the bones of the skull are enough to deform the end of this bullet causing it to expend a lot of energy and blowing out the side of the skull or blowing out fragments of the skull."* Here, Sturdivan's mentor, Olivier, gets around Beyer by suggesting that the explosion of Kennedy's skull was related to the deformation of the bullet on the back of the skull. As none of the dried skulls fired on by Olivier, using rifles and bullets identical to those supposedly used by Oswald, exploded upwards like Kennedy's skull, this explanation is far from satisfactory. Olivier's testimony is interesting, nonetheless, as it supports both that the damage to Kennedy's skull was considered surprising, and that the deformation of the bullet occurred upon impact, and not upon exit. Sturdivan and the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, we should recall, both pushed that the bullet remained largely intact until exiting the skull, with Baden actually pushing that the bullet remained intact until impacting the windshield frame.

Dr.s Bergeron and Rumbaugh, Radiology of the Skull and Brain, 1971, chapter on Skull Trauma. *"Violence to a small area stresses the bone only locally and results in an impression fracture. This type of violence must be clearly distinguished from that to a large area, which uniformly stresses the skull as a whole and results in a burst fracture."* This demonstrates that the fracture patterns resulting from a bullet's entrance and exit are distinguishable from burst fractures.

Dr. Alfred Olivier, 2-13-73 letter to Emory L. Brown, Jr. (A copy of this letter can be found in the

Weisberg Archives.) (On the origins of the large fragment purported to be on the back of Kennedy's skull in the X-rays.) *"This metallic fragment was probably deposited when the bullet jacket ruptured on the skull. This rupturing of the jacket was one of the things that surprised me when we tested the bullet (same lot as used by Oswald) against human skulls. Apparently, the gilding metal was fairly soft, allowing these full-jacketed military bullets to act like soft-nosed hunting bullets. If Oswald had used Italian ammunition, which had steel jackets, the head wound would have been much less severe, but probably still fatal."* Ahh, there it is...an acknowledgment from someone well-familiar with such things that the break-up of a jacketed bullet upon impact with a skull leads it to act like hunting ammunition, and thereby increases the severity of the wound.

Dr. Alfred Olivier, 4-18-75 testimony before the Rockefeller Commission. *"When that bullet entered the head the nose of the bullet erupted on the skull and expended a tremendous amount of energy. This caused what is known as a temporary cavity. Apparently, this cavity was nearer the side of the head so that it buried in that area, and say, took the path of least resistance. If the bullet path had been near the top of the head it could have burst through the top."* This statement confirms that Dr. Olivier believed 1) the bullet broke up on the outside of the skull; 2) the break-up of this bullet was the decisive factor in the creation of the large temporary cavity, and 3) a temporary cavity will take the path of least resistance. This last point suggests that a large exit created by a permanent cavity will moderate the damage done by the subsequent temporary cavity. It also raises the question, overlooked in both Dr. Humes and Dr. Olivier's Warren Commission testimony, of whether the small entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's head gave the appearance of a wound where a bullet had broken up on the skull.

Dr. John Lattimer, 10-23-75 letter to Emory Brown, Jr. (A copy of this letter can be found in the Weisberg Archives.) (On tests he'd performed on M/C ammunition) *"These bullets keep on going straight ahead in the wood. These same bullets will fragment exactly like a soft-nosed bullet, if they strike the skull, exactly as President Kennedy's skull was struck."* Well, here it is again...confirmation that the bullet striking Kennedy's skull behaved like soft-nosed hunting ammunition. This supports Olivier's statements suggesting that the bullet's explosion and the skull's explosion are inter-related, and that one can not simply propose that the bullet didn't break up at impact, a la Sturdivan and Baden, and still have the severity of the exit make sense.

Dr.s Charters and Charters, Journal of Trauma 1976, Wounding Mechanism of Very High Velocity Projectiles. *"The magnitude of the temporary wound cavity is dependent upon the energy imparted by the projectile during penetration of the tissue, since the energy released decreased exponentially with the distance penetrated."* In support of this statement, Charters and Charters published test results demonstrating that fragmenting stainless steel spheres penetrate shorter distances and create smaller temporary cavities than non-fragmenting spheres. Since the bullet striking Kennedy was badly fragmented this suggests that the largest temporary cavity inside his skull, and the greatest stress on the skull, was nearest the entrance, not the exit. This in turn casts doubt that the large defect on the top of Kennedy's skull (a good distance from the low entrance formerly proposed by Olivier and currently proposed by Sturdivan) was created by the temporary cavity of a disintegrating bullet. Perhaps this is why Sturdivan now proposes that the bullet lost little of its mass prior to exit.

Dr. Frank P. Cleveland, Chapter XXII, Characteristics of Wounds Produced by Handguns and Rifles, contained in Forensic Pathology: A Handbook for Pathologists, edited by Dr. Russell Fisher (of the Clark Panel) and Dr. Charles Petty (of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel), published by the U.S. Department of Justice, 1977. *"Wounds from high velocity projectiles. Increasing the velocity of projectiles increases geometrically the quantity of energy produced and this produces perforating wounds with unusual features: bone may literally be pulverized; soft tissue laceration may be widespread and at considerable distance from the track of the projectile; lacerations may be observed within the intima of arteries; exit wounds may be unusually large."* (List of

characteristics of typical wounds of entrance) *"Entrance, tight contact...(2) In the Skull (a) Stellate lacerations radiating from the central defect (b) Marginal abrasions (contact ring), powder residue deep in the wound (c) Gaseous residue distributed along fascial planes (d) May be internal explosive fractures of skull (e) Bone fragments become secondary missiles (f) Peripheral abrasions around contact ring from barrel and sight."* (List of characteristics of typical wounds of exit) *"(1) Lacerated irregular defect with everted margin and subcutaneous fat protrusion. (2) May be larger than entrance wound, secondary to deformity of bullet or secondary missiles (i.e. bone)." This handbook, prepared for the Justice Department, supports that the explosion of Kennedy's skull was far from typical. While this handbook was written for civilian pathologists, and does not specifically address military rifle wounds, it bears repeating that the rifle wounds seen by civilian doctors are most frequently caused by hunting ammunition, and are of a more explosive nature than the wounds caused by full-jacketed military ammunition. The handbook's representation of "explosive fractures of the skull" as "internal", and its simultaneous assertion that exit wounds are larger than entrance wounds due to a "deformity of bullet or secondary missiles" is therefore at odds with Sturdivan's subsequent proposal that temporary cavities are explosive externally, and the primary cause of the large exit defects observed in association with high-velocity projectiles. Should one assume, moreover, that the depiction of "typical" exit wounds in the handbook was inaccurate, and that this had escaped the attention of its editors, Fisher and Petty, one should be aware that they'd added a footnote to the second point regarding exit wounds in order to explain that exit wounds in areas supported by clothing do not resemble the usual exit wound. From this it can be assumed that if they'd had any problems with Cleveland's discussion of exit wounds, and his failure to cite the temporary cavities of high speed projectiles as the primary cause for the large exits associated with their passage, they would have added another such footnote. Since they did not, we can assume they did not.*

Larry Sturdivan's testimony before the HSCA, 9-8-78. *"As a bullet deforms it also increases its presented area, and therefore, a deformed bullet will have a much greater drag than a non-deformed bullet."* This backs up what we've just discussed—that the energy release will be greatest when the bullet is most deformed, but intact. This statement also casts a shadow on the likelihood that a bullet deforming on the bones of the skull, and "erupting on the skull" as per Olivier, would leave an entrance defect smaller than its caliber. The bullet entrance measured at autopsy, let's remember, was only 6mm in its smallest dimension.

Report of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, 1979. *"This energy transfer produces a temporary cavity as described earlier, which actually develops after the bullet has passed through the tissue. Accordingly, a bullet can pass through a head and be almost 100 feet further along before a photograph reveals the explosive destruction of the head. This also explains the presence of entry and exit holes in bones and tissue even though the skull is extremely fragmented or blown apart by the subsequent formation of the temporary cavity. The velocity of the outward-moving tissue particles may be only 125 feet per second, far less than the 1,000 to 2,000 feet per second velocity of the bullet projectile."* This supports Sturdivan's statements that the cratering or beveling patterns on the skull closest to the entrance and exit will reveal the direction of fire even if a subsequent temporary cavity explodes the skull. This also supports our contention that the fractures deriving from the explosion of the temporary cavity would occur after the fractures created by the entrance and exit.

Michael S. Owen-Smith, High Velocity and Military Gunshot Wounds, 1981 from, Management of Gunshot Wounds, 1988. *"if the bullet fragments on impact, all the energy will be used up in creating horrendous wounds... When the skull is filled with gelatine and a bullet fired through it at the same velocity the liquidlike medium behaves like the brain and allows the hydro-dynamic pressure wave of cavitation to blow the skull bones apart from within, causing gross 'eggshell' fracturing of the skull."* While Owen-Smith's mention of "eggshell" fracturing" might lead one to conclude that study of

these fractures to determine the entrance and exit of the bullet is a waste of time, this isn't true. Included with his article are two photographs—one of a 7.62mm bullet's entrance on an empty skull, and one of a 7.62mm bullet's entrance on a skull filled with gelatin. On the skull filled with gelatin, large stellate fractures derive from the entrance, and a piece of skull by the entrance is missing. This entrance more closely resembles what is supposedly the EXIT on Kennedy's skull than what is supposedly the entrance. It is also intriguing that Smith chooses to demonstrate the effect of cavitation on a skull by comparing the entrance locations of the bullets and not the exits. This suggests that the effects of cavitation are more apparent at the entrance than the exit. Yet another point to consider is that, while the 7.62mm bullet fired from 14m in Owen-Smith's tests would create a much more powerful impact on a skull than a 6.5mm bullet fired from the sniper's nest at Kennedy, the fractures deriving from the opening on the top of Kennedy's head, as well as the loss of bone, were greater than the fractures and missing bone by the entrance on Owen-Smith's exhibit. This suggests that the forces creating Kennedy's large defect were more powerful than one would normally expect from the temporary cavity of a 6.5mm bullet.

Dr. Vincent J.M. DiMaio: Practical Aspects of Firearms, 1985. *“the fact that the fractures in a skull are due to temporary cavity formation was demonstrated by a series of experiments with skulls. When skulls were empty, the bullets “drilled” neat entrances and exits without any fractures. When the skulls were filled with gelatin to simulate the brain, massive secondary skull fractures were produced.”* This supports Owen-Smith's statements, but with the acknowledgment that fractures created by cavitation are “secondary.” This means they would come to an end when reaching “primary” fractures, i.e. fractures created by the bullet's impact. This simple fact proves helpful when interpreting the x-rays.

Dr. Martin Fackler, What's Wrong with the Wounds Ballistics Literature and Why, July 1987. *“In the Vietnam Era, the major role played by bullet fragmentation in tissue disruption was not recognized due to “Idolatry of Velocity”...Despite the recent evidence, a generation of surgeons and weapon developers has been confused and prejudiced by the assumption that “high velocity” and “temporary cavitation” were the sole causes of tissue disruption...”* According to Dr. Olivier's testimony before the Rockefeller Commission, Edgewood Arsenal, his and Sturdivan's employer, did the original work comparing the M-14, the M-16, and the AK-47. These were the rifles of the Vietnam Era. Olivier testified, furthermore, that *“as a result of our work, we adopted the M-16.”* This puts Olivier and Sturdivan on the opposite side of the fence from the well-regarded Fackler, and in the company of "velocity-worshippers."

“To further confuse the issue, pressures of up to 100 atmospheres are incorrectly attributed to temporary cavitation by many authors...Temporary cavity tissue displacement can cause pressure of only about 4 atmospheres.” So here we have the most respected man in the field of wound ballistics today raining on Sturdivan's parade. Fackler obviously does not subscribe to Olivier and Sturdivan's theory that the explosion along the top of Kennedy's head was caused by the temporary cavity.

“A similar temporary cavity such as that produced by the M-16, stretching tissue that has been riddled by bullet fragments, causes a much larger permanent cavity by detaching tissue segments between the fragment paths. Thus projectile fragmentation can turn the energy used in temporary cavitation into a truly destructive force because it is focused on areas weakened by fragment paths rather than being absorbed evenly by the tissue mass. The synergy between projectile fragmentation and cavitation can greatly increase the damage done by a given amount of kinetic energy.” Thus, the temporary cavity of a fragmenting bullet (such as a tumbling M-16 bullet or a Mannlicher-Carcano bullet breaking up on the skull) will release more energy into the permanent cavity, and fail to expand at the rate of the cavity created by a non-fragmenting bullet imparting an identical amount of energy into the brain. This is not to say the temporary cavity created by a fragmenting bullet will be automatically smaller than that created by an intact bullet, as suggested by Charters and Charters research. It seems clear, though, that

the ratio of permanent cavity to temporary cavity is reduced by the bullet's fragmentation. Thus, while an intact bullet traveling sideways within the skull may leave a permanent cavity an inch wide, and create a temporary cavity three or four inches wide, a fragmenting bullet that breaks up within the skull may create a permanent cavity two inches wide, and a temporary cavity three to four inches wide. The fact that the bullet striking Kennedy both fragmented and had sufficient energy to damage the windshield, windshield frame, and cement curb, then, suggests that its temporary cavity was not as explosive as it would have been had it remained intact and expended all its energy in the brain.

Confused? So was I until I came across a simple analogy in a book by Dr. Vincent J. M. DiMaio. He compared the temporary cavity to the waves created by a boat on a lake. Well which creates a bigger and more powerful wave along the shore, one large boat or ten small ones adding up to the same displacement in the water? The one large one, correct? Why? Because the wakes of the smaller boats are directed towards each other as well as the shore. This crashing of the wakes into each other is what, in Fackler's words, detaches the tissue segments between the fragment paths, and creates the large permanent cavity.

“Temporary cavitation is no more than the pushing aside of tissue. The distance the tissue is displaced depends, among other things, on its weight. As might be expected, a given projectile will cause a temporary cavity of smaller diameter in a larger limb because of the increased weight of the mass being moved. This has been proved experimentally...” This can be taken as support for Sturdivan's theory in that it suggests the temporary cavity was greatest near the exit on the top of Kennedy's skull. But if the extra weight/pressure at the back of Kennedy's head kept the temporary cavity from expanding upwards, shouldn't it also have forced more fluid back out the entrance, and created a noticeable spray of back spatter?

Smith et al, Cranial Fracture Patterns and Estimate of Direction from Low Velocity Gunshot Wounds, Journal of Forensic Sciences, September 1987. *“A bullet entering the skull produces an entrance wound and a series of radial fractures extending across the skull in advance of the bullet to relieve hoop stresses. Concentric heaving fractures develop in successive generations connecting the radial fractures as the wedges are lifted up. Upon exit there is another series of radial and concentric heaving fractures produced that are of lesser magnitude, have fewer generations, and may be arrested by preexistent fracture lines.”* This raises a few questions. As the fracture patterns of entrance and exit are created almost simultaneously with the impact of the bullet, and precede the fractures created by the temporary cavity, why are there NO large fractures deriving from the entrance on the back of Kennedy's head, and why are there ENORMOUS fractures deriving from the supposed exit? The bullet at the entrance was of larger mass and traveling at a much greater speed than the fragments believed to have impacted at the supposed exit.

Dr. Philip Villanueva, chapter on Cranial Gunshot Wounds, Management of Gunshot Wounds, 1988. *“The shape of the cavitation is theoretically conical, with the apex of the cone being farthest away from the entry...In reality, the projectile's path often varies from a straight track, causing an irregular shaped cavity.”* This supports Sturdivan's conjecture that the bullet could curve upwards while crossing the skull. It still fails to explain, however, why no path for a bullet heading upwards in the skull from the supposed entrance near the cerebellum to the supposed exit near the coronal suture has ever been ascertained, either at autopsy or afterward. After all, if the bullet had traveled on such a trajectory, while fragmenting, it would have created a large permanent cavity, and have left small bullet fragments within this cavity, far from the surface of the cerebrum. So where are these fragments? Sturdivan's latter-day assertion that these fragments would have been uniformly flushed upwards with the explosion of the temporary cavity makes little sense, as it seems clear that at least some of these fragments would have been embedded deep within the brain.

Dr. Edward Pechter, chapter on Gunshot Wounds of Soft Tissue and of the Hand, Management of

Gunshot Wounds, 1988. *“The maximum displacement of the temporary cavity is related to the point of maximum retardation in velocity of the projectile. A missile that loses velocity rapidly will produce a temporary cavity with its maximum dimension near the entrance wound. A pointed bullet will need a longer penetration depth before the maximum size of its temporary cavity is produced unless the bullet is constructed so as to tumble very quickly. As a shaped, elongated bullet tumbles, the maximum energy release will occur near the place where it reaches 90 degrees of yaw.”* So here we have a doctor once again supporting what before we’d only theorized—that the temporary cavity of a deformed bullet rapidly losing velocity will be largest near the entrance. Pechter’s statement suggesting that some pointed bullets are designed to tumble very quickly is a pointed (sorry) reference to M-16 bullets, which are designed to tumble and break-up and create the large permanent cavities discussed by Dr. Fackler. Since the bullets used in Oswald’s gun were not designed to tumble, one might take from this that they would tumble at a later point, nearest the exit, and break up at that point. One might even try to use this to defend Sturdivan’s theory. But one would be wrong. Olivier’s tests in 1964 established that the 6.5mm bullets fired in Oswald’s rifle would be unlikely to tumble in soft tissue, and that, furthermore, would not break up if they did tumble. Sturdivan knew this. When testifying about the “magic” bullet, he told the HSCA: *“It is slightly deformed which, through my calculations, indicate it must have been deformed on bone since it could not have deformed in soft tissue.”* So really what’s in dispute here? Sturdivan seems to agree that the bullet striking Kennedy at frame 313 fractured upon entrance, but is apparently of the belief it came apart as it tumbled upwards in the skull. Since skull fractures occur almost instantly, and since we can assume copper jacket fractures happen just as fast, I contend, on the other hand, that the purported bullet would be in pieces even before it entered the skull, and would begin tumbling almost immediately, and losing its energy almost immediately. This, if correct, casts great doubt that a temporary cavity from this bullet exploded the skull by the bullet's exit, but failed to push any back spatter out the entrance. The x-ray of the Olivier test skull presented by Sturdivan as Figure 38 in *The JFK Myths* (and as shown above on *The JFK Myths* slide) shows that bullet fragments were retained in the middle of the skull. As these bullet fragments would most certainly have continued forward from where they broke off from the bullet, the bullet used in this test undoubtedly broke up on the back half of the skull.

Dr. Gary Ordog, chapter on Wound Ballistics, Management of Gunshot Wounds, 1988. *“The bullet loses velocity on passage through the tissues, and the entrance wound tends to be larger than the exit wound if the missile is a perfect sphere. For missiles that are not spheres, the size of the entrance wound depends on the area of presentation of the missile at the moment of impact, as well as the size of the temporary cavity formed. Thus, the size of the entrance and the exit wound of a fully jacketed bullet depends on the bullet’s yaw in flight through the air and the tissues. If the bullet strikes the tissue head-on and tumbles through, and then leaves the body, then the exit wound will be larger than the entrance wound. When the bullet enters and exits head-on, the entrance wound may be larger because of a larger temporary cavity caused by higher-velocity near the entrance.”* So here we have it again. Ordog confirms our suspicion that the temporary cavity makes more of an impact on entrance size than exit size, and that it is the tumbling or break-up of a bullet that creates a larger wound at exit. While an intact bullet that tumbles just before it exits will create a larger temporary cavity nearest the exit, there is no reason to believe the bullet entering the back of Kennedy’s skull remained intact till just before the exit.

“The bullet’s angle of impact on the target can greatly influence the drag coefficient and amount of tissue damage. The more acute the angle is to the skin, the more surface area is presented to the tissue, thus increasing the wounding energy and amount of tissue destruction.” This suggests the possibility that the area with the most tissue damage, the large defect, was in fact the impact location of a bullet traveling at an acute angle to the skin. More on this to come...

Massad Ayoob, The JFK Assassination: A Shooter's Eye View, American Handgunner, March/April 1993. *"The explosion of the President's head as seen in frame 313 of the Zapruder film is simply not characteristic of a full metal-jacket rifle bullet traveling at 2,200 fps or less. It is far more consistent with an explosive wound of entry with a small-bore, hyper-velocity rifle bullet traveling between 3,000 and 4,000 fps, and probably toward the higher end of that scale ...An explosive wound of entry occurs when a highly liquid area of the body, such as the brain, is struck by a high velocity round. The tissue swells violently during the microseconds of the bullet's passing, and seeks the line of least resistance. That least resistance is the portal of the entry wound that appeared a microsecond before, and the bullet will not bore an exit hole to relieve the pressure for another microsecond or two--perhaps not at all if the bullet fragments inside the brain. If the cataclysmic cranial injury inflicted on Kennedy was indeed an explosive wound of entry, the source of the shot would have had to be forward of the Presidential limousine, to its right, and slightly above...the area of the grassy knoll."* So here we have a respected gun expert and author laying it all out...Kennedy's large head wound is not at all what one would expect from the ammunition used in Oswald's rifle, should it have impacted as claimed by the likes of Olivier and Sturdivan. His words also suggest that, if the bullet impacted as proposed by Olivier and Sturdivan, and Kennedy's head exploded as a consequence of the temporary cavity created by the bullet, blood and brain matter would most certainly have sprayed back out the entrance. But Ayoob doesn't stop there...

"The evidence does not rule out the possibility that a hyper-velocity rifle bullet evacuated the President's cranial vault without any other bullet hitting him in the head. The 6.5mm Carcano throws a 162 gr. bullet at a bit under 2,300 fps muzzle velocity. The closest commonly used cartridge to it in terms of ballistics is probably the .30/30, which has a .308" diameter. The Carcano round, about a .263" diameter. Ask any homicide detective if he's ever seen a .30/30 round blow a man's head up at 55 to 60 yards, exploding the calvarium up and away from the body proper. Ask any hunter of deer-size game if he's ever seen the same thing at that distance. It happens only at very close range with that ballistic technology. The wound we see happening in frame 313 in the Zapruder film--and see the results of most clearly in frame 337--is simply not consistent with this rifle cartridge, at that distance in living tissue. It is particularly inconsistent with a round-nose full metal-jacket bullet of the type Oswald had in his rifle." Here Ayoob re-stresses the point. Bullets like those fired in Oswald's rifle just don't do what we've been told they do. They just don't send pieces of skull flying across the sky when fired from a distance. This is so clear to Ayoob in fact that, even in the conclusion to his article, where he postulates that Oswald quite possibly acted alone, he does so only under the proviso that the bullet striking Kennedy at frame 313 *"for unexplainable reasons did damage out of all proportion to its ballistic capability as most of us would perceive that to be."*

Dr. John Lattimer, speaking at The Second Annual Midwest Symposium on Assassination Politics, Chicago Illinois, April 3, 1993. (While discussing Warren Commission Exhibit 388, a drawing of Kennedy's large head wound.) *"And again, the wound here depicted in this type--in the Warren Commission--I was familiar with this kind of wound from World War II, from this kind of bullet. And it was clearly not what I expected. But when I saw the x-rays and photographs, it was exactly as anticipated--a large wound of exit, cracks in all directions..."* Here, Lattimer sticks to his story that the Rydberg drawings were misleading and that Kennedy's wounds were much more severe and exactly as he'd have predicted. In this presentation he also discussed the fact that he didn't think skull fragments exploded upwards like the fragments captured in frame 313 of the Zapruder film. He then showed photos of skulls fired on by him where the fragments did explode upwards, and claimed these tests convinced him that Kennedy's head wound wasn't so unusual after all. He failed to note that these skulls were dead dried skulls without any scalp to hold the fragments in place. He did note, however, that he thought his tests were more successful than Olivier's 1964 tests because he was firing at the top of the skull and not the bottom. This suggests that he knew full well that the Warren Commission

scenario of a small bullet entrance low on the skull and an enormous exit at the top of the skull made little sense. (Lattimer, of course, later changed his mind about this entrance location, and thereby nullified the tests he'd found so convincing.)

Dr. Vincent J. M. DiMaio, Gunshot Wounds, 1998. *"The size and shape of the temporary cavity depend on the amount of kinetic energy lost by the bullet in its path through the tissue, how rapidly the energy is lost, and the elasticity and cohesiveness of the tissue. The maximum volume and diameter of this cavity are many times the volume and diameter of the bullet. Maximum expansion of the cavity does not occur until some time after the bullet has passed through the target...The maximum diameter of the cavity occurs at the point at which the maximum rate of loss of kinetic energy occurs."* This supports what we have already discussed.

"Intermediate range and distant head wounds show a wide range in the degree of severity, depending on the style of bullet and the entrance site in the head. Anything that tends to produce instability, deformation, or breakup of the bullet as it enters the head results in more extensive injuries. Thus, bullets entering through the thick occipital bone cause greater injuries than those entering the temporal area. Intermediate and distant range wounds of the head can be just as devastating as contact wounds. This is especially true for hunting ammunition. As the hunting bullet rapidly expands, shedding fragments of core and sometimes jacket, large quantities of kinetic energy are lost in the cranial cavity. This produces a large temporary cavity with resultant high pressure, all within the rigid framework of the skull. The pressure produces extensive fragmentation of bone and brain tissue. Location of entrance and exit wounds may require extensive reconstruction of the skull, with careful realignment of the edges of the scalp and bone. Rarely, the entrance in the skin cannot be determined with absolute certainty. This is more common with exits, however."

Distant and intermediate-range entrance wounds in areas overlying bone--typically the head--may have a stellate appearance suggestive of a contact wound. This is probably due to the temporary cavity ballooning out skin that is tightly stretched over bone, with resultant tearing of the skin."

DiMaio illustrates this point with the photo on the Blasts From the Present slide, above. This photo reveals the massive scalp lacerations created by the impact of a .30 30 hunting bullet upon a human skull. While Oswald's rifle was not as powerful as a .30 30 rifle, and while the bullet striking Kennedy was not in fact a hunting bullet, the bullet's near total deformation upon impact--as noted by both Olivier and Lattimer--would lead it to behave much like a hunting bullet, and release a significant amount of its energy into the skull upon entrance. So why were there no significant tears in the scalp apparent by the "entrance" on the back of Kennedy's head? And why did all the scalp lacerations noted at the autopsy derive from the purported "exit"? And why, when the temporary cavity in this skull exploded back out the entrance, did the temporary cavity in Kennedy's skull, according to Sturdivan, explode from the mid-point of his skull between the bullet's entrance and its exit? While DiMaio's observations raise serious doubts about Sturdivan's theories, they also raise questions about the work performed by Olivier and Sturdivan back in 1964. Why, for instance, were none of the entrances on the animal skin attached to the back of Olivier's test skulls photographed or measured for his report? Was Olivier trying to hide that there were stellate tears by the entrance?

Ironically, DiMaio's observations also raise doubts about his own objectivity. According to Doug Horne, who interviewed DiMaio for the ARRB in 1998, Dr. DiMaio made it clear even before being shown the autopsy photos that he felt "the Clark Panel and the HSCA panel had gotten everything right," and "declared with great certainty" that the red spot in the cowlick "was a classic bullet entry wound." Well, that's the problem. DiMaio's own writings demonstrate that a high-velocity entrance wound in which the bullet fractures upon impact should not remotely resemble a "classic bullet entry wound."

In 1998, DiMaio also worked as a consultant on a British TV program hosted by Roger Moore. His comments in this program were slightly more illuminating.

Dr. Vincent J.M. DiMaio, The Secret KGB JFK Assassination Files, 1998. *"The only type bullet that would produce so extensive a network of fractures in the skull is a bullet traveling at a very high velocity. Okay? A rifle bullet essentially. So when it comes in it makes usually a relatively neat hole and when it comes out it produces a very large exit, especially if the wound is very superficial. Actually, if the wound is deeper, like from here to here (as he says this, he points to the EOP area on the back of his head with his right hand and his forehead with his left), the exit wound is smaller, because the force generated by the bullet going through the brain can be absorbed by the whole head. Here (as he says this, he covers the crown of his head--the site of the HSCA's cowlick entrance, and the entrance used in the program's tests--with his right hand) it's kind of like just ripping off the top of the head. So when we see at the exit--see blood and tissue ejected in a cloud, a veritable cloud, a mist-like cloud, pink in color, and this is vaporized blood, and there are little droplets all over--less than a millimeter, just tiny. And so you have a cloud of blood, and this is what the motorcycle riders drove into. They drove into a cloud of blood."* Thus, DiMaio's belief that the purported cowlick entrance was the actual entrance on Kennedy's head comes not just from this purported entrance's giving the appearance of a "classic bullet entry wound," but from his opinion that a bullet entering low on Kennedy's head and exiting high on his head would not create the massive exit wound seen in the autopsy photos. He thereby disputes Sturdivan's most recent conclusions.

Dr. Mark A. Liker, Dr. Bitzhan Aarabi, and Dr. Michael Levy, chapter on Missile Wounds of the Head, Missile Wounds of the Head and Neck, 1999. *"The skull can also increase the bullet's destructive potential by slowing the missile down. Next to teeth, bone is the densest tissue in the body. Therefore, when a bullet strikes the skull, the missile will rapidly decelerate, often fragmenting or deforming in the process. The result is significant energy transfer from the bullet to the head. Deformation helps maximize energy transfer because the bullet's surface area increases, allowing the tissue to exert more drag force on the bullet. As drag increases, the bullet decelerates and more energy is transferred to the tissue. If the collision between bullet and skull results in the bullet's fragmentation, the brain injury is likely to be more severe. This is due not only to multiple missile tracks, but also to the tendency for fragments to behave as slower-velocity bullets that deposit all of their energy into the brain. Thus, if a high-velocity missile does not fragment upon impact with the skull, it may spare the brain some of its energy by exiting the skull; if, on the other hand, the missile breaks into fragments, the likelihood of a complete energy transfer increases dramatically."* Thus, Sturdivan's belief that the bullet lost little mass within the skull, and his concurrent belief that a fragment from this bullet went on to chip concrete more than 200 feet past Kennedy (as measured from the sniper's nest) indicate there was a far from complete transfer of energy from the bullet into the skull. Sturdivan's contention that small fragments were released within the skull and exploded upwards with the rush of blood, moreover, does little to offset this problem, as these fragments, by Sturdivan's own admission, had little mass and thus little energy to impart into the brain. As discussed by Fackler, furthermore, what little energy was released by these fragments would contribute as much to the permanent cavity as to the temporary cavity.

Sturdivan's contention that a bullet struck Kennedy low on the back of his head and that the temporary cavity created by this bullet subsequently exploded his skull is therefore rejected.

A study by Dr. W.M. Hammon, and published in the Journal of Neurosurgery in 1971, supports this conclusion. While this study, entitled "Analysis of 2,187 Consecutive Penetrating Wounds of the Brain from Vietnam" included victims of low-velocity ammunition and shrapnel, the mortality rate of those reaching the hospital was under 30%. This seems unlikely if the mere passage of a bullet through the brain could cause the explosive wounds seen on Kennedy.

A more recent study confirms this conclusion. This study, conducted by the faculty of Ankara University in Turkey, and published in *Neurologia Medico-Chirurgica*, a Japanese neurology journal, in 2005, described the progress of 80 patients brought into Diyarbakir Military Hospital with high-velocity gunshot wounds to the head. Although the bullets creating these wounds were presumably smaller than the bullet creating Kennedy's head wound, they were purportedly traveling at a much greater speed, as the article defined "high-velocity" as traveling greater than 3,000 fps. They were also created by modern military ammunition, which, although more stable than hunting ammunition, which is designed to expend all its energy in its target, is less stable than the ammunition used in Oswald's gun, and would, as a result, be likely to impart more energy into the brain. If Sturdivan's statements are true, and the temporary cavity of the bullet in Kennedy's brain exploded his skull mid-way between the entrance and the exit, then the wounds observed in this study should have been even more severe than Kennedy's wound.

They were in fact not as bad. According to the doctors writing the article, the wounds observed displayed "*huge and distant tissue damage caused by temporary cavitation and shock waves.*" They observed further that "*Such cavitory injury is much more extensive than the track of the missile.*" And yet they made no mention of any large skull defects caused by these cavities, and no mention at all of defects distant from the passage of the bullet. While the wounds discussed in this article were apparently more survivable than Kennedy's, as these men all lived at least a half-hour after being shot, and 73 of the 80 men survived, the point is that they shouldn't have been, should Sturdivan's theories about the effects of cavitation on the skull have been accurate.

Having thereby dispensed with what supposedly happened, we can hereby commence discussing what actually happened.

Tom Bevel and Ross M. Gardner, Bloodstain Pattern Analysis with an Introduction to Crime Scene Reconstruction, 2008. "*Forward spatter patterns when present tend to be more symmetrical than back spatter patterns. This is probably due to the primary force of the impact being transmitted in the direction of the projectile. Back spatter patterns tend to be less defined...*" Note that they write "forward spatter patterns when present" and not "back spatter patterns when present". This confirms what we should already have expected--that back spatter is most always apparent, while forward spatter is not. This suggests--since only one massive spatter is visible on frame 313 of the Zapruder film--that the blood and brain visible is not solely forward spatter. That this explosion appears to be asymmetrical only adds to this probability. (Thanks to Sherry Gutierrez Fiester for bringing this argument to the attention of the research community.)

"*The cone of spatter is ejected generally perpendicular to a surface and does not specifically align with the bullet path.*" (This is demonstrated in a photo on the Blasts From the Present slide, above.) Well, there it is. Since the large explosion seems to rise from Kennedy's right temple at an angle perpendicular to the surface of the skull at this location, the upward and forward movement of the blood and brain matter at this location is just as suggestive of back spatter as forward spatter. Actually more...since there is only one massive spatter visible on the film, and back spatter is most always present, then we should conclude the bullet impacting at frame 313 of the Zapruder film did so at the supposed exit near Kennedy's temple, and NOT on the back of his head.

So this means the bullet killing Kennedy was fired from the front, right?

Well, not so fast...

6.5mm Military Rifle Wounds



Bougainville case 11



HSCA Figure 13
Ida Dox drawing depicting
6.5mm bullet entrance in cowlick



Bougainville case 19



Bougainville case 20



Bougainville case 59

6.5mm Military Rifle Wounds

Let's go back to the beginning and see if there's anything we've overlooked.

Fortunately, the wound ballistics of most every rifle known to man has been studied, and has been written up sometime somewhere. And so one bright day at UCLA I spent hour after hour combing through old Military Surgeon Magazines in search of a report, any report, on any World War II battle between the allied forces and Italy, in hopes of reading first-hand descriptions of Mannlicher-Carcano wounds. While I was unable to find such a study, I was able to find studies of wounds caused by similar rifles, and these helped convince me that the Clark Panel and HSCA's purported wound of entrance near the cowlick was far from the "typical entrance wound" they described in their report, and that the official explanation for Kennedy's large head wound was in fact incorrect.

Of particular help was a World War II report by Dr.s Ashley Oughterson, Harry Hull, Francis Sutherland, and Daniel Greiner on allied casualties in Bougainville, Fiji. This report was published in Wound Ballistics, by the Medical Department of the Army, and featured the autopsy protocols of more than one hundred soldiers. Many of these soldiers died after being shot by Japanese 6.5mm rifles. Other online articles I found revealed that these Japanese Arisaka rifles fired a bullet slightly smaller than the bullets fired by Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano but that their bullets traveled slightly faster, imparting an

almost identical amount of energy into the wound. (The articles I found indicated the Arisaka bullet weighed 139 grains and traveled at 2395 fps and the Mannlicher-Carcano bullet weighed 160 grains and traveled at 2200 fps.) If any ballistics experts out there disagree with these numbers or with my assumption of a similarity between Arisaka and Carcano wound ballistics, please let me know.

The doctors summarized their findings regarding the effects of rifle ammunition on the head as follows:

"Head.—Head wounds produced by rifle fire were characterized without exception by extensive destruction of the brain and skull. Laceration, massive herniation, or total absence of large portions of the brain were the usual findings. Large areas of bony skull and scalp were frequently avulsed with shattering or widespread comminution of the residual portions of the skull. Ofttimes, bone fragments were driven deep into the brain tissue. Perforating skull wounds were more common than gutter wounds. Frequently, long, stellate fracture lines radiated across the base of the skull. Extensive damage was sometimes observed in one hemisphere of the brain, when the traversing missile track lay entirely in the opposite hemisphere. All these findings were interpreted as additional evidence in support of the modern hypotheses of wound production by high-velocity missiles.

Well, so far, so good. From this summary it sounds like the doctors would have claimed Kennedy's head wound was a typical wound.

Unfortunately, a closer inspection of the autopsy protocols proves this not to be the case.

The autopsy protocols of those dying from 6.5 mm bullet wounds to the head follow. These refer to the bullets as .25 caliber, which wasn't quite true. According to Bolt Action Rifles, by Fred de Haas and Wayne Zwohl, "much erroneous information circulated about that "small caliber Jap rifle" during WWII, with many believing its 6.5 mm bullets, which were .263 caliber, to be only .25 caliber. These protocols have been arranged in order of shot distance. For the sake of brevity, references to wounds other than head wounds have been removed.

- **Case 10:** A Fijian soldier, peering over the edge of an open foxhole to fire at the enemy, was struck by a .25 caliber Japanese bullet fired from a distance of **15 yards**. He was killed instantly at 1400 hours on 1 April 1944. Examination revealed a perforating wound of the head and multiple wounds of the extremities. The head wound of entry (**3.7 cm. in diameter**) was located at the inner canthus of the left eye and the exit wound (**8.7 cm. in diameter**) at the vertex of the skull. The skull was comminuted, and there was almost complete destruction of the left half of the brain.
- **Case 2:** A Fijian soldier, while on patrol, was standing behind a tree when he was struck by a .25 caliber Japanese bullet fired from a distance of **20 yards**. He was killed instantly on 31 March 1944. Examination revealed a perforating wound of the head. The entrance wound (**0.5 cm. in diameter**) was situated over the lateral border of the right supraorbital ridge and the exit wound (**1.2 cm. in diameter**) over the occipital bone. Stellate fractures of the frontal and occipital bones radiated from both perforations. The frontal and parietal lobes of the brain were perforated, and the cerebellum was grooved.
- **Case 11:** A soldier of the 129th Infantry was crouching and moving forward in a skirmish line when he was struck by a Japanese .25 caliber bullet fired from a distance of **20 yards**. He was killed instantly at 1300 hours on 24 March 1944. cursory examination revealed an extensive **gutter wound 15 x 10 cm.** involving the left temporal, occipital, and parietal regions. Large portions of these bones and underlying brain were absent. Extensive comminution of the remaining cranial vault was present.
- **Case 8:** A soldier of the 129th Infantry, 37th Division, was standing on his bunk in an open tent in battalion headquarters firing at the enemy, when he was struck by a .25 caliber Japanese bullet fired from a distance of **25 yards**. He was killed instantly at 0630 hours on 24 March

1944. Examination revealed a **gutter wound (5 x 2½ cm.)** of the left parietal region. Brain tissue exuded through the perforation in his helmet. Lacerated brain tissue, portions of the frontal and parietal lobes, was herniated through the wound. Marked subgaleal hemorrhage was present. The cranial vault was comminuted by stellate fractures. Both hemispheres of the brain were extensively lacerated. A mushroomed .25 caliber bullet was found in the right anterior fossa.

- **Case 20:** A soldier of the 129th Infantry was sitting on a log holding a flamethrower when he was struck in the head by a .25 caliber Japanese bullet fired from a distance of **75 yards**. His perforated helmet was found lying on the ground. He was killed instantly at 1130 hours on 27 March 1944. Examination revealed a **gutter wound 17.5 x 4 cm.** involving the right temporal and frontal regions. There were deep lacerations of the frontal, parietal, and temporal lobes. Disorganized brain tissue filled the wound. Extensive comminution of the cranial vault was found.
- **Case 25:** A soldier of the 129th Infantry was standing in an open foxhole when he was struck by a .25 caliber Japanese bullet fired by a sniper from a distance of **75 yards**. His helmet was perforated. He was wounded in action at 1430 hours on 24 March 1944 and died 5 hours later, despite shock therapy. Examination revealed a **gutter wound (15 x 7½ cm.)** occupying the right parieto-occipital region. Portions of these bones as well as the underlying cerebral hemisphere were absent. A small metal fragment was recovered from the remaining brain tissue and was identified as part of the jacket of a .25 caliber Japanese bullet. The right lateral ventricle was filled with blood. Petechial hemorrhages were present in the left half of the brain. Stellate fracture lines coursed through the bones of the vault.
- **Case 59:** A soldier of the 24th Infantry, while running forward in a skirmish line, was struck by .25 caliber Japanese machinegun bullets fired from a distance of **75 yards**. He was killed instantly at 1100 hours on 14 April 1944. Examination revealed multiple wounds. (One) bullet struck the left side of the face producing a **gutter wound 12.5 x 3.7 x 0.25 cm.**, which destroyed the left temporomandibular joint.
- **Case 17:** A soldier of the 129th Infantry, while walking up a jungle trail, was struck by a Japanese .25 caliber bullet fired from a distance of **100 yards**. He was killed instantly at 1320 hours on 24 March 1944. Examination revealed a perforating wound of the head. The wound of entrance (**2.5 cm. in diameter**) traversed the right infraorbital ridge; the exit wound (**3 cm. in diameter**) was located in the left parieto-occipital region. When the body was received, the helmet had not been removed and brain tissue was extruded over its surface.
- **Case 5:** A Fijian soldier, while on patrol, peered over a ridge and was struck in the head by a .25 caliber Japanese machine gun bullet fired from a distance of **150 yards**. He was killed instantly at 1000 hours on 26 March 1944. Examination revealed a **gutter wound (6.5 x 2.5 cm.)** in the center of the forehead with a portion of the frontal bone blown away. Fracture lines radiated through the temporal, parietal, and occipital bones. Both frontals and the right temporal lobes were lacerated. A bullet was recovered from the right temporal fossa.
- **Case 18:** A U.S. soldier was standing in a cleared area digging a foxhole when he was struck in the head by a .25 caliber bullet. The shot was fired by a Japanese sniper at a distance of over **150 yards**. The soldier was killed instantly at 1500 hours on 26 March 1944. Examination revealed a perforating wound of the head. The entrance wound (**0.6 cm. in diameter**) was posterior to the left mastoid process, and the exit wound (**1.2 cm. in diameter**) was at the outer canthus of the right eye. The bullet coursed in a superior and anterior direction and perforated the atlas; it then crossed the foramen magnum and severed the brain stem at the lower level of the pons. The track continued through the base of the skull, right ethmoid, and right orbit to the point of exit.

- **Case 19:** A U.S. soldier, while on duty as a sniper in the jungle, peered over a protecting log and was struck in the head by a .25 caliber bullet. The shot was fired by a Japanese sniper from an unknown distance. The soldier was killed instantly on 24 March 1944. cursory examination revealed a penetrating wound of the skull, with the wound of entrance in the left orbit. A compound comminuted fracture of the skull with marked brain destruction was present. (NOTE: while this entrance wound was not measured, it was photographed, and revealed to be many times the purported size of the entrance on the back of Kennedy's head.)
- **President Kennedy:** The President of the United States was shot while driving down the street in an open limousine. The shot was believed to have been fired from a distance of **90 yards**. The doctors at his autopsy claimed that a **1.5 x .6 cm** entrance wound was found low on the back of his head, and that a **13 cm** exit was found on the top of his head above his right temple. They also claimed that a large amount of skull was missing at the exit, and that the right side of his skull was largely fractured.

Notice anything? Surprisingly, 6 of the 11 bullets discussed in the autopsy protocols didn't leave easily distinguishable entrances and exits on the skull, but left large "gutter" or "tangential" type wounds of both entrance and exit. Even if one were to exclude the "gutter" wounds of cases 8, 20 and 25 under the assumption that the perforation of these soldier's helmets may have led to their creation, 3 of the 8 remaining bullets created "gutter" wounds.

The tendency of military rifle bullets to create such wounds was documented as far back as the 19th century, when full-metal jacketed bullets were first introduced. As an early example, 1916's *Gunshot Injuries*, by Louis Anatole La Garde, noted that gutter fractures were *"especially common with the use of steel-jacketed bullets"* and went so far as to say they were *"characteristic of jacketed bullet wounds."* The close identification of these wounds with jacketed ammunition eventually led Dr.s Sherman et al, of the L.A. County--USC Department of Neurosurgery, to note in a 1980 *Western Journal of Medicine* article on gunshot wounds to the brain involving civilian ammunition that *"Our experience did not reflect any tangential wounds to the head with the massive brain guttering and soft tissue loss as described in the military literature."*

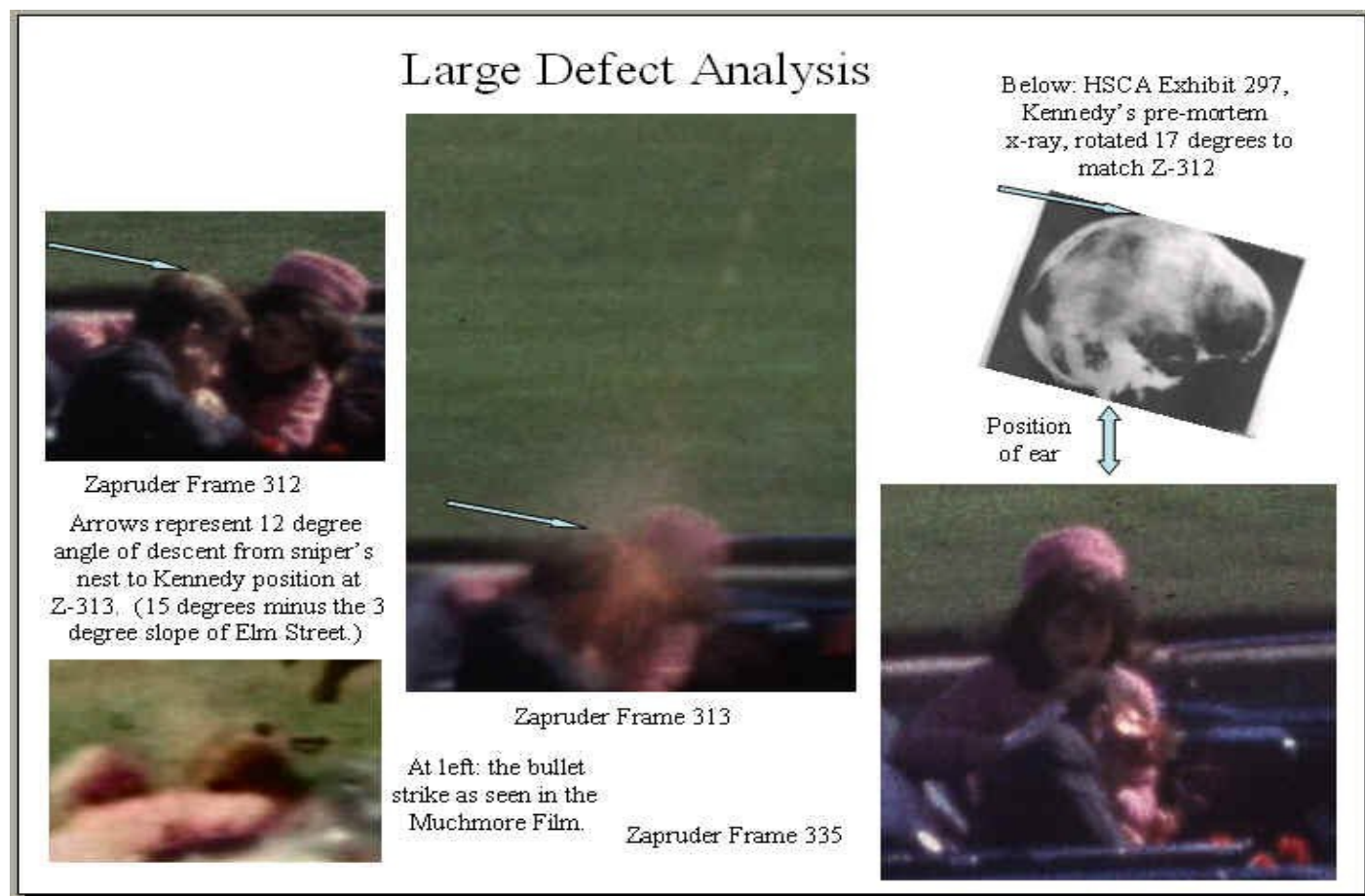
The comparative size of the defects was also unusual. If one excludes the three bullets first striking helmets, the entrance on Kennedy's skull was comparatively small, the third smallest of 8. While the exit in Kennedy's skull wasn't measured until the scalp was reflected and parts of his skull fell to the table, the autopsy photos taken before the measurements and the size of the skull fragments found outside the body reveal an exit of at least 5 x 10 cm stretching from the top of Kennedy's head to his temple. This proves that it, too, was unusual. It is, in fact, far larger than any non-gutter wound observed in the Bougainville Campaign, outside the one observed on Case 10, created by a rifle over 200 feet closer to its victim. As we don't know at what point in the autopsy the wound on Case 10 was measured, moreover, it remains quite possible that the 8.7 cm measurement for this wound was also taken after bone fell to the table. If so, then it too was much smaller than the 13 cm wound measured on Kennedy after his scalp had been reflected.

This raises lots of questions. While some will say that the small entrance/large exit on Kennedy's skull came as a result of the 6.5 mm bullet's breaking up, this small entrance/large exit anomaly was not, as near as can be determined, replicated in the tests performed at Edgewood Arsenal in 1964. While it is indeed a characteristic of soft-nosed hunting ammunition to enter a skull and break up while passing through the brain, these 1964 tests showed that bullets like those fired in Oswald's gun were not likely to break up in the brain. These tests showed that the bullets fired in Oswald's gun, moreover, were among the most stable ever tested. This means that the bullet striking Kennedy, should it have entered the skull intact, would most probably have not tumbled, and, if it did, would most probably have not fragmented. Dr. Olivier, who supervised the 1964 tests, told Howard Donahue that most of the bullets

he tested broke into only two or three large fragments. That's it.

So why did the bullet striking Kennedy, which would not explode inside the brain and could only have exploded upon impact with his skull, explode into far more pieces than the similar-sized bullets used in Olivier's tests?

And why was there no spatter from the back of JFK's head on frame 313?



Large Defect Analysis

For the answer to that question let's consult the doctor who first inspected Kennedy's large head wound, Dr. William Kemp Clark...

Just hours after the assassination, Dr. Clark told the nation at a press conference that the wound *"could have been a tangential wound, as it was simply a large, gaping loss of tissue."* And from there his resolve grew stronger. Over the next few weeks, in interview after interview, Dr. Clark repeated such claims and was considered so credible that as late as December 23, 1963, Medical Tribune and Medical News was still reporting that the fatal bullet struck *"a tangential blow that avulsed the calvarium and shredded brain tissue as the bullet left the skull on a glancing course."*

Dr. Clark was just not one to back down. Months after he'd been told the conclusions reached at autopsy, in fact, Dr. Clark told the Warren Commission that, in his impression, the large head wound was a--drum roll, please--*"tangential wound."* To his eternal credit, moreover, Dr. Clark also told the Warren Commission why he suspected as much. He testified that if a bullet *"strikes the skull at an*

angle, it must then penetrate much more bone than normal, therefore, it is likely to shed more energy, striking the brain a more powerful blow. Secondly, in striking the bone in this manner, it may cause pieces of the bone to be blown into the brain and thus act as secondary missiles. Finally, the bullet itself may be deformed and deflected so that it would go through or penetrate parts of the brain, not in the usual line it was proceeding." Dr. Clark had thereby testified that, in his opinion, the injury to Kennedy's brain was more extensive than would be expected if the bullet had simply entered low on the back of the head. As he only inspected the brain at the large defect, moreover, he had testified that, in his opinion, a bullet had transited the skull along the surface of this defect, i.e., that this defect did not appear to be the exit for a bullet entering elsewhere. He'd also voiced his suspicion that splinters of bone had been blown into the brain at this location.

That splintering along the skull's inner table is symptomatic of a tangential wound, moreover, has long been noted. The caption to a photograph taken at the Army Medical Museum after the Civil War, and found in a collection of civil war medical reports available from BACM research, relates *"The specimen is an excellent illustration of that variety of fracture of the skull, in which the outer table remains intact, and the thinner and more friable vitreous table is splintered: an accident resulting always, it is believed, either from a shock of a projectile striking the cranium very obliquely, or else from a comparatively slight blow from a body with a large plain surface."*

That small pieces of bone were, shockingly, when one thinks of it, blown into Kennedy's brain at the supposed exit location was confirmed, by the way, by the January, 1965 report on the assassination by Dr. Finck given to his superior, Gen. Blumberg. Finck described the inspection of the brain as follows: *"No metallic fragments are identified but there are numerous small bone fragments, between one and ten millimeters in greatest dimension, in the container where the brain was fixed."* This blowing of numerous small bone fragments, or splinters, into and onto the surface of the brain would have to have occurred at the large defect by Kennedy's temple, where small pieces of bone were never recovered. The two suspected entrances at the back of the head, after all, were barely the circumference of the bullet.

It seems entirely too much a coincidence then that all the large head wounds affiliated with 6.5 mm ammunition in the Fiji Campaign were tangential wounds, and that the first doctor to inspect the large head wound on Kennedy thought it was a tangential wound, and that numerous bone fragments were removed from the surface of Kennedy's brain, and that such fragments are symptomatic of, yessirree, tangential wounds.

It is also intriguing to know that Dr. Clark never really wavered from his suspicion that the wound was "tangential". While he testified to the Warren Commission that the wound could be other than a tangential wound, he only did so after being asked one of Arlen Specter's infamous leading questions...

Mr. SPECTER - The physicians, surgeons who examined the President at the autopsy specifically, Commander James J. Humes, H-u-m-e-s (spelling); Commander J. Thornton Boswell, B-o-s-w-e-l-l (spelling), and Lt. Col. Pierre A. Finck, F-i-n-c-k (spelling), expressed the Joint opinion that the wound which I have just described as being 15 by 6 mm. and 2.5 cm. to the right and slightly above the external occipital protuberant was a point of entrance of a bullet in the President's head at a time when the President's head was moved slightly forward with his chin dropping into his chest, when he was riding in an open car at a slightly downhill position. With those facts being supplied to them in a hypothetical fashion, they concluded that the bullet would have taken a more or less straight course, exiting from the center of the President's skull at a point indicated by an opening from three portions of the skull reconstructed, which had been brought to them---would those findings and those conclusions be consistent with your observations if you assumed the additional facts which I have brought to your attention, in addition to those which you have personally observed?

Dr. CLARK - Yes, sir.

Well, jeez Louise. Specter may as well have asked him "If the doctors said something could be black would you agree it could be black?" As Clark's acceptance of the "official" story was conditional on both Specter's false description of Kennedy's position at the time of the head shot ("with his chin dropping into his chest") and his false description of the trajectory from the entrance observed at autopsy to the large defect on the top of Kennedy's skull ("a more or less straight course"), it's clear that Clark never really agreed with what Specter was selling.

Unfortunately, he rarely spoke on the subject after his testimony. Perhaps we now know why.

I mean, it's not as if Clark's assessment can be rejected out of hand. In 20th Century Arms and Armor, published 1996, military historian Dr. Stephen Bull, while discussing the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, defends that the rifle was capable of causing Kennedy's wounds. He asserts, not inaccurately, that the rifle was capable of being fired fast enough and with enough accuracy to kill Kennedy as proposed by single-assassin theorists. He also recites a lot of the nonsense spewed by Dr. Baden in his book Unnatural Death, and debunked in chapter 13b of this webpage. Where Bull really slips up, however, is in his description of the second shot to hit Kennedy. He writes: "A second shot clipped the top of the President's skull, shattering it, and broke against the front windscreen strut." The official story on this bullet, of course, is that it did not clip Kennedy's head, but pierced it, exiting only after traveling four inches or so through the brain. That Bull, having written a number of books on WWI and WWII weaponry and tactics, thinks Kennedy's large head wound was created when a bullet "clipped" the top of his head, is undoubtedly supportive that this could indeed be the case.

When one considers the possibility that Dr. Clark's original analysis was correct, and that the fatal bullet struck tangentially, in fact, a lot of otherwise confusing evidence suddenly falls in line. At the post-mortem inspection of the brain, the doctors noted what are called contre-coup lesions of the brain, bruises obtained from smashing against the inside of the skull. These are most frequently found opposite the point of impact. It's undoubtedly supportive, then, that the lesions described in the supplemental autopsy report (the photos have never been released) were chiefly on the left side of Kennedy's brain, opposite the large defect by the temple and not on the frontal lobe, opposite the HSCA entrance.

And these were not the only areas of damage consistent with the wound's being a tangential wound. Forensic Neuropathology, by Jan E. Leestma (2008), relates: "Tangential wounds may cause significant injuries, especially from high-velocity missiles. These may produce gash-like wounds and form gutter-like depressed fractures in the skull. In such cases, the underlying brain will have extensive superficial contusions adjoining the fracture, even if the dura remains intact, which are caused by the slapping effect of the inbending bone." This suggests that, in opposition to the damage one would see on a brain that had simply exploded outwards, the cortex or outer layer of a brain that had received a tangential wound--where the skull had been pushed inward--would have severe contusions or even lacerations adjacent to the defect on the skull. It would seem to be consistent then that both the Clark Panel and the HSCA Pathology Panel, after studying the photographs of the brain, noted that the mid-temporal region of the right side of Kennedy's brain--the region just below the large defect--was "depressed," and its surface "lacerated."

And then of course, there's the gutter itself. While Secret Service agent Clint Hill was later to recall that there was a skull piece about the size of his palm missing from above Kennedy's right ear, and that "It looked like an ice cream scoop had gone in and removed the brain from that area," we needn't rely upon the distant memories of a layman. While the original autopsy report had noted a "longitudinal laceration" with a "considerable loss of cortical substance above the base" of the brain, and while the Clark Panel, after studying the autopsy photos, had similarly noted that the right side of the brain was "transsected by a broad canal" running parallel to the midline, and that "much of the roof of this canal is missing," the HSCA Pathology Panel had simply described a "cylindrical groove in which the brain

substance is fragmented or absent" extending from the "back of the brain to the right frontal area of the brain." This sounds like a "gutter" to me.

And not just me. Perhaps unaware of the implications of his words, Larry Sturdivan, in his book *The JFK Myths*, admits "The autopsy photographs of the brain show a massive 'gutter' wound of the right cerebral hemisphere..." Strangely, however, he then adds "...that leads from the entry wound on the back of the skull to the exit wound at the front edge of the blown-out area of the skull." Perhaps he'd forgotten that, for his book, he'd changed his impression of the entrance wound location, and now placed it down by the EOP, and that every doctor to look at the brain photos going back to the 1960's had specifically ruled out that there was a bullet track heading upwards in the brain starting at this location.

The tearing and loosening of the falx cerebri, a process of the membrane (the dura mater) which covers the brain, and which can be found between the brain's hemispheres, is also intriguing. This loosening, which was first noted by Dr. Boswell on the back of the autopsy face sheet, ("*Falx loose from sagittal sinus from the coronal suture back*") suggests the bullet creating the large head wound impacted near the top of the head (the location of the sagittal sinus, and the center of the area of loosened membrane), and not on the back of the head. *War Surgery*, one of the first books on wound ballistics, written by the French World War I surgeon Edmond Delorme, spells this out, declaring: "*At the aperture of entry the dura mater is torn and loosened: at the exit it is perforated, but not loosened.*" Delorme would almost certainly have seen dozens if not hundreds of head wounds caused by rifles similar to Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano. His observations should not readily be dismissed.

Still more reasons to suspect the fatal bullet struck tangentially come from studying the Zapruder film. When one projects a bullet traveling downwards at 12 degrees (15 degrees from the sniper's nest minus the 3 degree slope of the street) onto Z-312, one finds that a bullet fired from the sniper's nest and just missing the back of Kennedy's head would most logically strike him directly above his ear, where Zapruder frames 313 and 337 reveal the large wound to begin. Since, as we've seen, Kennedy's skull was tilted 25 degrees to its left, this means the presumed impact location above the ear was at the very top of his skull, and directly in the line of fire. Not surprisingly, a nose of a bullet striking Kennedy's skull and breaking up in this location might continue on to hit the windshield without traversing the right side of his skull. When one looks closely at Zapruder frame 313, moreover, it becomes obvious that there is a large bone fragment (almost undoubtedly the Harper fragment, the largest bone fragment found outside the limousine) flying upwards from the President's skull at a right angle to a trajectory from the school book depository. As any pool player will tell you, this would be the expected trajectory of a fragment exploding from an impact with a bullet just barely hitting the President on the right top of his head.

It is ironic, then, that the HSCA actually considered the possibility the large head wound was a tangential wound, but rejected it due to the fact such a wound would be unlikely for a shot fired *from the grassy knoll*. That's right. They were that close. On page 226 of Volume 7 of the HSCA's report is a 12-22-78 letter from radiologist David Davis noting that in light of the HSCA's acceptance of the acoustic evidence suggesting a shot had been fired from the grassy knoll, he and Dr. Michael Baden had considered the possibility the fatal shot had come from the knoll. From their discussions, moreover, they concluded that it was possible the large head wound was a tangential wound inflicted from the side *if* the top of Kennedy's head was tilted 22 degrees away from the bullet. As the knoll location pondered was in fact 15 degrees above Kennedy at the time of the head shot, however, they were forced to conclude Kennedy would have to have been leaning 37 degrees to his left for a tangential wound to result. And this they could not accept.

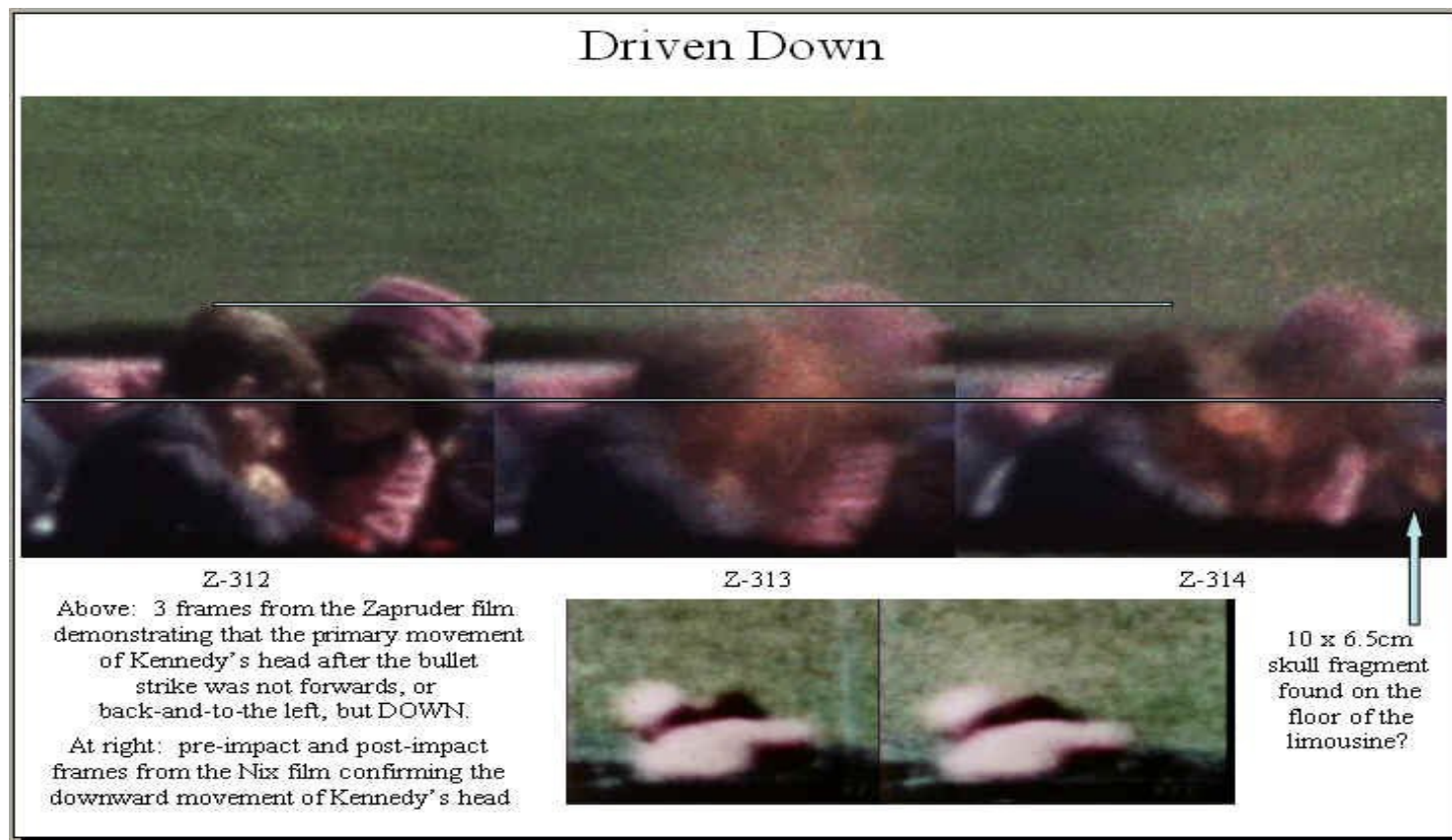
While we can agree with them on this point, or agree to disagree, it is nevertheless enlightening that Dr. Baden considered such a thing, as this indicates he felt Kennedy's large head wound was otherwise

consistent with a tangential wound.

There is reason, in fact, to suspect that many other forensic experts share this appraisal. In 2009, legendary forensic scientist Dr. Henry Lee, along with forensic scientist Elaine Pagliaro, and forensic psychologist Katharine Ramsland, published *The Real World of a Forensic Scientist*. Rave reviews by forensic experts Cyril Wecht, Michael Baden, Fredric Rieders, James Starrs and Ronald Singer graced its back cover. These reviewers had obviously been provided copies well prior to publication. If they'd noticed any obvious mistakes then, we can only assume, they'd have said so, and these mistakes would subsequently have been corrected. And yet, on page 147, while briefly discussing the Kennedy assassination as an example of a case where forensic examiners disagree in their interpretation of the facts, the writers reported that a "shot entered Kennedy's right temple and exited through his skull."

It "entered Kennedy's *right temple*!" Not the back of his head. And "exited *through* his skull!" This strange use of words doesn't specify a separate exit, or even a direction of fire. Hmmm... Are we to assume from this that *no one* involved in the writing or reviewing of this book noticed this?

I don't know. It seems quite possible, however, that this detour from the official story went right over everyone's head because it sounded so reasonable, and that it sounded so reasonable because it was something they'd secretly suspected was true.



Driven Down

Perhaps then we should take a closer look at the movement of Kennedy's head after the impact of the head shot. As the skulls in Dr. Olivier's tests always but always moved in the direction of the bullet, perhaps this can tell us from which direction the bullet was fired.

As a measurement of the length of Jackie Kennedy's arm in frames 312 and 313, from her elbow to the back of her husband's head, indicates that more arm was visible in 313, and thus, that her husband's head moved forward, one can safely assume the fatal shot came from behind. But that's only half the story.

While there has been a seemingly endless argument between stubborn conspiracy theorists, who insist Kennedy's head flew back-and-to-the left after the bullet's impact, and nearly everyone else, who note that his head first flew forwards, both sides of the issue miss an important fact: the primary movement of Kennedy's head in the first few frames after the bullet's impact was downward. His head dropped approximately 2 inches in 1 ½ frames of the Zapruder film. As a hard impact low on the back of a man's head in the location of the bullet entrance described at autopsy would most logically pop the front of his head upwards a bit, I believe this downward movement suggests instead that Kennedy was hit *on top* of his head just above his right temple.

Is it proof? Not remotely. But it sure is interesting that my study of the medical evidence is supported by my study of the Zapruder film, and vice versa.

And it sure is interesting that others have seen what I see. In his 1976 book, JFK: The Case For Conspiracy, in his chapter on the Zapruder film, Robert Groden wrote that at frame 313, "A shot hit Kennedy from behind, *by all appearances*, in the right temple." He then followed Josiah Thompson's lead and claimed that a *second* shot impacting but one frame later hit Kennedy from the front, knocking him back and to the left.

That's right. Robert Groden, who many consider an expert on the Zapruder film, agreed with my assessment of the impact at frame 313 when basing his impressions purely on the film.

Perhaps he should have stuck to his guns.

Elastic Recoil Revealed



1



2



3



4



5



In this news footage found on the internet, a young hostage-taker is killed by a police sniper firing from his right. The second image shows a small explosion from the entrance on his right side and a larger explosion from the exit on his left side. The third image shows his head moving in the direction of the bullet. By image 4, however, his head has jerked back to its right and is facing upward. This occurs after the explosion from his head, and is therefore not the "jet effect." He does not squeeze the trigger and his body falls limp to the ground, so it is not a "neuromuscular response." What is it then? I propose that it's simply elastic recoil of the neck muscles. His head is pushed hard to its left and it springs back. It's that simple. This can explain Kennedy's "back-and-to-the-left" movement as well.

Elastic Recoil Revealed

Since the Zapruder film shows Kennedy's head going back and to the left after the fatal head shot, conspiracy theorists have long held this means the shot came from the front. This has not impressed single-assassin theorists, however, who just love to point out that Kennedy's head initially goes forward. These theorists also love to use supposedly scientific explanations, e.g. the "jet effect" and the "neuro-muscular response," to try and explain Kennedy's subsequent movement backward.

When I started suspecting that the head shot hit Kennedy at the supposed exit, on the other hand, one of the first things I did was slap myself at this exit location from behind, to see if this impact would re-create Kennedy's movements. To my surprise, it did.

I subsequently learned that there is a certain elastic recoil in muscle tissue. You stretch it out far enough, and it snaps right back on its own. Some runners learn to use this to their advantage. This led me to believe that Kennedy was hit towards the top of his head, his head was driven down, his chin hit his chest and his head sprang back up from the recoil of his neck muscles.

In July 2007, researcher Gil Jesus alerted the Education Forum to a number of videos he found online, depicting head shots. One of these was news footage of a hostage-taker getting killed by a sniper. The shot came in from the man's right. The man's head turned to his left, traveling with the bullet. Then snapped back to his right, facing the sky as he fell to the ground. Not enough fluid was ejected from

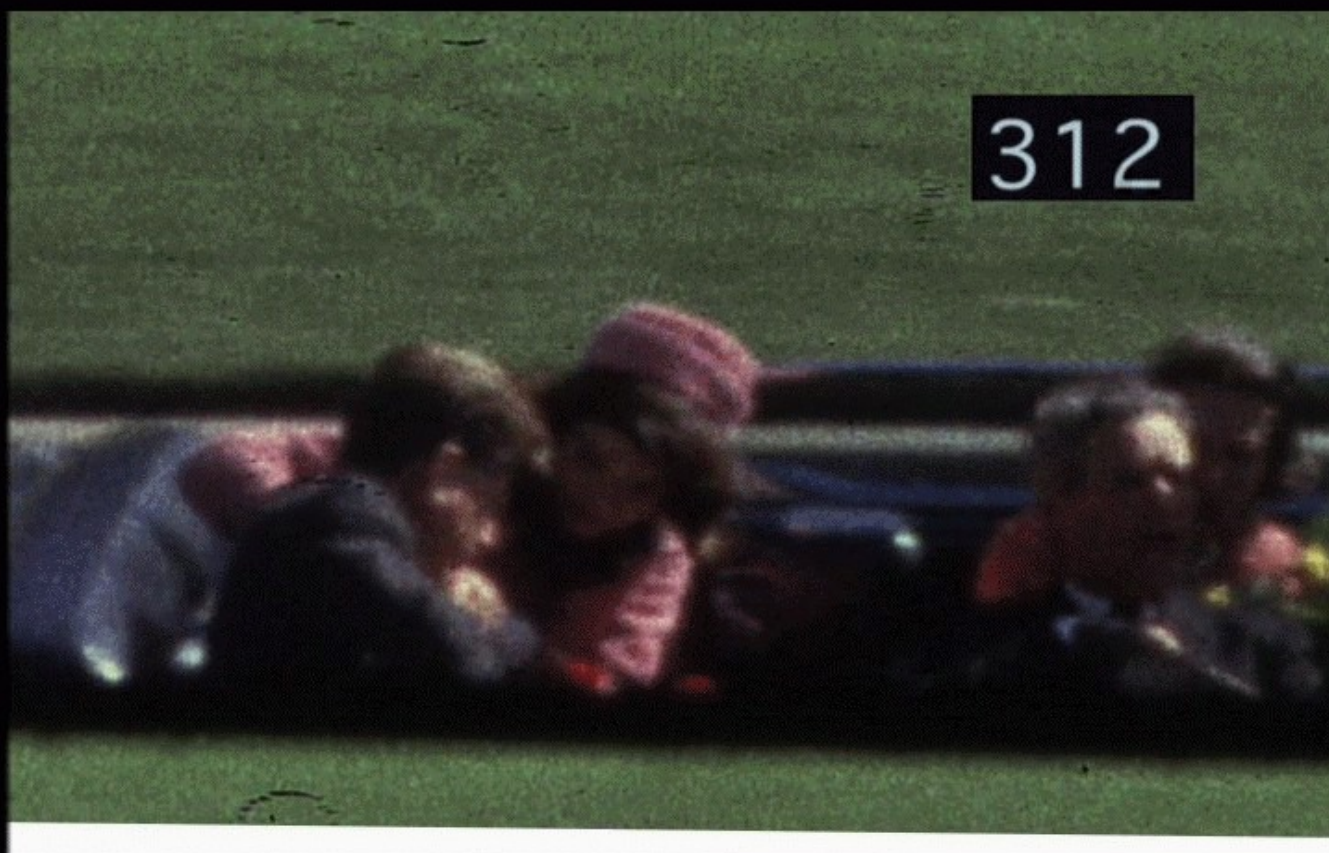
his head to create the "jet effect." His body failed to stiffen as in a neuro-muscular response. This video is now available here <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JGe1zb1wAIY>

(In 2010, I noticed that the link provided by Gil Jesus was no longer active, and asked if anyone knew a current address for the video. In September 2010, Martin M sent me a fresh link. Thanks, Martin.)

Kennedy contorts in a similar manner, only more vertically. This is consistent with his getting hit more towards the top of his head, at the supposed exit.

It's time we watch the Zapruder film. As you watch the film below, ask yourself: is there any evidence the bullet struck Kennedy on the BACK of his head? Is there any evidence it struck him from in FRONT? Just watch the film. If one divorces oneself from what one's been told about the direction of the head shot, I suspect you'll come to agree that the film suggests a shot hit Kennedy on the top of his head above his right temple...from his right, and from behind.

(This Gif file was posted online by Robin Unger, and can be activated by clicking on frame 312 below. After you're done watching, just hit the back button on your computer and you will return back here. Thank you, Robin.)



Should one continue to doubt such a shot occurred, and insist that the "back-and-to-the-left" movement of Kennedy's skull could only have come from the front, I suggest a simple test. I've done it way too many times. Lean forward 30 degrees...tilt your head 25 degrees to your left... and SLAP the top of your skull above your ear downwards, and see what happens. NO. I'M KIDDING. Don't do this!!! It

hurts a bit. Take my word for it, instead,--your head will bounce right up and throw your body backwards, exactly as Kennedy's did in the frames after the fatal headshot. (By the way, I'm not just making this up. This unique attribute of tangential hits is mentioned in the online paper Wound Ballistic Simulation by Jorma Jusilla, presented at the University of Helsinki: It states "*A tangential hit also causes a torsion motion of the head which can cause serious injuries.*" According to Funk and Wagnall's, the word "torsion" means "*The act of twisting.*" I say that in case you might need to look it up. I did.)

In retrospect, the mystery over the cause of Kennedy's back-and-to-the-left movement should have been solved a long time ago. All the debate over the "man behind the picket fence," the "jet effect" and "neuro-muscular response" would have been unnecessary if someone used some common sense back in 1964. People knew the bullet broke up. People knew that bullets normally pierce a body without imparting enough energy into the body to throw it one way or the other. People knew that, on the other hand, a bullet striking tangentially, creating a gutter wound, and breaking up, could impart enough energy upon impact to slap a person one way or the other. People knew as well that the Zapruder film showed Kennedy being slapped back into his seat. The problem, one can only guess, is that the people knowing these things were not the same people.

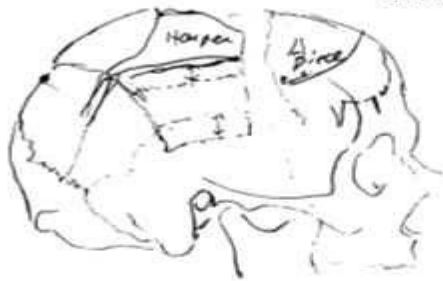
The movements of Kennedy apparent in the Zapruder frames following the head shot, when taken in conjunction with the evidence previously discussed, including the fact that no bloody back spatter emanates from the back of Kennedy's head in the film, can therefore be taken as a clear indication the bullet striking Kennedy at frame 313 struck his skull at the supposed exit, most probably from behind.

We should have listened to Bobby Hargis. Hargis, who rode a motorcycle in the motorcade to the left of Mrs. Kennedy, not only witnessed the head shot from quite close, but reported, within days of the shooting that Kennedy "got hit in the side of his head, spinning it around."

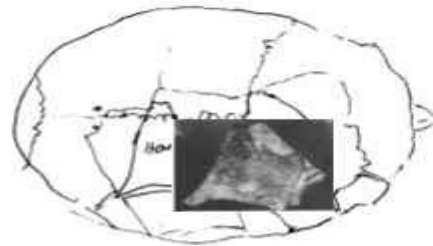
He was on it from the beginning. But no one was paying attention. Some apparently wanted his words to suggest Kennedy was shot from the front, and so ignored the key part of his statement: that the bullet's impact imparted a spinning motion to Kennedy's head. Such a motion, as we've seen, is entirely consistent with the creation of the tangential wound described by Dr. Clark.

But is there any way we can further clear this up, and scientifically determine the direction of the bullet?

Harper Fragment Analysis

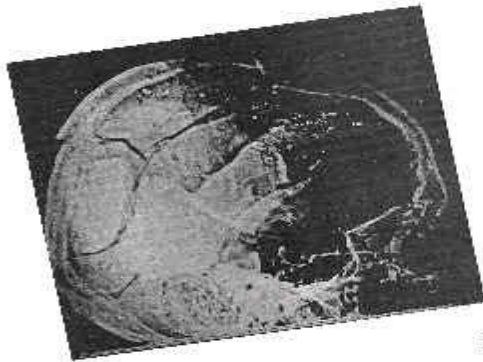


Left and right: Dr. Angel's drawings in Addendum E of the HSCA report of the forensic pathology panel.



Approximate position of Harper fragment on skull viewed from above

HSCA Figure 28 the Harper fragment



HSCA exhibit F-53, lateral x-ray

Underside of Harper fragment

Discolored edge



Color photos of the Harper fragment

Exterior of Harper fragment



Discolored edge

If the image above fails to appear, it can be viewed here: [Harper Fragment Analysis](#)

Harper Fragment Analysis

Yes. A study of the Harper fragment can help us make such a determination.

On 11-23-63, after Billy Harper found a skull fragment in the Dealey Plaza infield to the left and forward of the President's location at frame 313 of the Zapruder film, he showed it to his uncle. His uncle, who happened to be a doctor, brought the fragment in to a local hospital the next day and showed it to some of his colleagues. He then gave it to the FBI. Strangely, no one knows for sure what happened to it after this. There is evidence that the FBI, after running some tests, gave the fragment to Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. Burkley, on 11-27. It is fairly clear as well that even though the autopsy doctors had yet to finish their supplemental autopsy report on 11-27, and even though Dr. Burkley was in contact with the doctors during this time, he somehow failed to tell the doctors of the fragment's existence. Secret Service Agent Clint Hill, however, in his testimony before the Warren Commission, mentioned that "a medical student or somebody in Dallas" had found a skull fragment in the street on the day after the assassination. As Hill continued on with the Kennedy family after the assassination, this could be an indication that Dr. Burkley did in fact give the fragment to the family. The HSCA concluded that Bobby Kennedy acquired the fragment and either destroyed it or buried it along with his brother's brain and tissue slides.

It is from the HSCA interview of one of Dr. Harper's colleagues, Dr. A. B. Cairns, a pathologist, and the photographs Harper's colleagues made available to researchers, that we've come to learn most of what we know about the Harper fragment. Dr. Cairns told the HSCA that he believed the fragment came from the occipital bone, down near the spine. Since the fragment was found in front of Kennedy's location at Z-313, and since the Zapruder film shows it flying upwards from the front half of Kennedy's skull, this makes little sense. Dr. Lawrence Angel, Dr. Joseph Riley, and Dr. Randy

Robertson, among others, place the bone in the parietal area, above the right ear. This means that an area on the outer edge of the fragment is exactly where I suspect the bullet first struck Kennedy. That Dr. Cairns reported “*grayish discoloration*” indicative of “*lead-caused damage*” in this area would seem too much a coincidence, particularly in that Dr. Humes' and Dr. Boswell's assistant at the autopsy, James Curtis Jenkins, was later to tell writer Harrison Livingstone that “just above the right ear there was some discoloration of the skull cavity with the bone area being gray and there was some speculation that it might be lead.” While the FBI did studies on this fragment and reported no such lead, researcher John Hunt has located the x-rays in the National Archives and believes they do in fact confirm the presence of lead.

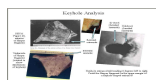
We should recall here that lead was noted on the large triangular bone fragment found on the floor of the limousine, and that the outward beveling of the skull at this location helped convince the autopsy doctors the large defect on top of Kennedy's head, from whence this fragment derived, was in fact an exit. In his online review of the autopsy materials, written after his 2004 visit to the National Archives, Larry Sturdivan discussed these lead deposits in some detail. Sturdivan observed: *“The lead fragments on this bone could not have been secondary deposits, stuck by clotted blood. As this fragment was dislodged in the explosion, the fragments had to be deposited into the surface of the bone by the bullet core.”* This led him to conclude: *“Lead deposits inside the cratered area indicates that the bone had already cratered before the core scraped by. This may mean that the leading surface of the bullet fragments was jacket...”* Thus, Sturdivan admitted it was likely the bullet broke up at this location, and not after striking the windshield strut, as purported by Dr. Baden.

It's nice to find there's something on which we agree. That similar lead deposits have been noted on the Harper fragment, moreover, add considerable weight to my suspicion these two bone fragments comprise the vast majority of the large defect the autopsy doctors concluded was an exit.

But there's a problem with this. The grayish discoloration on the Harper fragment is on the outside of the fragment. This suggests that the bullet broke up while *entering* the skull above the ear, and not while exiting. That the “lead deposits inside the cratered area” observed by Sturdivan were observed on X-rays, whereby one could not tell whether the fragments were on the inside or outside of the skull, and that NO photographs were taken of the large fragment studied by Sturdivan, moreover, suggests the possibility the large defect determined to be an exit was really an entrance, and that the photographic proof for this was either deliberately not recorded, or subsequently destroyed.

The photos of the Harper fragment illuminate this possibility, and offer compelling evidence that Kennedy's large head wound was a tangential wound of both entrance and exit. The underside of the fragment reveals internal beveling, indicative of a bullet entrance, towards the back, and external beveling, indicative of an out-shoot, towards the front. This is indicative of a tangential entry fired from behind. As the in-shoot and out-shoot run along the bottom edge of the fragment, moreover, an upward lift of bone until it snapped off along its edge, spinning upwards, can easily be imagined... and seen... as such an explosion is forever captured in Z-313.

P.S. When one compares Dr. Angel's drawing on the slide above to the lateral x-ray, it becomes clear that Dr. Angel placed the Harper fragment too rearward on the skull. This, to my mind, does little to debunk his placement of the fragment as parietal bone, based upon its anatomic features. It does, however, call into question his ability to match x-rays and photos to actual skulls... This, then, lends support to my position that he mistakenly interpreted the so-called “mystery photo” (see chapter 13b) as a photo taken from the front of Kennedy's skull, when it was really taken from behind.



Keyhole Analysis

A 1982 article in *The American Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology* gives us an additional reason to suspect the Harper fragment was the upper margin of a tangential wound. Intriguingly, this article was written by HSCA medical panelist Dr. John Coe, only three years after his HSCA experience. Coe wrote *"In the grazing wound of the skull showing external beveling, there is an elongated perforation of the bone in which one end of the perforation resembles the usual entry wound, while the opposite end of the defect has the external beveling associated with an exit wound. The most common explanation is the bullet, by penetrating the bone tangentially, is split or shaved. One portion of the bullet proceeds into the cranial vault, while the second portion is deflected outward, exiting the bone almost immediately after its penetration of the outer table. This deflected portion, in leaving the bone, produces external beveling in the usual manner."* Could this explain why the lower edge of the Harper fragment appears to include both internal and external beveling? Or is it just a coincidence that this edge appears to match the characteristics of a "keyhole" entrance representing both entrance and exit? Is it also a coincidence that this "keyhole" seems to be running 6 degrees from left to right across the skull, which matches the angle leading back to the Texas School Book Depository we've already calculated? (The Moorman photo showed us Kennedy's head was turned 14 degrees to his left. Since the school book depository was 8 degrees to his right at Z-312, this would indicate the bullet traveled 6 degrees to the right along his skull.)

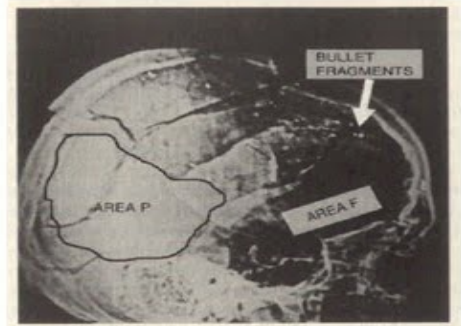
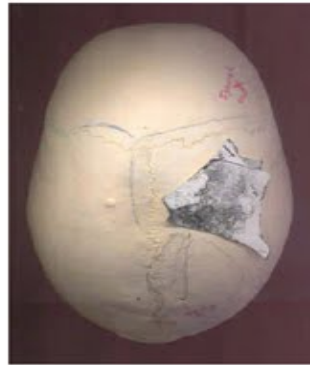
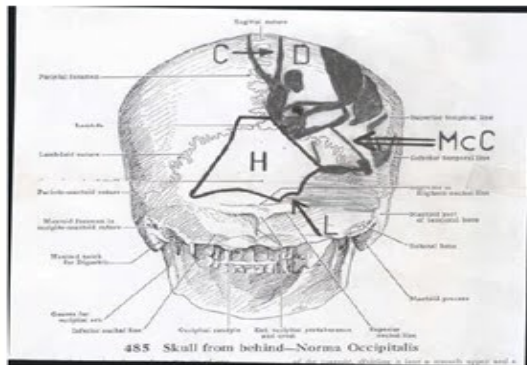
Medicolegal Investigation of Death, by the Clark Panel's Fisher and the HSCA's Spitz, described keyhole wounds in a similar manner: *"A shot fired at a curved part of the head at a shallow angle often causes a typically inward-beveled entrance hole adjacent to an outward-beveled exit hole, producing a keyhole-shaped defect in the skull. A fragment of the slug shaved off by the bone at the entrance hole may penetrate the brain...Fracture of the orbital roofs...are occasionally seen in the cases of keyhole type wounds involving the top of the head or forehead. Eyelid hemorrhage on the same side may result from the seepage..."* As the description of the fractured orbits (eye sockets) and hemorrhage on the eyelids could have been taken from Kennedy's autopsy report, and as the shaved off fragment of a bullet hitting tangentially would appear to be the best explanation for the bullet "slice" visible on Kennedy's x-rays, it seems quite possible that Fisher, Spitz, and even Coe were writing about Kennedy's death, whether they realized it or not.

Although Coe's article was written specifically about handgun wounds, and Spitz and Fisher were more equipped to write about low-velocity gunshot wounds than high-velocity gunshot wounds, there is reason to believe that keyhole wounds can be created by both low-velocity ammunition and high-velocity ammunition. In his 1999 book *Gunshot Wounds*, Dr. Vincent Di Maio discusses keyhole wounds of the bone in much the same language as Coe, then adds *"In a less common variant of keyhole wounds, the bullet does not split but enters the cranial cavity intact. This type of keyhole wound is common with full-metal jacketed bullets."* Full-metal jackets are most normally associated with military rifle ammunition, and are not normally associated with low-velocity handgun ammunition.

Dr. Douglas S. Dixon also associates "keyhole" wounds with rifle ammunition. In *Management of Gunshot Wounds*, he writes: *"In head wounds inflicted by large caliber handguns, rifles, and shotguns especially at closer ranges, the forces which accompany the projectile form a large temporary cavity that causes the skull to expand greatly. Reconstruction of the bony fragments may reveal the previously discussed configurations of beveling, keyhole lesions, or pattern of intersecting fractures; this is often best accomplished at autopsy."* Implicit in these words is that, due to the skull's fragmentation, a keyhole entry resulting from rifle fire can sometimes be discovered through the inspection of the available skull fragments at autopsy. Is it a coincidence then that the Harper fragment, which was discovered just one day after Kennedy's demise, was not brought to the attention of the men still writing his autopsy protocol? While the final draft of the autopsy report was turned in on the 24th, and

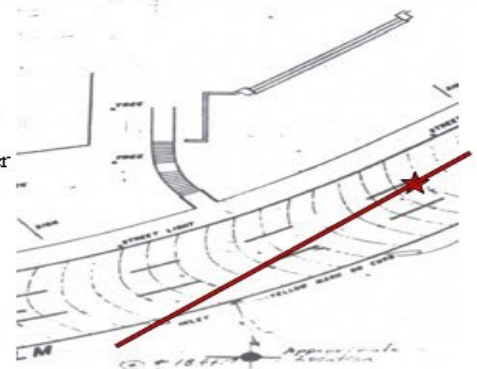
the fragment not given to the FBI until the 26th, the doctors' supplementary examination of the brain and tissue slides was still over a week away. Why weren't the autopsists shown this fragment, or even told of its existence? The 11-26-63 report of Agents Sibert and O'Neil on the autopsy made note that Dr. Humes had opted to hold on to the 10 x 6.5 mm beveled bone fragment of the President's skull, but that he would make it available for further examination. This proves the FBI knew the doctors had an interest in such things. An 11-27-63 memo on Dr. Burkley's receipt of the Harper fragment noted it was to be "turned over to Naval Hospital by Dr. Burkley for examination, analysis, and retention until other disposition is directed." So why weren't the doctors shown the Harper fragment?

Dr. Mantik and Mr. Harper



Across the top: three images from Dr. David Mantik's monograph "Twenty Conclusions After Nine Visits." At left: Dr. Mantik's placement of the Harper fragment. At center: an alternative to Mantik's placement. At right: Kennedy's right lateral X-ray, with Area F, which Mantik felt was abnormally dark, and Area P, which he concluded was far too white, noted. While writer Jim Douglass and others have taken from this that Mantik believes Area P represents a patch to cover the hole from which the Harper fragment had been blasted, a close look at Area P and Mantik's placement of the Harper fragment prove this to be untrue.

At right: a map marked by William Harper for researcher Howard Roffman in 1969, noting the location south of the steps where Harper found a fragment of President Kennedy's skull. Red star marks the location about a hundred feet away where President Kennedy was shot. Red line reflects approximate trajectory from the sixth floor sniper's nest.



Dr. Mantik and Mr. Harper

Ironically, the true importance of the Harper fragment has long been overlooked not through the actions of single-assassin theorists, but conspiracy theorists... They just won't accept that the fragment was dislodged from the top of Kennedy's head and that this wound could represent both an entrance and an exit...

Let me explain...

From dozens of witnesses claiming to have heard shots from west of the depository, and a half dozen of more claiming to have seen smoke on the grassy knoll after the shots, the vast majority of conspiracy researchers have long felt the fatal shots were fired from in front of Kennedy. That suspicion, when coupled with the recollection held by so many witnesses at Parkland Hospital--that Kennedy's large head wound was on the *back* of his head--has led them to accept that a shot fired from in front of Kennedy blew out the back of his head. As Dr. Cairns believed the Harper fragment was occipital, moreover, it seems totally obvious to them that the Harper fragment was blown out the back of Kennedy's head. It totally adds up. It totally makes sense.

That the Harper fragment was blown out the back of Kennedy's head has become such a tenet of the conspiracy theorist "religion," in fact, that Don Thomas, in his book *Hear No Evil*, was reluctant to dispute it, *even though he readily accepted that the Harper fragment was NOT occipital bone*. That's right. In one of the strangest statements in what I've come to conclude is a very strange book, Thomas claimed that the Harper fragment was "a piece of the posterior parietal bone which was driven out the rear of the president's cranium." Now, that's just bizarre. Dr. Angel, upon whom Thomas relied for his assessment the fragment was parietal, placed the fragment at the top of Kennedy's head. Kennedy's head was leaning forward at frame 313. Thomas believes the shot was fired from in front. There is simply no way a skull fragment from the top of Kennedy's head where Angel placed it could be driven out the rear of his head, when his head is leaning forward, and Thomas knows it. One can only conclude, then, that Thomas was trying to have it both ways, and had decided to ignore Angel's placement of the bone at the top of Kennedy's head, and to pretend instead that it sprang from the back of his head...in the parietal area...where no doctor had claimed it had sprung, and where it clearly did not fit...

But what of the others? Those believing the Harper fragment occipital bone? Well, let's just say they are on firmer ground than Thomas...

Until one looks at the autopsy photos and X-rays... and the assassination films... and studies the statements of those witnessing the shooting... and closely studies the writings of those pushing this scenario...

Let's take, for example, Jim Douglass, in *JFK and the Unspeakable* (a book I recommend under the proviso one not take the specifics of the crime he describes too seriously):

On page 283, Douglass discusses the research of Dr. David Mantik, who, over nine visits to the National Archives, observed what he called a "patch" toward the back of Kennedy's lateral skull x-rays. (This will be discussed in much greater detail in chapters 18 and 18b.) Here is how Douglass, and all-too many conspiracy theorists, present Mantik's findings:

"There was far too much bone density being shown in the rear of JFK's skull relative to the front. The X-ray had to have been a composite. The optical density data indicated a forgery in which a patch had been placed over an original x-ray to cover the rear part of the skull--corresponding to the gap left in part by the Harper fragment, evidence of an exit wound. The obvious purpose was to cover-up evidence of a shot from the front that, judging from the original Parkland observations, had created an exit hole the size of one's fist in the back of the head..."

Douglass later concludes this line of thought: *"In the case of the the government's X-rays, their exact duplication of the Harper fragment, as if that bullet-blasted bone were still in the slain president's skull, has turned out to be the revelation of the cover-up."*

So there you have it. The Parkland witnesses said there was a hole on the back of Kennedy's head. Dr. Cairns said he thought the Harper fragment came from the back of Kennedy's head. Dr. Mantik shares this conclusion. Dr. Mantik has also concluded there is a white patch on the back of Kennedy's lateral X-rays. ERGO, we can assume the white patch was created to conceal the hole on the back of Kennedy's head from where the Harper fragment was blasted. This is supported, furthermore, by the Harper fragment's being found 25 feet south of the assassination site...which means it landed behind the limousine.

This is how all too many--dare I say most--conspiracy theorists view the evidence.

The problem is...IT'S JUST NOT TRUE.

Just ask Billy Harper...

While the early reports on Harper's finding of the fragment do indeed claim he found the fragment 25 feet south of the assassination location, and while writers such as Mantik extrapolate from this that the fragment was found *"not too far from where Jean Hill had been standing"* behind Kennedy's location at the moment of the fatal head shot, Harper was not a witness to the shooting, and only found the fragment the next day. By that time, mourners had gathered opposite the steps in front of Kennedy at the time of head shot. This is shown in numerous photos. This raises the question, then, of whether or not Harper, when first interviewed, had known that Kennedy had actually been shot before reaching this location.

Fortunately, we have an answer to this. In 1969, researcher Howard Roffman contacted Harper and asked him to mark on a map where he found the fragment. Sure enough, Harper marked a location to the south of the steps in a location approximately 100 feet in front and slightly to the left of Kennedy at the time of the actual head shot. And this was no one time thing. He has marked similar maps for others. The evidence, then, suggests the Harper fragment was not blown out the back of Kennedy's head, as pushed by most conspiracy theorists, but was blown forward from the top of his head, as depicted in the Zapruder film.

Well, then what about Dr. Mantik...

In the very paper Douglass cites as support for the nice, neat scenario described above, Dr. Mantik refutes much of Douglass' scenario. First, as seen on the slide above, while Dr. Mantik concluded the Harper fragment derived from the back of the skull, he concluded it derived from the central part of the back of the skull, NOT from the location of the wound to the right of mid-line described by the Parkland witnesses, NOR in the location on the right where he'd discovered a white "patch" on the x-rays.

(In a 10-11-10 post on the Education Forum, Dr. Mantik addressed this very point. In comments posted by Dr. James Fetzer, Mantik's biggest supporter, Mantik admitted *"I have never demonstrated exactly where on the lateral skull X-ray the Harper would appear, but it would be at the very rear."* He had thereby confirmed my claim. Neither the wound described by the Parkland witnesses nor the location covered by the "white patch" are at the very rear.)

Second, while Dr. Mantik, during an 11-18-93 press conference announcing his conclusions regarding the so-called white patch, was reported to have claimed that *"someone...put a great white patch on the back of the lateral X-ray to cover up the hole, which is why the area is so extraordinarily white,"* he claimed a decade later, in the paper cited by Douglass, that the *"white patch was almost certainly added in the dark room. Its purpose was to emphasize the resulting dark area in front, which suggested that a bullet had exited from the front."*

Read Mantik's 2003 paper, containing his ultimate conclusions, if you don't believe me:

<http://www.assassinationresearch.com/v2n2/pittsburgh.pdf>

(In the 10-11-10 post by Fetzer, Dr. Mantik responded to this point as well. He wrote: *"The original lateral X-ray probably showed missing BRAIN in the current area of the WHITE PATCH. It was the missing brain, not missing skull, that likely led to the WHITE PATCH."* He'd thereby confirmed my claims a second time.)

Jim Douglass was wrong. Mantik had not concluded that the "white patch" at the rear of the skull corresponded *"to the gap left in part by the Harper fragment."*

Mantik's observations reveal his own bias, however. While the good doctor, true to the beliefs of most conspiracy theorists, concluded the Harper fragment was occipital bone, the reasons he gives for rejecting Dr. Angel's conclusion it was parietal bone are remarkably contrived. First, in the paper at the link above, he claims that Angel *"did not know that occipital bone was missing so this site at the top of*

the head was his only option." Uhhh... Dr. Angel had been provided both the autopsy photos and x-rays, which showed no occipital bone to be missing. So how was Angel to find out it was missing? From the say-so of Dr. Cairns, who only guessed that the Harper fragment was occipital? Second, once again in the paper linked above, he rejects Angel's conclusion chiefly because Angel's conclusion would imply *"a parietal entry (because the lead smudge is on the outside), an option that virtually no one would support."*

While I'd hoped to have changed that, in September 2010, I received an unexpected slap in the face. While viewing Dr. Mantik's presentation at the 2009 JFK Lancer conference in Dallas, it became clear that Dr. Mantik had not only failed to acknowledge that Angel's orientation for the fragment could be correct, as it put the lead smudge near Kennedy's temple, and suggested an entrance, but that he'd added insult to injury. Yes, unbelievably, he not only dismissed Dr. Angel's orientation for the fragment, but claimed the lead smudge in Angel's orientation proved it was incorrect, as it would be on the top of the head, and nowhere near the entrance or exit proposed by the HSCA.

Well, as you can see on the slide above, this just isn't true. The location of the lead smudge Mantik designates with an arrow in the image at left would be near the temple on the skull in the middle image, and not on the top of the head.

So how does he get off claiming it was on the top of the head?

He couldn't just move it, could he?

Yes, unbelievably, in his 2009 JFK Lancer presentation, Dr. Mantik moved the location of the "metallic debris" or lead smudge on the Harper fragment for the slide showing Dr. Angel's orientation for the fragment, from where he'd placed it on the slide showing his own orientation. (This is demonstrated [here](#).)

Now, I'd like to believe this was just a mistake, and not part of some stupid plot to avoid admitting that the Harper fragment most probably derived from somewhere other than the middle of the back of the head.

When I pointed out Mantik's switcheroo in a 10-12-10 post on the Education Forum, however, I received this response from Dr. James Fetzer, Mantik's biggest supporter:

"Pat Speer may be among the least competent students of JFK I have ever encountered. We all know that the Harper fragment was occipital bone, so it is not difficult to locate on the skull...I think he owes David Mantik an apology."

I'm sure Dr. Fetzer would love to have left it at that.

The next April, in a review of Don Thomas' Hear No Evil, however, Dr. Mantik admitted he'd changed his interpretation of the smudge location. He insisted that his earlier interpretation of the smudge (in which it was near the EOP in his orientation and by the temple in Dr. Angel's orientation) was based upon the photos of the Harper fragment, but that the x-ray of the Harper fragment showed it to have been where he'd moved it on the slide presenting Angel's orientation. He failed to explain why, if he'd truly re-interpreted the smudge location after viewing the x-rays, which he'd first viewed in 2003, he'd told his 2009 JFK Lancer audience "Here is where there's metal debris" while pointing out the old location near the EOP, and then explained that the smudge or metal debris on the Harper fragment was

"right near the External Occipital Protuberance, where the pathologists said the bullet had entered." Perhaps he'd meant to add "Or so I used to think..." but then forgot...

In any event, that his "old" location was in fact correct, and that his "new" location was 100% in error is proven [here](#).

To be fair, however, I should reiterate that Mantik and Fetzer are not the only ones spewing nonsense about the Harper fragment. In *Head Shot*, published 2010, research physicist G. Paul Chambers revealed his own unique slant.

On page 94, he proposed that the fragment was parietal bone, and cited the work of Dr. Joseph Riley in support. He then flew off the rails. A few pages later, he claimed *"there is a clear and apparent inconsistency with the Zapruder film, taken at the time of the assassination, and the descriptions of the wounds to Kennedy's head provided at the official autopsy. The damaged area shown on the film is consistent, however, with parietal bone (from the side of Kennedy's head) found on the street after the assassination (the Harper fragment). This would be reasonable if the bullet struck Kennedy from the right front side and sheared off part of his skull on the side of his head just forward of his right ear."* He then discussed Dr. Clark's belief the large head wound was a tangential wound of both entrance and exit, and concluded *"a bullet striking from the front side could shear off the piece of parietal (side) bone, propelling it backward to the rear of the vehicle, and ultimately ending up in the street at Dealey Plaza."*

Well, where do we begin? First, there is no inconsistency between the film and the descriptions provided at the autopsy. (This will be discussed in chapter 18c.) Second, the parietal bone is not the side of the head, as suggested by Chambers, but the top and side of the head, and the Harper fragment was too large not to incorporate at least part of the top of the head. Third, the Harper fragment was not found on the street, but on the grass. Fourth, the part of the skull just forward of the right ear was not parietal bone at all, but temporal and sphenoid bone. Fifth, as acknowledged by Billy Harper, the Harper fragment was not propelled backward.

Embarrassingly, Chambers' discussion of the Harper fragment was so riddled with errors that he couldn't even get the date of its discovery correct. He claimed it was found on the day of the assassination, when Harper, who would be in a position to know, said it was found the next day.

The “Missing” Scalp

Final Report - Evaluation of John F. Kennedy Assassination Evidence

Gross Examination: The specimens consist of 4 roughly triangular fragments of dark brown material, each measuring approximately 3 mm in greatest dimension and 1-2 mm in thickness, said to have become detached from a bullet sometime in the past. The surfaces are irregular and slightly reflective in incident light. The specimens are bisected under sterile conditions and one half of each is submitted, labeled 01, 02, 03, and 04 for rehydration and microscopic examination. A core is taken from each of the other halves for DNA analysis. The remaining portions are preserved for possible future study.

Microscopic examination:

01: The sections show small fragments of flattened eosinophilic material resembling superficial epithelium. No nuclei are seen. There are small intracytoplasmic PAS granules suggestive of glycogen. Other stains are noncontributory.
Impression: human superficial skin

02: The sections show eosinophilic material containing several parallel slender fragments of PAS positive material in a thick walled cellular configuration that is not of human origin. These appear to be the legs of an insect (or possibly a saprophytic fungus) that invaded the tissue post-mortem. The intervening material contains small aggregates of orange material appearing to be blood. Other stains are noncontributory.
Impression: human tissue and blood with post-mortem insect invasion.

03: The sections show flattened superficial epithelium with well preserved nuclei. The PAS stain shows glycogen granules and the trichrome shows a thin layer of positive material, possibly underlying muscle. Other stains are noncontributory.
Impression: human skin.

04: The sections show fragments of amorphous unidentifiable eosinophilic tissue with a few small aggregates of black pigment. No nuclei are seen. An immunohistochemical stain for keratin is positive. Other stains are noncontributory.
Impression: poorly preserved human skin and black pigment.

Unlabeled: An additional small fragment of material (initially believed to be fiber or textile but identified as proteinaceous by chemical analysis) was also examined, in an unstained preparation. There are no distinguishing tissue features and the material is slightly birefringent.



Above: CE 567, the bullet nose found in the front of the limousine and the foreign material removed from its crumpled ridges.

At left: the final results of tests conducted on the foreign material by the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, working with the FBI. The Report was written on 9-16-98, but not released until 1-21-00. Three of the four fragments of foreign material were determined to be skin.

The “Missing” Scalp

Some things are best defined by what they're missing. Accordingly, the evidence that ultimately convinced me the large head wound was tangential was something that was missing: scalp.

The autopsy protocol describes Kennedy's large head wound as follows: *“There is a large irregular defect of the scalp and skull on the right involving chiefly the parietal bone but extending somewhat into the temporal and occipital regions. In this region there is an actual absence of scalp and bone producing a defect which measures approximately 13 cm in greatest diameter.”* Medicolegal Investigation of Death, addresses this issue of missing scalp as follows: *“A point frequently ignored, or forgotten, in comparing entrance and exit wounds is that approximation of the edges of an entrance wound usually retains a small central defect, a missing area of skin. On the other hand, approximation of the edges of the exit re-establishes the skin's integrity.”* The authors of Medicolegal Investigation of Death were Dr. Russell Fisher, of the Clark Panel, and Dr. Werner Spitz, of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel. The pathology panel's report was most likely accommodating Spitz, then, when it critiqued the autopsy report's description as follows: *“It is probably misleading in the sense that it describes “an actual absence of skin and bone. The scalp was probably virtually all present, but torn and displaced...”* This, disturbingly, ignores that Dr. William Kemp Clark, the one Parkland doctor to closely inspect Kennedy's head wound, shared the observations of the autopsists, and independently

observed "*There was considerable loss of scalp and bone tissue*" in an 11-22-63 report written before the commencement of the autopsy. (Wasn't this required reading?)

I mean, it's not as if Dr. Clark was shy about sharing his observations. An 11-28-63 article in the New York Herald-Tribune reflects that when describing Kennedy's fatal wound, Dr. Clark claimed "*A very large piece of his skull was blown away...It was one great big hole. It was through this wound his brain extruded and blood poured profusely.*" It's hard to understand how the HSCA panel could believe that "the scalp was probably virtually all intact," over what Dr. Clark claimed was a "great big hole." But perhaps that's just me. Perhaps they'd convinced themselves that Kennedy's torn scalp had been peeled back so that Clark could observe this "great big hole," or some such thing.

In any event, this "missing" scalp returned to center stage on 1-21-00, when the government released a report on tests conducted on CE 567, the nose of a bullet found on the driver's seat of Kennedy's limousine. It had long been observed that there was foreign material on this bullet fragment, and the HSCA had asked that tests be conducted on this material. These tests were not conducted, however, until after the uproar surrounding Oliver Stone's film JFK brought the ARRB into existence, and they asked these tests finally be performed. The results of these tests, initially reported on 9-16-98, were that 3 of the 4 pieces of foreign material were human SKIN, and that the fourth was human tissue. As CE 567 was linked via the neutron activation analysis to the bullet fragments found in Kennedy's brain, and as there was little scalp missing at the small entrance near the EOP, this finding undoubtedly suggests the tangential entrance I've theorized. Those wishing to read the complete report on the CE 567 foreign material should go [here](http://www.jfklancer.com/LNE/fragments/fragreport.html)

<http://www.jfklancer.com/LNE/fragments/fragreport.html>

The significance of this skin is further amplified when one considers that, according to Dr. Vincent J.M. DiMaio, in his standard text *Gunshot Wounds*, that, of all the tissues likely to be found on a bullet, "*Skin was the least commonly encountered.*" DiMaio further specifies that "*In regard to gunshot wounds of the head, bone chips, skeletal muscle, connective tissue, and strips of small vessels were commonly identified. Fragments of brain were present but were not readily recognizable as neural in origin.*" Skin didn't even make the list.

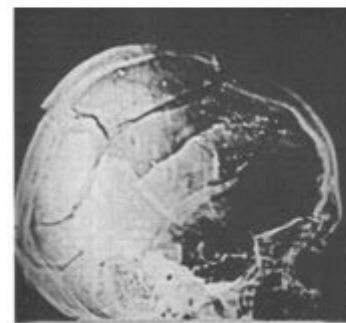
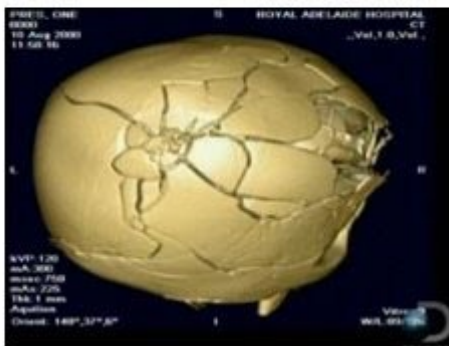
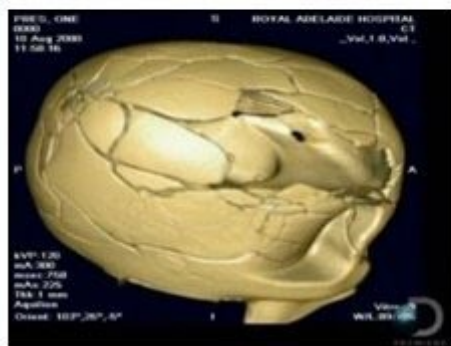
From this it becomes clear that 1) a lack of skin at a bullet wound can be taken as a sign it's an entrance; 2) skin was missing from the large defect; 3) skin is not normally found on bullets; 4) a significant amount of skin was found on a bullet fragment linked to the fragments in Kennedy's brain; and 5) the amount of skin on this fragment is best explained by accepting the proposition this bullet busted up at the site of the large defect after striking the skull at an angle.

It all adds up. It simply makes NO SENSE to believe this skin got attached to the nose of the bullet as it entered the back of Kennedy's skull, and then stayed attached to the nose as it tumbled through his brain, as there was very little skin missing from the supposed entrance on the back of the skull. Simultaneously, it makes NO SENSE to believe this skin attached itself to the bullet upon exit after transiting the skull, as the bullet would have little or no contact with the skin exploding outwards from the skull at the exit. No, the discovery of this skin on the bullet is best explained--no, scratch that, can only be honestly explained--by the bullet's having impacted Kennedy's skull at the large defect, where skin was actually missing. Yes, the skin on the bullet nose proves it. The large defect was a tangential wound, precisely as determined by Dr. Clark on 11-22-63.

Chapter 16c: Confirmation and Disappointment

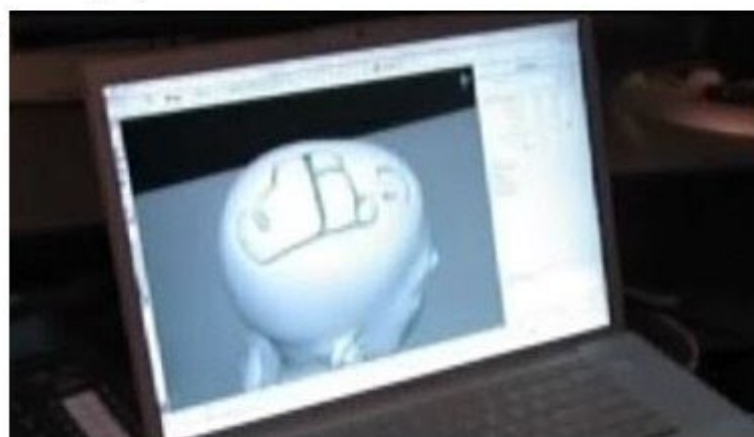
A discussion and review of the Discovery Channel program JFK: Inside the Target Car

Death by Disco



Above: an unexplained CT scan shown in 2008's Discovery Channel program, JFK: Inside the Target Car. Below: the simulated head in the program used to re-create Kennedy's wounds, after being fired upon. At right: a digitized study of its wounds.

Above: HSCA Exhibit F-33, Kennedy's right lateral x-ray.



Do the head wounds depicted in 2008's JFK: Inside the Target Car resemble the head wound depicted in JFK's x-rays, or even each other?

Death by Disco

On March 23, 2008, an intriguing message appeared on the alt.assassination.JFK message board. Dr. Chad Zimmerman, by then no longer active on the board, returned to pass along that he'd *"been in contact with a television producer that is looking to produce another JFK assassination related episode for the Discovery Channel. He is currently seeking ideas that could be pursued and is looking for input. As most of their shows are CSI styled shows, I would assume that is the style of program they're looking for...If you have an idea, please pass it along on this thread and I will be sure that the producer is made aware of the ideas."*

While some took the opportunity to attack Dr. Zimmerman about his appearance on a previous Discovery (some say Disco") Channel JFK assassination-related episode (see chapter 12b), I took Dr. Zimmerman's approach as sincere, and offered up five suggestions. My second suggestion was to film a head shot on a simulated skull using a camera like Zapruder's, to see if the blood dispersed in the pattern seen in frame 313 of the Zapruder film. Zimmerman seemed to like this idea and responded: *"Regarding the Zfilm splatter, I have an identical Carcano with WCC ammunition, as well as two Zapruder model cameras. I'd also like to see something to that regard."*

Flash forward to October 2008. The JFK assassination forums are abuzz about an upcoming program entitled JFK: Inside the Target Car. I see the list of the people involved. It's the same shooter and the

same Australian crew used in previous Discovery Channel programs on the assassination. I briefly assume it's made up of outtakes from these earlier programs. It rapidly becomes clear, however, that this is indeed a new program, and that they have in fact conducted tests similar to the one test I'd proposed that had met Dr. Zimmerman's approval.

On November 16 the program airs, and both confirms and disappoints. It confirms that my interpretation of Kennedy's head wounds are logical and most probably correct, but it disappoints in that, much as the producers' earlier program *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, it is terribly slanted and fails to tell its viewers the true significance of its findings.

A Summary and Review of the Discovery Channel Program JFK: Inside the Target Car

The program opens by giving a little background on the assassination, and talking about the limousine in which President Kennedy was riding. It flashes on a computer rendering of the limousine, in which the jump seats appear to be in the proper position. This is interesting because the same producers, in their program *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, deferred to animator Dale Myers' depiction of the limousine, in which the seats were 3 1/2 inches further inboard from the door than they were on the limousine's schematic. It seems a bit of a coincidence that they now present the seat in its proper location, now that its exact location is no longer central to their findings. Ever hopeful, I take this as a sign that perhaps this program will be less deceptive than *Beyond the Magic Bullet*.

My hopes are quickly dashed. Up next are two eyewitnesses, Nellie Connally, who rode in the limousine just feet away from Kennedy, and motorcycle officer Bobby Hargis, who rode to the left of the limousine just yards behind. They start to describe the shooting. Instead of letting them finish their stories, however, the program cuts to Gary Mack, curator of the Sixth Floor Museum, and an Associate Producer on the program. Mack relates that many of the witnesses did not recognize the first shot as a gunshot, but that they all knew the second shot was a gunshot. This conceals from those just learning about the assassination and therefore not in the know that Mrs. Connally insisted that the first shot hit the President, and never wavered on this point. It also hides that Hargis heard only two shots, and insisted that no shots were fired before the shot that made the President lean forward, which the program's producers previously proclaimed to be the second shot. It seems clear from this that the program is trying to cut off any speculation that the first shot hit Kennedy, and led him to lean forward. It seems clear as well that the program's creators are trading on the credibility of witnesses such as Connally and Hargis while simultaneously ignoring their recollections. This makes me fearful of what's to come.

But then things get better, if only briefly. The program moves on to discuss the clean-up of the limousine by the Secret Service outside Parkland Hospital and how this compromised the blood-spatter evidence, which could otherwise have been studied to determine the location of the shooter firing the fatal head shot. On one hand, it's refreshing to find that this event can now be reported without a narrator throwing in that "conspiracy theorists claim the limousine was cleaned up" or some such thing. On the other hand, it's discouraging to find that the program's creators are still too tentative to relate that this clean-up, which was reported by numerous eyewitnesses in the days after the shooting, was never investigated by the Warren Commission.

I wonder how this rare admission of a suspicious event is gonna factor in the program's conclusions. We're then given a clue; the program's creators have wrangled up two men--a Dallas motorcycle policeman named H.B. McLain and a bystander named Jack McNairy--who still recall the appearance of the limousine before the removal of the bloody debris. From this it seems likely that the producers intend to re-enact the shooting from the sniper's nest location, along with other locations, and to determine which location creates a debris field most similar to the recollections of these witnesses.

To support that these tests are relevant, and necessary, the program calls once more on Gary Mack. Mack discounts the value of the statements and testimony of those actually hearing the shots by claiming that the acoustics of Dealey Plaza were tested in 1978, and that shots *"echoed all over the place."* He then explains *"If you're at a right angle to the source of the shot, all the experts will tell you, you can't tell where the shots are coming from."* This both overstates the case and ignores the evidence. While it is true that people can have difficulty orienting a high-velocity rifle shot that passes in front of them, it is also true that the 1978 tests to which Mack refers demonstrated that it was quite easy to tell a shot from the sniper's nest from a shot from the grassy knoll, particularly when standing in front of the depository building. Incredibly, more than half those standing in front of the building on 11-22-63 admitted that they thought the shots had come from west of the building, in the vicinity of the grassy knoll. Hmmm. One would think Mack would tell the viewers as much to make the study of a shot from this location more dramatic. Hmmm. His failure to do so makes me suspect the program's creators are out to portray the possibility of a shot from the knoll as a silly conspiracy theory, without a lick of supporting evidence.

But before they can do so, they need to establish which locations, other than the supposed sniper's nest in the Texas School Book Depository, were likely locations for a sniper, and thus in need of testing. At this point the narrator makes one of those statements that can only make one shake one's head. He says there's *"one clue to where the shots came from that no one disputes."* Yep. He's talking about the Zapruder film. It seems clear from this that the program's producers either failed to realize that there are many in the conspiracy research community who doubt the authenticity and accuracy of the film, or are deliberately hiding from its uninformed viewers that such doubt exists. The narrator then recites the currently popular single-assassin theory that Kennedy is shot as he comes out from behind the sign in the Zapruder film. The narrator fails to note that this is not an official theory, but an unofficial one, and that the HSCA--a body whose findings on the medical evidence the program accepts, and the last official body to investigate the assassination--found that Kennedy was first hit around frame 190 of the film, before he went behind the sign. Gary Mack then uses the Zapruder film to place an exact replica of the limousine complete with re-enactors in the exact spot Kennedy was at the moment he received his fatal blow. The narrator then tells the audience that the re-enactors "assume the position of 312," the last frame of the Zapruder film taken before the head shot.

Views on a Scene



Above: from the south knoll.
Below: from the north end of the overpass



Above: from the middle of the overpass.
Below: from behind the picket fence.



Four views on the Presidential limousine at the moment of the head shot (as depicted in JFK: Inside the Target Car).

Views on a Scene

The sniper hired by the program, Michael Yardley, then looks at the limousine from four possible locations in the Plaza. He discusses these locations with Mack, to see which locations should be tested. They rule out the south knoll because the bullet would have to have been fired through the front windshield of the limousine. This hides in part that some researchers believe there was a hole through this windshield. They rule out the middle of the Triple Overpass for the same reason. Yardley then says the north end of the Triple Overpass is possible, but is shot down by Mack who says the shooter would have been noticed in this location. They then take a look from behind the picket fence. Although single-assassin theorists have long insisted that the limousine would be moving much too fast across the sights for someone to fire from this location, Yardley says there would be enough time to get off a shot. And it's a good thing, too, for without at least one location besides the sniper's nest to test, the program might look a little biased, even to the uninformed.

The program then cuts away to Adelaide, Australia, and depicts the creation of the simulated heads to be used in the tests. Pamela McElwain-Brown, who consulted on the program, reported later that these heads cost \$50,000 apiece.

Anyhow, something strange occurs during this sequence. A CT scan of a skull is depicted as the narrator relates that the Australian team is to make "*a target that would allow us to re-stage the assassination.*" (This scan is shown on The Death by Disco slide above). The CT scan is dated August 2008, and depicts wounds quite unlike Kennedy's words, and quite unlike the head wounds incurred by the simulated skull later in the program. What, then, does this CT scan represent? Did the creators of the program create a horribly inaccurate fake CT scan of what they believe Kennedy's head wounds actually looked like? In their previous program, Beyond the Magic Bullet, the program's creators had a CT scan performed on a simulated torso, after it had been fired upon. Is this then the CT scan of a skull fired upon but not discussed in the program?

It appears not. Towards the end of this program it is mentioned that they have an extra simulated head available if the shooter misses his target. The program then shows Yardley making the shot. On the Discovery Channel's website, however, it was later acknowledged that Yardley missed this shot, and hit the side of the simulated head, and that the shot in the program was in fact a shot on the fourth and final simulated head. Well, surprisingly, the wounds on the simulated head not shown in the program also fail to match the wounds on the CT scan shown during this sequence. So what, then, is this CT scan supposed to represent?

Leaving that aside, while the Australian simulated heads appear to be more accurate than the deliberately incomplete chest torsos used in Beyond the Magic Bullet, they are in fact quite problematic, as they are missing something vital. Blood. The program notes that simulated brain matter will be injected into the skulls at the last minute. But there is no mention of blood. A comparison of the blood spatter patterns observed during a simulated shooting and the blood spatter visible on the Z-film was at the core of my original suggestion that these tests be conducted. Blood spatter analyst Sherry Gutierrez concluded the head shot was fired from the south knoll in large part because there was no backspatter from the back of Kennedy's head visible on the Z-film. The program's failure to inject blood into the head therefore seems suspicious. Perhaps I'm being a nit-picker. Perhaps this "simulated brain matter" will react much like blood. We'll see.

At this point the program moves to yet another location. It now details the construction of a simulated car, in a simulated Dealey Plaza, on a Sylmar, California shooting range. Ironically, the program stresses that the measurements of the wooden "car" have been taken from schematics of the President's limousine--the same schematics ignored when the producers sought to demonstrate the single-bullet theory in Beyond the Magic Bullet. A simulated Kennedy torso with a simulated head attached at the top of a "*rigid, crash-test dummy neck,*" is then placed in the car in a reasonably accurate re-creation of Kennedy's position in Z-312 of the Zapruder film.

Next, Michael Yardley fires at the first of the heads shot in the program. He fires this shot from the simulated grassy knoll position behind the picket fence. For this shot he uses a Winchester rifle and soft-nosed hunting ammunition, the ammunition the program claims would most likely be used by a professional assassin. The head is blown to pieces. Completely destroyed.

He then shoots at a second head using a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle like the one purportedly owned by Oswald, firing full-metal jacket ammunition, ammunition similar to that found in the limousine. This shot exits the left side of the head, on a trajectory suggesting that, if such a bullet had been fired from this location on 11-22-63, it would have hit First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy.

Or so the creators of the program would have us believe...

Sleight of Jackie



The program later brags about its accuracy, and layers Z-312 onto its mock-up of the target car (as seen below).



In Inside the Target Car, it is proposed that a shot from the picket fence needs testing because the Moorman photo taken just after the head shot captured something in this location. Mrs. Kennedy's head is in front of her husband in this photo (as seen at left).



Thirty seconds later, however, they show the view from the fence when looking at actors purportedly replicating Z-312, taken only 1/6th of a second before the Moorman photo. Mrs. Kennedy is now depicted with her head behind her husband (as seen above).

This layering of Z-312 proves Mrs. Kennedy was in front of her husband and not behind and that the program's earlier claim that a bullet fired from the fence "would have passed through John Kennedy and hit Jackie Kennedy, killing her as well" is untrue.

Nine seconds later, however, it shows the image at right while proclaiming that a shot from the fence is inconsistent with "film records."

Is this an "innocent" mistake?



Sleight of Jackie

A close look at frame 312, later projected onto the mock target car fired upon in the program, shows Mrs. Kennedy to be slightly forward and left of her husband, looking at his face, and out of line with a shot coming from his right front. So where does the program get off claiming a bullet fired from the picket fence would have hit her?

Only nine seconds after showing its viewers 312, moreover, and claiming *"Our team has exactly re-created a forensic moment in history,"* the program shows an image of the re-enactors shown earlier in the program, layered onto an image of the Kennedy shooting dummy as seen from the picket fence location used by Yardley. This layered image depicts Mrs. Kennedy behind her husband, in direct line for a shot fired from the fence.. At this point the narrator relates *"Our first two tests from the grassy knoll show both debris and damage inconsistent with autopsy and film records."* By *"film records"* the program seems to be asserting that the Zapruder film demonstrates Mrs. Kennedy to be behind the President, and that the re-enactors therefore got it right. But only nine seconds earlier, the program had proved this to be untrue! This is utterly baffling. Could this really be an innocent mistake? I mean, shouldn't at least one person working on the program have caught such an obvious mistake?

When asked about this later on the Discovery Channel's website, Gary Mack insisted that, unbelievable as it may seem, that it was in fact an innocent mistake. When it was pointed out to him that Jackie was

not behind her husband, but was in front of him, he readily admitted: *"She wasn't and we didn't catch it at the time. At the moment of the fatal shot, Jackie's head was in front of JFK, whereas our actor's head was behind him. However, that error had no bearing on the purpose of the recreation in Dallas. The only actor who needed to be seated correctly was JFK, and he was perfectly placed. After all, we were only trying to show whether or not a sharpshooter could see his target -- Kennedy -- from the various locations."*

Mack's answer raises more questions, however. While he is correct to state that the improper placement of the Jackie substitute in the limousine during the segment filmed in Dealey Plaza had little impact on Yardley's conclusions about which shots seemed likely, he sidesteps that the program later used its incorrect positioning of Mrs. Kennedy to discount that a shot was fired from the picket fence. It seems hard to believe he has forgotten this not-so-minor detail.

Particularly in that he was the one who did the discounting. After the shot in question was fired, Mack, Yardley, and the creator of the simulated heads, Wesley Fisk, ran over to the mock car and looked at the damage to the left side of the skull. At this point, Mack stated "Then there would have been a dead Jackie right here." This leads the narrator to proclaim: *"Our test shows that the bullet would have passed through John Kennedy and hit Jackie, killing her as well. In addition, our test shows massive damage to the left side of the skull, an area undamaged in the official autopsy report."* Yardley then asks Mack *"We may have just proven that there wasn't a gunman on the grassy knoll--what do you think?"* To which Mack replies: *"That's the way it looks."*

So, Mack wasn't telling the truth and nothing but the truth when he responded as though the incorrect placement of Jackie in the re-enactment was immaterial to the program's conclusions. It was, in fact, central to its conclusions. Even worse, Mack was chiefly responsible for this error. He was responsible for aligning the re-enactors in the target car. And he was the one who blurted out on camera that the bullet exiting the head would have killed Jackie.

Either this was an embarrassing mistake from someone who certainly ought to have known better, or Mack was part of a deliberate charade designed to fool the millions viewing the program. That he would later admit this mistake really doesn't tell us all that much. After all, in my exchanges with Dale Myers I got him to admit that his animation as depicted in *Beyond the Magic Bullet* was distorted and deceptive. Of the millions who've viewed *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, how many do you think are aware of this fact? Or will ever be aware of this fact?

Similarly, of the millions viewing *Inside the Target Car*, how many will ever find out that its creators screwed up and placed Jackie behind JFK instead of to his front? And that Mack admitted as much?

(In 2009, *Inside the Target Car* was re-broadcast, apparently with some minor changes. According to Pamela McElwain-Brown, who watched this re-broadcast. the program's creators corrected an error about the timing of the photos taken of the Presidential limousine, and inserted a different photo of the Jack and Jackie stand-ins into the Sylmar shooting sequence. She said that this made the program's incorrect placement of Jack and Jackie less obvious. When I asked her if they had also removed the offending sequence of Mack incorrectly claiming a grassy knoll shot would have killed Jackie, she reported that they had not. If this is so, then the suspicion that Mack's admitted mistake was not an accident but a deliberately scripted part of a deliberately deceptive program...would appear to have been confirmed.)

Notes from the Sylmar Knoll



In JFK: Inside the Target Car, shots were fired on a simulated skull from a simulated grassy knoll in a simulated Dealey Plaza in Sylmar, California. The simulated skull ripped open upon impact (as seen in the images above).



Above: Sixth Floor Museum Curator Gary Mack inspects the left side of the simulated head.

Unfortunately for some conspiracy theorists, this simulation showed that a full-metal jacket bullet, if shot from this location, would most probably exit the left side of Kennedy's head (as seen in the image at right).



Unfortunately for single-assassin theorists, it also demonstrated that backscatter would explode from the entrance location and that skull fractures and scalp lacerations would most probably be longer at entrance than at exit (as seen in the images at left and above). This flies in the face of the "official" story.

Notes from the Sylmar Knoll

Still, if the program's creators were being deliberately deceptive about the likelihood a shot was fired from behind the fence, it wasn't because they had to be. There are plenty of legitimate reasons to doubt a shot was fired from this location. Whether or not a shot from the knoll would have hit Mrs. Kennedy, no exit wound was observed on the left side of her husband's head, and no damage was observed on the left side of his brain. Also problematic is that those closest to this location did not hear a shot fired from its direction. Nearby witnesses who thought the shots came from the knoll, such as William Newman and Abraham Zapruder, felt they came from somewhere to the east of the fence. Of course, Mack has already discounted the value of the eyewitness evidence, so the program's failure to make this last point is not all that surprising.

What is surprising, however, is that the program's tests from this location leave so much unanswered. While the program's creators were open-minded about what rifle may have been used to fire from this location, for some unexplained reason they did not extend this open-mindedness to ammunition. Yes, the identifiable bullet fragments found in the car were full-metal jacketed ammunition. But they were fragments of Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition, and the program has already conceded that evidence was lost during the clean-up of the limousine. There is therefore no reason for them to fire a Winchester rifle from this location, knowing that its ammunition didn't match, and not also fire other kinds of weapons whose ammunition didn't match. They could have tested soft-nosed reduced-charge

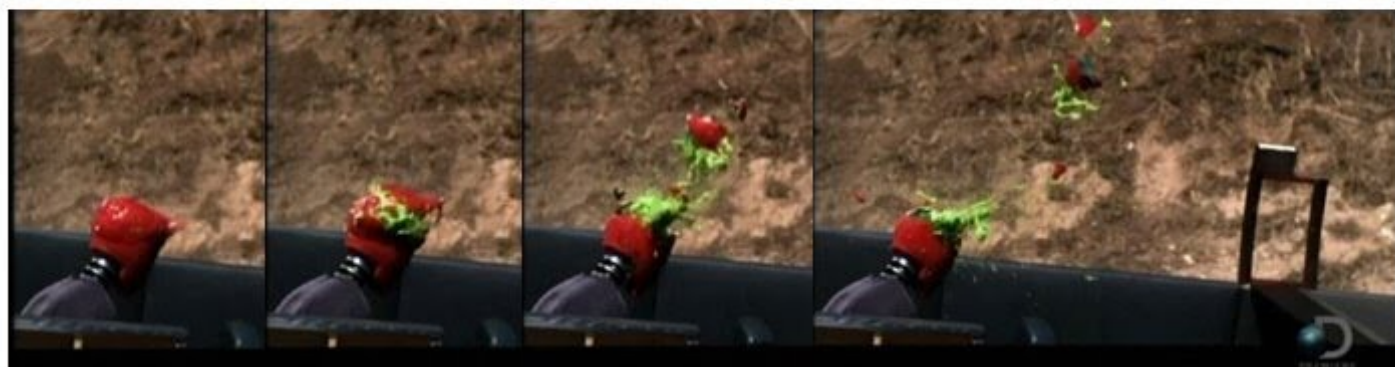
ammunition, which would have exploded the head to a lesser degree than the soft-nosed hunting ammunition they'd used, but would not have exited from the left side of the head. But they did not. Instead they tested an ammunition they'd already declared would not have been used by a professional assassin--full metal jacketed ammunition--from a location where no one has proposed such ammunition was fired.

It's actually worse than that. Not only did the program's creators test the wrong kind of ammunition from this location, they failed to note the significance of the tests they did perform. The shot hit the near side of the head, and exited the far side of the head. It hit no bones in between. The bullet was fired at a closer range and thus traveling faster than the bullet believed to have killed Kennedy. And yet the top of the head did not explode like Kennedy's. This is damaging to former HSCA wound ballistics expert and single-assassin theorist Larry Sturdivan's contention that the top of Kennedy's head exploded as a result of the expansion of a temporary cavity created within his skull. If these simulated skulls are so similar to human skulls, why didn't this skull explode? The soft-nosed bullet fired from this location exploded the skull to a greater extent than one would expect on a human skull. So why did the second bullet not send fragments from the top of the simulated head skywards?

There are other problems as well. While, as one might expect, the exit hole on the left side of the skull was larger than the entrance hole on the right, the simulated scalp lacerations and apparent fractures were larger at entrance than at exit. Upon the bullet's impact, moreover, material flew back from this entrance. The program should have asked why a small entrance with small fractures was found on the back of Kennedy's head and a huge hole with huge fractures was found on the top of his head, and why, as near as can be determined from the Zapruder film, no backspatter shot back out this entrance.

Of course, programs like this are not in the business of asking such questions.

There Won't Be Blood



The climax of the Discovery Channel's 2008 production JFK: Inside the Target Car came when shooter Michael Yardley fired on a simulated skull from a simulated sniper's nest, using the type of rifle and ammunition purportedly used by Oswald. He hit the skull near the "cowlick" entrance...and the top of the simulated skull flew skywards (as shown above).



Rather than report the obvious--that firing on the entrance location preferred by the HSCA failed to reproduce the President's head wounds, and that it created instead one large "gutter" wound (as seen above)--the program's producers reported that the explosion of brain matter was similar to the explosion of brain matter seen in Kennedy's limousine, and that they'd therefore proved the head shot was fired from behind. But where was the blood?

There Won't Be Blood

After satisfying themselves that the head shot wasn't fired from the knoll, the programs' creators then proceeded to perform what was obviously designed to be the centerpiece of the program: the re-creation of the President's head wounds by a shot fired from the sniper's nest. For this shot, Yardley used a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle similar to the purported assassin's rifle, and the appropriate ammunition. He fired at the "cowlick" entrance, which, according to Gary Mack, was based on the autopsy photos and x-rays, *"something the Warren Commission did not have in 1964."*

Well, hold it right there. Mack conceals from the program's viewers that Chief Justice Earl Warren later admitted that he DID look at the autopsy photos, and REFUSED to let the autopsy doctors look at them in order to accurately depict the President's wounds in their drawings. He also conceals that the autopsy doctors later looked at these photos, and, not once but twice, reported that the photos confirmed that the entrance wound was where they originally said it was, 4 inches lower than Mack now claims. He conceals as well that the doctors, after having been confronted with the photo purported to show the "cowlick" entrance, insisted that the red mark in the photo was nothing but dried blood. In short, he hides all the serious questions about the head wound entrance location discussed in chapter 13 of this webpage by pretending that the questions can be answered by the simple proposition that the Warren Commission did not have the autopsy photos and x-rays in 1964. Mack's comment is an insult to

serious researchers, and is an obvious attempt to lull those unaware of the problems with the medical evidence back to sleep. (Note to self: this program is selling certainty, not doubt!)

So, anyhow, Yardley fires. Although it was later admitted that he missed on this attempt and hit the side of the simulated head, the program inserts instead his shot on the fourth and final simulated head. He hits the cowlick entrance... And blows the top of the simulated head off!

There is no small entrance leading to an extremely large exit as was supposedly observed on Kennedy... There is just one large gutter wound... Just as I'd predicted in chapter 15 of my webpage years before this program was filmed...

At this point, the program is at a crossroads. It can continue on its road to deliberate deceptionville or it can make the right turn and admit they were surprised by the result of their test. The program's creators can admit that their test suggests that perhaps just perhaps the entrance wound on the back of the skull was not as determined by a secret panel years after the fact and then confirmed by close colleagues to the members of this panel years after the fact, but was actually where the doctors who actually saw the body said it was, or they can ignore their own test and pretend that nothing the least surprising transpired.

Well, not surprisingly, considering they ran the stoplight at a similar crossroads in *Beyond the Magic Bullet*, they race right through the intersection. The program does not mention that the bullet impacting on the back of Kennedy's head supposedly made a small entrance, and traveled several inches through his skull before exploding outwards. It makes no mention that the wound they've created is one large gutter wound.

There is something else that is not mentioned, nor explained. There is also no backspatter visible on the film of this headshot. Nor is there any forward spatter. While the program's creators have placed a large fan blowing wind measured at 25 mph in front of the limousine, in order to better reproduce the conditions in Dealey Plaza on 11-22-63, they have obviously not done so in order to compare the size and shape of the blood spatter erupting from Kennedy's head with the size and shape of the blood erupting from their simulated skull. There is no simulated blood erupting from the simulated skull, just green goo simulating brain matter.

As the study of blood spatter is a highly-respected field of forensic science, and a comparison of the blood spatter in a simulation with frame 313 of the Zapruder film might prove most enlightening, it's hard to understand why there was no simulated blood injected into the skull to go along with this simulated brain matter. Perhaps the producers knew they would fail, so failed to even try. Or perhaps they simply thought that green goo would look better on camera.

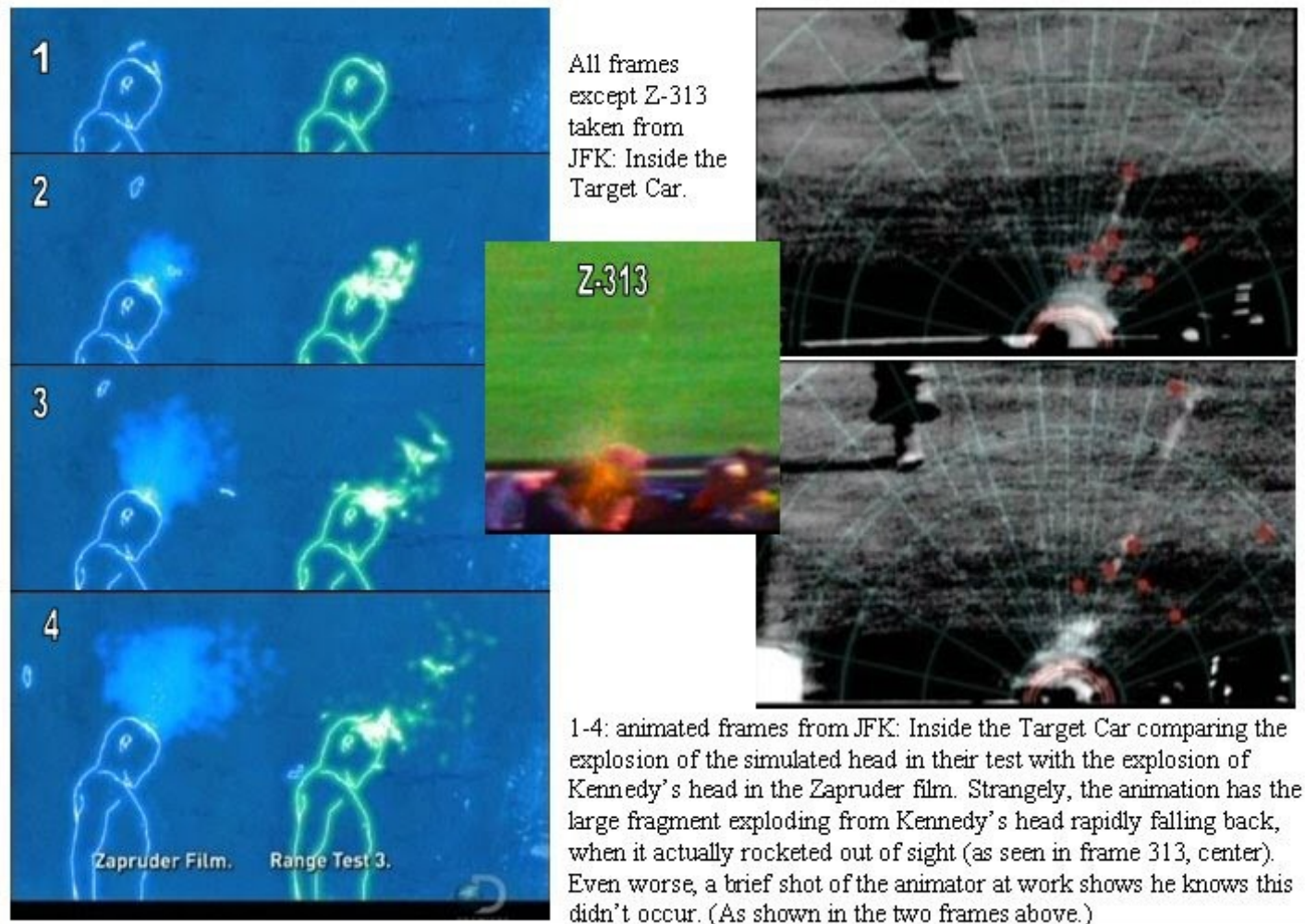
In his subsequent discussion on the Discovery Channel's website, Gary Mack admitted as much. He related: *"We did not want to use red, since that would have been rather gross to watch. And we couldn't use a clear liquid since that wouldn't show up on camera. For best visibility on television, we used bold colors that were easy to see. The HD version of the show has clearer images than the regular TV version."*

O.K., Gary, that almost makes sense.

At another point in his online discussion, when asked about the shot to the cowlick's failure to replicate Kennedy's wounds, however, Mack proclaimed: *"Although our test shot struck very, very close to the actual bullet entry hole, no such test can be absolutely exact. What's more important is the effect of the bullet and whether or not the blood spatter matches the film of the actual shooting or not."*

Well, if this is so, then why not use a liquid that sprays back out of bullet holes, and leaves mist in the air upon the explosion of a skull? Something that remotely resembles...blood.

Flight of Fantasy



Flight of Fantasy

We now enter the spin cycle of the program. 100%. The centerpiece of the program--an attempt to replicate Kennedy's head wounds with a shot fired from the sniper's nest--failed to re-produce Kennedy's head wounds. And not only that, it called into question the most recent conclusions about the entrance location of the bullet. How do the producers then spin this to fit their already demonstrated agenda--that of supporting the "official" story?

Well, they start by re-showing the film in slow motion, and discussing similarities between the shooting they've observed and the shooting of Kennedy. Of a large piece of simulated skull flying backwards from the head, they relate: *"A large chunk moves backwards and lands on the trunk, just like the large piece that Jackie may have retrieved."* This *"may"* is most revealing. While a piece of skull and/or brain matter landing on the trunk of the limousine has long been used by conspiracy theorists to suggest the head shot was fired from in front of the President, many single-assassin theorists still dispute this. The program's use of *"may"*, then, seems designed not to offend these folk, and is used even though Secret Service Agent Clint Hill, who was jumping onto the trunk of the limousine at the time, insists he saw Mrs. Kennedy pick something up, and even though Mrs. Connally insisted she heard her scream "I

have his brains in my hands", and even though one of the doctors at Parkland Hospital working on Kennedy, Dr. Marion Jenkins, insisted she'd handed him the brains. Well, why are the creators of a supposedly independent program so worried about upsetting the relatively few single-assassin theorists in denial on this point, when they seem completely unconcerned about upsetting the numerous conspiracy theorists convinced a special ammunition was used for the shot from the knoll?

In any event the program moves on to consult with forensic scientists and criminalists, who study the brain spatter in the car and conclude the shot was fired from behind. They also use a laser to align the bullet's entrance on the simulated dashboard with a trajectory through the head and conclude the bullet was fired from the simulated sniper's nest. Well, this is interesting. There was but one bullet entrance on the dashboard. This indicates the bullet exited in one piece. This is yet another way in which the program's head shot simulation differed from the shooting of Kennedy. The bullet striking Kennedy exploded into numerous pieces. More than half of it was never located.

Later, when asked on the Discovery Channel's website if the bullets fragmented, Gary Mack admitted *"No, and that was quite a surprise. Carcano bullets are military, metal jacketed bullets designed not to fragment upon impact. Oswald's did, but ours did not. We do not know why that happened."* Well, bravo Gary. A straight and honest answer, without spin. Nice.

The program's creators then show photos of the green goo spatter in the simulated car to limousine witnesses McLain and McNairy, and they, not surprisingly, agree that the spatter patterns look like what they saw in the limousine outside Parkland Hospital on 11-22-63. While this is clearly supposed to be dramatic, it is in fact far from it. It was 45 years ago. How accurate can their recollections be? But more to the point, why weren't they shown photos of goo from when the skull was shot from the knoll? They may very well have said that those photos look just like what they saw in '63 as well. It seems apparent from this that, while these witnesses are no doubt well-intentioned, the program's creators have used them much as they've used Nellie Connally and Bobby Hargis. Their credibility has been borrowed, but is not questioned or fully put on display. They are in the program to help sell its creators' hypothesis and that is all.

Even so, the program makes a mistake in this stretch. It tells its viewers that photos were taken of the limousine on the night of the assassination while in the White House garage. The color photos shown, however, were taken the next afternoon. This was first pointed out by Pamela McElwain-Brown in an online critique of the program. Ironically, Ms. Brown is an expert on the limousine, and was given a special thanks in the program's closing credits.

But that's leaping ahead. The program isn't over. The narrator announces that they still need to compare their film of a bullet's impact on a simulated skull with the impact seen in the Zapruder film. He then offers that *"There is a difference between documenting an experiment and showing the death of a human being. For this reason we've translated the graphic portions into a digital facsimile. This allows us to directly compare the data in a way that blunts the horrific impact and respects the memory of a beloved President."*

With this, I prepare for the worst. Historically, from the inaccurate medical drawings prepared for the Warren Commission to the deceptive animation of the shooting shown on TV, most every time someone tells us that they are creating an accurate facsimile to replace something we can look at for ourselves, they misrepresent the evidence.

And this time is no different. The *"test footage reduced to similar data points"* as the Zapruder film depicts an explosion of brain upwards and forwards. It also shows a skull fragment fall backwards. The animated head explosion taken from the Zapruder film, on the other hand, shows a mist explode from the skull--not gobs of goo--and a skull fragment explode slightly upwards, and then fall backwards. Although the narrator proclaims these animations match "almost exactly", there are in fact, huge

problems with this animation, and with this claim. First, the fragment in the Z-film comes from the top of Kennedy's head, when the fragment in the test footage comes from the back of the head. Not an insignificant difference. Second, the limousine was moving during the filming of the Zapruder film, and it seems unlikely the animation takes into account that the bloody cloud erupting from Kennedy's head started to erupt when Kennedy was inches behind where he appears in the film. Third, the explosion of skull in the Z-film heads both upwards and downwards, while the explosion in the animation goes strictly upwards. And fourth, and most importantly, THE ZAPRUDER FILM DOES NOT SHOW A FRAGMENT EXPLODE SLIGHTLY UPWARDS AND THEN FALL TO THE TRUNK OF THE CAR.

Even worse, the program's creators KNOW the Zapruder film does not show this. When discussing the creation of their "*digital facsimile*" they showed an animator at work, with frames from the Zapruder film on his computer monitor. Upon these frames red marks had been added to designate fragments exploding forwards and upwards from the impact location on the President's head. Not one of these fragments behaves like the large fragment in their "*digital facsimile*". Even more surprising, not one of the fragments designated by these marks is even depicted in the "facsimile".

This suggests that the program's creators started to do a legitimate analysis of the skull explosion, only to realize it didn't back up their pre-ordained conclusion that their tests supported the official story. It seems likely then that they decided to pretend that it did, and decided to "sell" that it did via their shoddy cartoon. One of the unique aspects of Kennedy's death, and therefore one of the clues as to what actually happened, is the explosion skyward of a large bone fragment at frame 313 of the Zapruder film. This fragment is almost certainly the bone fragment discovered the next day by Billy Harper at a location approximately 80 feet away from the impact location, as this is the largest bone fragment found outside the limo, and must have traveled there somehow. The program's failure to discuss this fragment, and its pretending that the fragment seen at frame 313 fell to the back, and was, by implication, the object picked up by Jackie Kennedy from the trunk of the limousine, is shockingly bold, and suggestive that its creators shared a naked desire to deceive. I have no other way to say it--I think these guys are liars.

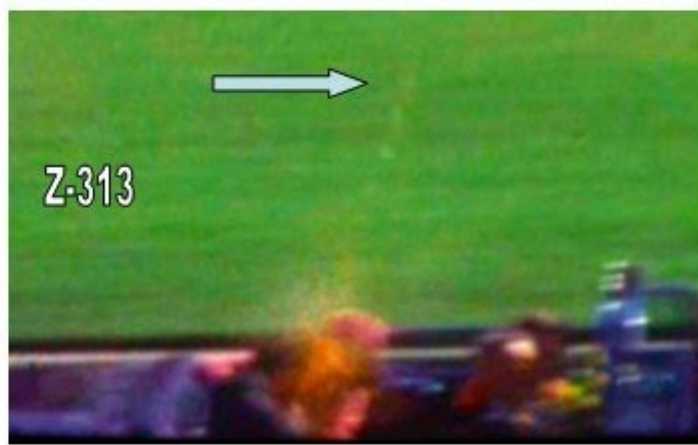
They are, after all, the same guys behind Beyond the Magic Bullet, an equally deceptive program. They have, after all, ignored in this program that their shot from the knoll using full-metal jacketed ammunition created wounds quite different than those reportedly found on Kennedy. They have, after all, ignored in this program that their shot from the sniper's nest also failed to replicate his wounds, and that the explosion of the skull from this shot suggested that, at the very least, the bullet impacted at a different location than that fired upon. They have, after all, created a cartoon in this program that is a blatantly false depiction of the impact on Kennedy, and have claimed that they created this deceptive cartoon out of respect to the President's memory.

(To be clear, I don't believe the program's producers are "liars" in the sense that they know Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy and are part of some conspiracy to convince people otherwise. That would suggest a level of knowledge that is probably beyond their grasp. No, I mean "liars" in the sense that they are interested in pushing a specific scenario, and deliberately shade every bit of information to support that scenario, even if it means misrepresenting the evidence to support their previously agreed-upon conclusions. In this behavior, admittedly, they are not dissimilar to many conspiracy theorists. There is a significant difference, however. The difference is that most conspiracy theorists are honest enough to say they believe Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy, before presenting the reasons why. The Discovery Channel programs, on the other hand, pretend they have no agenda, and have come to no conclusions beforehand, and that it's just an incredible coincidence that everything they push forth supports the single-assassin scenario, EVEN WHEN IT DOESN'T.)

The program then concludes "*The Warren Commission was correct--the fatal shot did not come from*

the grassy knoll." Gary Mack then relates that the shot came from behind, *"apparently from the sixth floor window."* It closes with Mack looking out this window. While I tend to agree with this conclusion, the road getting there was so filled with dust and deception that it leaves me feeling numb.

The Flight of the Harper Fragment



Above: a comparison of three frames from an outtake of JFK: Inside the Target Car with frame 313 of the Zapruder film. The light blue lines demonstrate the locations of the largest skull fragment in each frame. This "mistake" more closely resembles the explosion of skull seen in the Z-313 than the take used in the program, and was the real re-enactment.

The Flight of the Harper Fragment

A few days after I thought I'd finished this summary and review, however, I saw something that snapped me to my senses. No, I didn't re-appraise what was in the program itself. I remain convinced it was deliberately deceptive. What I saw was a discussion by Gary Mack of the program on the Discovery Channel's own website, the discussion referred to in the added sections above. When asked what became of the footage of the extra skull mentioned in the program, Mack replied: *"The 'cutting room floor,' as they say, removed for time and clarity by Discovery. Their decision was reasonable, as there wasn't enough time to include everything. The show's producers and I very much wanted the scene to be shown; for that reason, it will be included in the DVD release of the show. But you can also see it below, as posted to YouTube or you click the hyperlink to see it on the Discovery Channel News*

site. For that shot, fired from behind, Michael missed the spot on the skull slightly, resulting in damage on the right side of the skull. Nevertheless, the blood spray pattern was very similar to the second attempt from our Depository window."

Well, I immediately watched the footage to judge this last claim for myself, and developed a whole new appreciation for the Discovery Channel. This outtake was by far the most significant part of the program, and the most damaging to the official story otherwise propped up by the program. The fact that someone, anyone, affiliated with the program thought this footage worthwhile, and endeavored to make it available to the curious, and the more-than curious, suggests that not everyone affiliated with the program had an absolute disregard for the truth.

You see, this footage confirmed one of my most important conclusions about the shooting. It showed that a bullet impacting on the side of Kennedy's head from behind would dislodge a large skull fragment and send it soaring through the sky at an almost identical angle to the large fragment seen soaring through the sky in Z-313. This footage much more closely resembled Z-313 than the shot used in the program.

The Cloud of Mist



Four frames from the tests performed for the Discovery Channel compared with Z-313. The frames at far left, from the outtake, display the same downward explosion seen in Z-313. The frames above and below, which are taken from the show itself, do not.



The Cloud of Mist

The resurrected re-enactment footage showed more than just a fragment sailing skywards, however. It showed also that an impact at this location would create an explosion of skull and brain heading both upwards and downwards. The explosion of skull used in the program did not do this; the simulated brain matter from that skull exploded upwards and then fell downwards. Zapruder frame 313 was taken within .03 seconds or so of the bullet's impact, too short a time for the bloody matter below the bullet's exit and out in front of Kennedy's face to have exploded upwards and to then have fallen downwards.

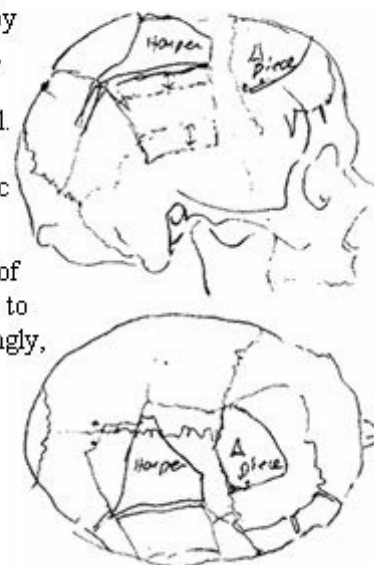
This resurrected footage also showed a cloudy white mist, apparently caused by the bullet's tangential entry on the skull. No such mist was observed on the footage used in the program, where the bullet entered straight into the back of the skull and exited straight from the front of the skull. Such a mist is seen above the top of Kennedy's head in Z-313, however. This suggests that the tangential entry on Kennedy's skull was more to the top of his skull than the tangential wound was on the simulated skull in the Discovery Channel's footage. Having a wound in this location is also consistent with Zapruder film, autopsy photos and x-rays.

The Missing Piece

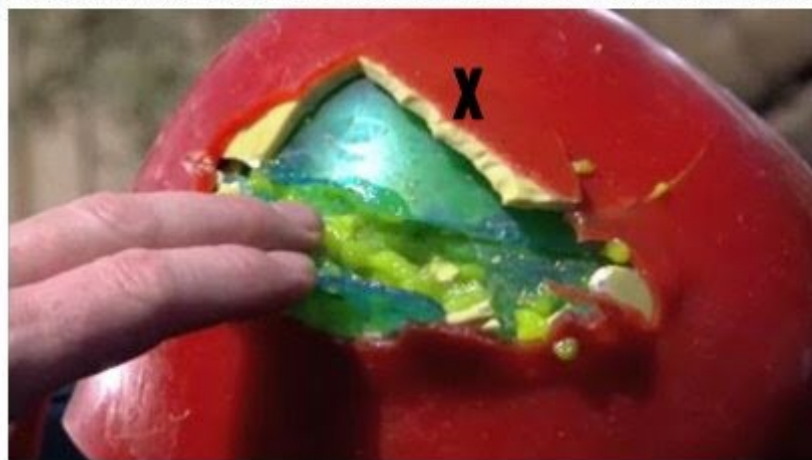


Above: HSCA Figure 28, a photo of the Harper fragment, sized relative to the simulated skull at left. Intriguingly, it nearly fits the triangular defect above the bullet's path.

At right: a drawing by Dr. Lawrence Angel, placing the Harper fragment on the skull. Addendum E to the report of the Forensic Pathology Panel.



Above and below: the tangential wound created by the "missed" shot cut from Inside the Target Car. The blue arrow reflects the path of the bullet.



What would the wound at left have looked like if the bullet had hit one inch forwards and one inch higher on the skull, in the location marked with an X? Would it have blown the top of the simulated head off, starting just above the ear, and look like the large head wound on Kennedy? Would the bullet have created a groove across the upper right quadrant of the brain, as it reportedly did on Kennedy? I believe so.

The Missing Piece

Once one realizes that the flight of the Harper fragment in Z-313 closely resembles the flight of the fragment in the resurrected re-enactment, and the explosion of skull in Z-313 closely resembles the explosion of skull seen in the resurrected re-enactment, naturally, one begins to wonder what else can be tested, what else can be compared.

This led me to wonder if the Discovery program's creators had bothered to find and film the fragments that had exploded from their simulated heads, if only just to see, y'know, what these fragments looked like. I wondered if any of these fragments resembled the Harper fragment, the only fragment from Kennedy's skull found outside the limousine and subsequently photographed.

While we all grow old (or, in some cases, even older) waiting for this footage to surface, however, we must satisfy ourselves with what is already apparent. And that is this: the missing piece of the simulated skull just above the bullet's path, the apparent source of the largest fragment observed exploding upwards in the resurrected footage, is sharply triangular, and closely resembles the size and shape of the Harper fragment, believed to be the largest fragment exploding upwards in the Zapruder film. The flight path, size, and shape of the Harper fragment are therefore all consistent with its being dislodged by a bullet striking Kennedy on the side of his head, just as proposed in the previous chapter.

When one looks closely at this simulated wound, moreover, it is quite easy to imagine the destruction the bullet creating this wound would have caused if it had hit the skull just a bit higher and more forward. It would have, clearly in my opinion, created a large wound quite like the wound described by both Dr. Clark in Dallas on the day of the assassination and Dr. Humes in his report the next day.

I don't believe this is a coincidence. In earlier chapters of this online book, I'd concluded that a shot impacting low on the skull and traversing the skull without hitting any bones before exiting, such as a shot striking the near the EOP and exiting from near the coronal suture, would be likely to create a large entrance on the skull, with large fractures, and an even larger exit, with smaller fractures. The Discovery Channel's shot from the picket fence with a full-metal jacketed bullet, hitting near the temple, created just such a wound. In earlier chapters, I'd also concluded that a full-metal jacketed bullet fired from the sniper's nest and hitting Kennedy at the so-called "cowlick" entry on the back of his head, would blow the top of his head off. The Discovery Channel's replication of this shot did precisely that. And finally, in earlier chapters I'd concluded that a full-metal jacketed bullet striking Kennedy near his right temple, if fired from the sniper's nest and hitting him at Z-313, would be likely to send a large skull fragment upwards, blow out the right side of his head, and leave a large tangential wound. The Discovery Channel's footage on the cutting room floor shows that, yes indeed, such a shot would both re-create the skull explosion seen in Z-313, and the large head wound reported by the doctors.

As a result, I suspect that the Discovery Channel's re-enactments are the missing piece that will finally force those interested in such matters to finally sit up and take notice.

Perchance to dream.

Perry for the Defense

On 12-03-08, in an online critique of Pamela McElwain-Brown's complaints about JFK: Inside the Target Car, Gary Mack's close associate Dave Perry defended the program. In this critique, subsequently posted on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, Perry, who portrayed Secret Service agent Roy Kellerman in the program's wildly inaccurate re-creation of frame 312, not only failed to acknowledge his own role in the program, but that he'd played a more substantive role in previous programs on the assassination made by the same production team. While this may have been a simple over-sight, Perry's closing statements revealed a serious under-sight, or blindness.

Perry's conclusions (with my own comments added):

- *"What the Discovery Channel producers attempted to do was to scientifically test a couple of theories and present the results of those theories. When other scientists or researchers dispute a theory they form a research group and do their own testing. If their results contradict what was proposed they make their findings public to counter the original theory."* (This sounds reasonable. The problem is that JFK: Inside the Target Car failed to test the conspiracy theories as usually proposed, and not only misrepresented them to the public in order to shoot them down, but shot them down for fraudulent reasons.)
- *"If the Discovery Channel's findings can be refuted then most likely a competing network or organization would be more than happy to air the results. To those who complain about the cost of such a venture that argument is not valid. I know of at least two individuals who have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to promote their own pet theory as to who the shooter was as opposed to attempting to show how the assassination took place."* (This just is not true. "Competing networks" have NEVER made it their business to refute the findings of reality-based programs on other networks. There is, in fact, a professional courtesy at work, in that, no one working at network A is likely to embarrass those working at network B, for fear that come next year they will be working at network B, or for someone who used to work at network B. I personally have met network executives who won't even TOUCH on a controversial subject covered by a "competing network," for fear they will look like they are "following the other network's lead." Perry's criticism of those spending "hundreds of thousands of dollars to promote their own pet theory" about the shooter, without "attempting to show how the assassination took place" is equally nonsensical, and pre-supposes that determining exactly how the shooting took place is more important than figuring out who performed the shooting--a prioritization not remotely accepted by the FBI, Warren Commission, HSCA or any other body to investigate Kennedy's assassination. The FBI, after all, decided Oswald pulled the trigger without figuring out if it was even possible for him to have fired all the shots. The Warren Commission, for their part, found Oswald to be the lone assassin while simultaneously concluding there was insufficient evidence to decide just how many shots were fired, let alone which ones hit.)
- *"If a new proposal appears even remotely to have merit then competitors will rush to air it. This is exactly what happened when Nigel Turner made his pitch, with little proof of his and other "researchers" accusations, to the History Channel. His new programs aired in 2003 as the latest installment of The Men Who Killed Kennedy series."* (This is more nonsense. Nigel Turner was allowed to create more programs because his earlier programs had made a lot of money for the network. After his last program accused President Johnson of masterminding Kennedy's death, however, the outcry from mainstream historians and political figures became a threat to the network's survival, and the network decided creating conspiracy-oriented programs was more trouble than it was worth. Since that time--over five years now--not a single cable channel--the same channels pumping out dozens if not hundreds of programs on UFO's, vampires, monsters, and ghosts--will touch anything on the Kennedy assassination that remotely suggests government complicity in the killing of the President. Perry most certainly knows this.)
- *"Ms. Brown and those who disagree with the results of JFK: Inside the Target Car or any of the other Discovery Channel's programs concerning the assassination should stop fault-finding and begin their own scientific testing. Let them refute the theories presented. And when doing so they should use facts as opposed to misrepresentation."* (This again sounds reasonable. This ignores, however, that the problems with the programs stem not so much from the results of their tests, but from the SPIN given the results of their tests. It is difficult to conceive that any channel currently in existence is gonna finance a replication of the Discovery Channel's tests

just so someone can come on and say "Oh yeah, by the way, this same test was performed for the Discovery Channel but that program's creators deceived you about the true significance of their results." I, for one, don't see it happening anytime soon. Probably not in our lifetime...)

Mack's Me-a Culpa

On August 14, 2009, researcher Paul May, using the name Spiffyone, posted an email from Gary Mack in which Mack attempted to explain some of the mistakes in the program. Mack's response is as follows:

JFK: Inside the Target Car first aired nine months ago and with all the whining about our Jackie actor being in the wrong position, no one has bothered to ask how it happened until today. You're the first!

The short answer is miscommunication between the producer and our spotter in the car. The young woman is a local actor; though I don't remember her name. My friend, David Perry, portrayed Secret Service agent Roy Kellerman and Dave's responsibility was to make sure the limo, the Kennedys and the Connallys were positioned appropriately. Those Dealey Plaza scenes were merely illustrative so viewers would have an understanding of who sat where and how the limo may have affected assassins' views.

Initially, the program was going to test several shooter locations including some test shots into a real 1961 Lincoln limousine and through its windshield. But the producer had to fly the skull replicas and their two builders to a California shooting range from Australia, and since the heads were very expensive, the production budget quickly became a significant expense.

Unfortunately, two major problems forced a change in the show's direction. First, production researchers failed to find any available operating or junked 1961 Lincoln Continental limousines or windshields. Without either, Target Car had no target, since it was extremely important to have a real 1961 Lincoln windshield. Next, the National Archives declined to shoot new video of the actual JFK windshield or to fully open its container. Without access (their understandable concern was for the safety and preservation of the windshield), we were unable to test the windshield shot theory.

Producer Robert Erickson, with whom I had worked on earlier shows, asked me what to do instead. My answer was simple: concentrate only on the head shot by duplicating the official version of the shooting and the most likely second gunman theory, then compare the results to the Zapruder film. My approach, which would have revealed any significant inconsistencies, was accepted just days before the Dallas scenes were scheduled to be filmed.

Nevertheless, when filming began, we hoped to at least show some of the earlier Z frame views if we had the time. And just as explained and shown in the program, I helped our Kennedy actors assume their Z-312/313 positions. Then, because the producer, photographer and I were going to be standing far from the car, Dave was to make sure the actors were properly seated and posed. Both Dave and Robert Erickson had radiophones to communicate which frame was being filmed. He and the other actors had reference paper prints of each Zapruder frame we hoped to examine.

Here's where events interfered and got us off track. We filmed all day late into the evening in 100+ degree heat at Love Field, an abandoned building taking the place of Parkland Hospital's emergency entrance, and Dallas Executive Airport taking the place of the White House garage. Hardly any of those scenes made the final program. The next day, forecast to again exceed 100, was Dealey Plaza with Nick Ciacelli's replica limousine, which we had shipped from Michigan to Dallas.

After the explanatory scene in front of the old Depository building, Robert, sharpshooter Michael Yardley and I prepared to restage some of the possible assassination scenarios. The city of Dallas and

Dallas Police would only allow Dealey Plaza to be closed for five minutes at a time, so we had to set up quickly, roll tape, then move the car out of the way while we walked to the next sniper location. We were behind schedule even before testing the first shooting theory from the south knoll, so we decided to only duplicate the head shot.

Robert was going to notify Dave of our decision, but somehow failed to do so. His subsequent messages to Dave referred only to getting the limousine and JFK parked over the X on Elm, but not on how the Kennedy actors were supposed to pose. Somewhere along the way, our Jackie actor, despite having been in the right position at the beginning of the day, got mixed up and put her head behind, instead of in front of, JFK. And without hearing from Robert about Zapruder frames or the actors, Dave didn't say anything to the actors.

By the time we did the knoll recreation, we were all sunburned and exhausted. As we started setting up, I heard Robert Groden speaking with Robert Erickson about something or other. I was working with the cameraman and didn't pay any attention at first. Groden, who was kind enough to move his table selling books and videos behind the wall near the Zapruder pedestal, was not involved with the production in any way. Nevertheless, he tried to help by telling Erickson we were doing it all wrong. Erickson put up with him for awhile, then referred Groden to me. All I heard was that JFK's head wasn't exactly right; I heard nothing about Jackie. I thanked him and quickly explained that JFK was close enough for what we were doing in the Plaza. Groden, of course, knew nothing about us planning to fire test shots at replica skulls a week or two later. We continued filming and finished, exhausted, near sundown.

So why didn't any of us see the problem? The answer is quite simple: we were too far away. Only our photographer, looking through his camera lens, had a good view of the car, but he wasn't knowledgeable about the assassination. Robert Erickson and I were at the ends of the Plaza for all but the knoll shot and neither of us could see the actors clearly. We relied on Dave, but Dave was relying on us. It was a classic case of a failure to communicate.

So by the time we recreated Z312/313, the actor placement error just didn't register with me. In fact, I initially stationed the cameraman a few feet away from the correct fence test location I had selected (which was, of course, the spot where the acoustics evidence placed a gunman). Eventually, I realized the problem and we had to reshoot putting us even further behind schedule.

Following the actual test shots at a gun range in Sylmar, California which were extremely accurate and over the following weeks, Robert Erickson and the folks at Creative Differences started putting the show together. He sent me a DVD of a rough cut and I was astonished at the Jackie error, but there was absolutely nothing we could do about it. There were no outtakes at that location showing her in the right pose and we had to include at least one closeup to illustrate JFK's position. We simply had no alternative.

In the movies, you'll find the term Continuity somewhere in the end credits. That's the person or persons who make certain everything in one scene precisely matches what appears in the next. For example, if an actor holds a cigarette in his right hand it had better be in that same hand when the camera cuts to a different angle. Other than me, we didn't have a Continuity person in Dealey Plaza and I missed the mistake. Simple as that.

Those who don't like the results of the test have been harping on the Jackie error as if it completely ruined the shooting test. They are wrong. They do that because they cannot dispute the simple science behind our basic premise: bullet goes in, matter comes out, and how does that compare to the Zapruder film? The results were convincing.

Gary Mack

Okay, so things were chaotic. And there was a communication error. And the actors were filmed in the wrong position at the wrong location. But this STILL does not explain why after the firing of the knoll shot in the program Mack himself insisted the shot would have killed Jackie. If they had simply filmed the actors in the wrong position, as claimed, and he would have caught this mistake should he have been watching the actors through the camera, as claimed, well then why did HE use this "mistake" to debunk that a shot came from the knoll? And why, if he caught this mistake before the program was completed, as claimed, did they include both the shot of the actors in the wrong position and his comments based upon this mistake in the final program? Because they didn't have an alternate shot of the actors? Really? Then why, according to those viewing repeats of the program, was an alternate shot of the actors added back in? And why, since the REAL problem wasn't the shot of Jackie's stand-in in the wrong position, but Mack's claiming her being in this position destroys the theory a shot came from the knoll, wasn't THIS more substantive mistake corrected for subsequent showings of the program?

And, perhaps more importantly, if the comparison of the simulated sniper's nest shot in the program to the actual shot in the Zapruder film was so central to the "basic premise" of the show, as claimed by Mack, why did they forego comparing their shot to the Zapruder film itself, but instead compare it to a ridiculously inaccurate cartoon purportedly based upon the Zapruder film?

With this self-serving me-a culpa I'm afraid Mack has only dug himself a deeper hole.

Chapter 17: Newer Views on the Same Scene

Dental Dilemma



HSCA Authenticity Report Figure 7:
pre-mortem x-ray of President
Kennedy's teeth. Image inverted.

What lies hidden behind the metal "markers" at right?



Figure 10: teeth and jaw cropped from autopsy x-ray 2.



Figure 11: teeth and jaw cropped from autopsy x-ray 3.

Figure 11: teeth and jaw cropped from autopsy x-ray 3.

Dental Dilemma

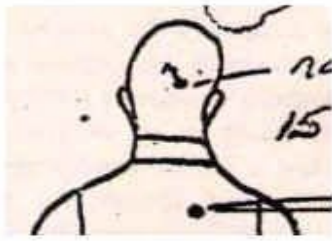
Having satisfied myself that the bullet striking Kennedy at frame 313 of the Zapruder film struck him at the supposed exit on the right side of his head, I was forced to grapple with the mystery of what happened to the bullet I'd previously concluded had struck him low on the back of his head. At this point, I remembered something that had always struck me as strange: the jaw bones and teeth on Kennedy's skull x-rays had been cropped off the photos of the x-rays published by the house committee. This, in turn, led me to wonder if a bullet hadn't lodged in Kennedy's jaw, perhaps obscured in part by his teeth. I thought of an early report written from the notes of the Parkland doctors in which it was claimed that "Considerable quantities of blood were present in the President's oral pharynx" (mouth) before it was suctioned. Since Kennedy's throat wound was described as slowly oozing blood, I wondered if the blood in the back of his mouth might not better be explained by a bullet's having lodged in his jaw.

When I read the HSCA testimony of Dr Lowell Levine, a dentist hired to confirm that the teeth in the x-rays supported the authenticity of the x-rays, my own jaw hit the floor. He said: "There is a radio opaque rectangular object with three small and one large radiolucent circular areas in it extending from the second lower premolar considerably beyond the third molar area. It obliterates the roots of the molars and extends at an angle beyond the inferior border of the mandible." "It obliterates the roots of

the molars?” Could this be the missing bullet? I grew even more suspicious after re-reading the testimony of Dr. Michael Baden and finding a note which read: “In deciding to release the autopsy x-rays the committee wished to permit public examination of the most important details of evidentiary significance while still maintaining a sense of propriety. In accordance with this desire, the committee decided to display the autopsy x-rays to the public in a cropped fashion.” I double-checked this against Baden’s 1989 book *Unnatural Death*, and here he told a different story: “The family balked at having x-rays of the head published in our final report. That distinctive Kennedy jaw was the source of some anguish—it looked too much like him, they said. We compromised. In the published report, the lower part of the jaw, showing the teeth, is blocked out.” This made me even more suspicious—who asked for the jaws to be blacked out, the committee or the family? And if showing the teeth was verboten, why was Dr. Lowell Levine allowed to show them in his testimony moments before Baden took the stand with his blacked-out jaws? I looked at these x-rays and couldn’t figure out what the metal was, but was suspicious that whatever it was it was used to cover up a bullet lodged in Kennedy’s jaw. I re-read the HSCA interview of the autopsy radiologist Dr John Ebersole and found the following exchange: “Baden: what is this long rectangular object at the lower portion of the x-rays of the head? Ebersole: “It is a rectangular object. It looks as if it could be used as a measuring device, yes.”

A measuring device! In my attempt to solve the murder of the century, I almost claimed there was a mass cover-up of a measuring device! I found further testimony explaining the presence of this device. Ebersole’s radiology assistant Edward Reed told the ARRB on 10-21-97 that “I suggested at that time that we take a small metallic fragment for magnification purposes and put it—attach it to the side of the head closest to the film...I did that. Put the—taped it to the back part of the mastoid on the left.” He continued: “This marker is a piece of aluminum with a small hole in the middle, in the distal third. As soon as I saw that, I recognized that is the piece of metal that I put on the left side of the President’s skull...For magnification purposes...we made them out of lead markers. They’re not straight. We use a scissors to cut them out of lead sheets.” A week later Ebersole’s other assistant Jerrol Custer talked to the ARRB and claimed all the credit for himself: “I had my—my own little measuring device on it...They had like little holes in it; and you could see the—it would either elongate, or you’d see a little dot.” When shown the x-rays he identified “My marker in the lower mandibular joint...Actually, all it is, is a metal—piece of metal, about half a centimeter thickness. Less than that. And about two inches long with numerous dots going left to right.” When asked if it was a standard device, he said “That was my device,” and that Ebersole “saw it that night, and he knew it belonged to me.” He said that Ebersole told him “I better not see it on those films,” and that, when he tried to put it on the abdomen x-ray, Ebersole “saw it, and made me take it off.” So there you have it. No conspiracy. Merely an over-eager underling interfering with the search for a bullet.

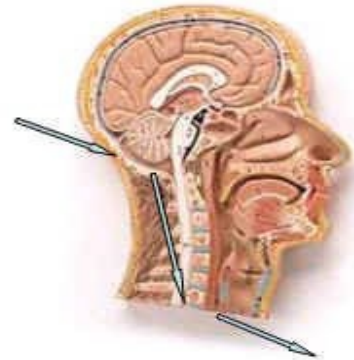
The EOP Entry Revisited



Autopsy Face Sheet:
Boswell's arrow shows the bullet
headed to the left and up.



Zapruder frame 225: Kennedy appears to
be sitting straight up, facing Zapruder.

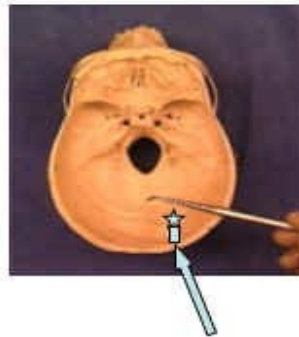
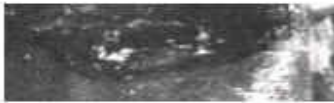


Possible scenario. Bullet
descending 25 degrees through
the air. Entrance into skull,
diving under the cerebellum.
Deflection down the neck.
Deflection off transverse
process of spine at C-7.
Exit of bullet once again
descending at 25 degrees.



25 degree angle to
left as at Z-312

Fox Autopsy Photo: close-up
of entrance shows the bullet
headed to the left and down.



Overview at left reveals
how the bullet would have
to have curved into the skull in
order to have avoided the spine.

The EOP Entry Revisited

So where did the bullet entering the occipital bone go? When one looks closely at the entrance near the EOP (the external occipital protuberance—the bony prominence low on the back of men's skulls at the approximate height of the middle of the ear), one finds a possible answer. For a close look at the tunneling from right to left will show that the bullet went *down*.

This is a bit perplexing. While Dr. Boswell marked the entrance on the head on the autopsy face sheet with an arrow pointing upwards and to the left, which would seem to rule out such a trajectory, further analysis reveals that we can't trust this arrow. Outside of the fact that the doctors believed the large defect to have been an exit, and that it was above the entrance on the skull, they offered us no other reason to believe the bullet was traveling upwards upon entrance. While Dr. Boswell described the entrance as "ragged, slanting," moreover, his drawing indicates the entrance was ragged and slanting to the left, which makes no sense seeing as the bullet's exit was on the right side of the skull, and no damage was noted on the left side of the brain. There's just no getting around that Boswell's arrow was in error. While it was officially in error by pointing to the left, our interpretation of this photo suggests that it was actually in error by pointing up.

When one considers that the entrance seen in the autopsy photos, and reported by Dr. Finck as a "transversal" wound, was supposedly created by the impact of a bullet at frame 313, when Kennedy was leaning sharply to his left, it becomes even more apparent that Boswell's arrow just can not be trusted. A transversal wound on the back of a head that is tilted to its left, if caused by a weapon firing from the right of the victim, would be an indication that the bullet headed downwards upon impact. It just defies belief that a high-speed bullet heading right to left and downwards on the back of the skull

would reverse course to such a degree that it would travel left to right and upwards within the brain.

This forces us to examine other scenarios. If the bullet headed downwards upon impact at the back of the skull, and continued downwards within the skull, it would most logically have entered the neck. But do bullets impacting on the skull ever descend down the neck, or is this just something that sounds good in cyberspace to a layman such as myself? According to *Gunshot Injuries*, one of the first books on the subject, written by Louis Anatole La Garde at the height of World War I, a projectile creating a penetrating skull wound, where there is an entrance but no apparent exit, is "generally lodged within the skull unless it has, as sometimes happens, passed down the neck."

That little obstacle taken care of, let's see where this conjecture takes us.

1. Well, first of all, since we've already concluded the bullet striking Kennedy at frame 313 most likely struck him on a tangent, we can venture that the bullet creating the small entrance wound on the back of his head struck him at some other time.
2. Since we've already decided that a bullet entering Kennedy's back at the location of his back wound could not have continued on to bruise his lung and exit his throat without hitting his spine, the throat wound is unaccounted for. We can only wonder then, if the bullet heading down into the neck at a time other than 313 made its exit from Kennedy's throat.
3. Since Kennedy reaches for his throat just after Connally appears to get injured, around frame Z-224, moreover, we should consider the possibility that a bullet traversed down Kennedy's neck at this time.
4. As Connally was sure a shot was fired before he was hit, and as he appears to be hit at Z-224, we can assume that Kennedy most probably received his back wound shortly before this time, most likely around frame 190, when the HSCA concluded a shot striking Kennedy was fired.
5. As the time span between Z-190 and Z-224 was less than two seconds, too short an interval for Oswald to have accurately fired his bolt-action rifle, we can conclude that the proposed bullet impacting in the occipital region of Kennedy's skull around frame 224 need not have been created by Oswald's rifle, and need not have been fired from the sniper's nest. As discussed in our review of the eyewitness statements, in chapters 5 through 9 of this study, moreover, there was only one shot heard between Z-190 and Z-224. This suggests as well that one of the shots was noise-suppressed, quite possibly through the use of subsonic ammunition.
6. There are still other indications that the projectile exiting Kennedy's throat was moving at a subsonic speed. Beyond the discussions of wound ballistics included in the Single Bullet "Fact" chapter, which show that a high-speed bullet traversing Kennedy's neck as proposed in the single-bullet theory would be expected to cause far more damage than reported, there is the 5-13-64 Warren Commission testimony of the FBI's ballistics expert, Robert Frazier, in which he described the presumed exit points of the bullet on Kennedy's shirt and tie. Frazier told the Commission: "The hole in the front of the shirt does not have the round characteristic shape caused by a round bullet entering cloth. It is an irregular slit. It could have been caused by a round bullet, however, since the cloth could have torn in a long slitlike way as the bullet passed through it. But that is not specifically characteristic of a bullethole to the extent that you could say it was to the exclusion of being a piece of bone or some other type of projectile." When asked by Commissioner Dulles if this slit could have been caused by the bullet's tumbling, moreover, Frazier once again responded in a less-than-supportive manner: "I think the effect in the front of the shirt is due more to the strength of the material being more in the horizontal rather than the vertical direction which caused the cloth to tear vertically rather than due to a change in the shape or size of the bullet or projectile." When then asked if the slowing of the bullet's velocity within Kennedy's neck could have been a factor in the bullet's creating slits and not holes, he responded, finally, in a way that revealed his true thoughts: "I think the hole would not have been affected unless it

was a *very large change* in velocity." (Forensic science texts in general and 2005's Forensic Pathology: Principles and Practice in particular confirm that a slit-like exit wound is indicative that the exiting bullet had been traveling at a low velocity. While this is specific to the exit on the skin, it would appear that, based on Frazier's testimony, it is also applicable to an exit on clothing.)

7. If a subsonic bullet was used it helps explain the bullet's trajectory, as well as the relatively light damage observed in the neck, and the slit-like exits on the shirt. In Management of Gunshot Wounds, Dr. Gary Ordog writes: "Low-velocity missiles are relatively unstable compared with high-velocity missiles... The instability is noted in the fact that low-velocity bullets tend to follow tissue planes, and often do not follow a straight line from entrance..." If the second rifle proposed was, as suggested by the statements of the eyewitnesses, fired from the Dal-Tex Building, its bullet would impact on Kennedy at frame 224 on a 25 degree descent, slightly steeper than a bullet from the sniper's nest. It might then dive under Kennedy's cerebellum on its way to his neck. This correlates the bullet entrance apparent in the mystery photo, and described by the autopsy doctors, with the reported lack of damage to the brain, better than any other theory yet offered.

8. The presumption Kennedy was struck by a subsonic bullet in the back of the head, circa Z-224, also helps explain why no one noted an impact on the back of Kennedy's head before the fatal explosion at Z-313. The backspatter of a subsonic bullet impacting on the back of the head, to be sure, would be far less obvious than the expected explosion at entry of a high-velocity round. The tunneling on the skull before entrance presumed for this bullet, moreover, would be more suggestive of a low velocity round than a high velocity round, and would, along with Kennedy's scalp and hair, almost certainly weaken the explosion of blood from the entrance.

9. Let us remember as well that Connally's first instinct was that an automatic weapon had been fired. A second low-speed bullet's striking Connally, intriguingly, could help explain the route of the bullet in his chest, which supposedly followed the curvature of the chest wall. While it would be unlikely for such a bullet to continue on to damage his wrist to the extent it was damaged, perhaps there was yet a third bullet fired in this subsonic burst that struck Connally in his wrist.

Let us move forward, then, under the acceptance that such a possibility is not unreasonable on its face, and that it answers the questions of the medical evidence better than any other theory. (Should one be wondering what happened to this bullet or bullets, let us also remember that some sort of clean-up occurred in the limousine, and that no real investigation was done of the limousine beyond what the Secret Service sworn to protect President Johnson told us and what the FBI saw on the night of the assassination, hours after the limousine was illegally removed from Dallas.)

But does the Zapruder film support that the shot or shots at Z-224 came from the Dal-Tex Building? When one studies Z-225, the first frame in which Kennedy's fully visible after his disappearance behind the Stemmons Freeway sign, one can't help but notice that Kennedy's looking almost straight at Zapruder, approximately 50 degrees to his right. If one were to use this position to rear project the position of a likely shooter, a la Canning, one would be forced to conclude the shooter was on Houston Street, on the top of the County Records Building, or the jail.

But there's another factor to be considered. And that factor is the curve bullets make when they enter a curved part of the skull. According to Spitz and Fisher's Medicolegal Investigation of Death, "if the bullet strikes the head at a shallow angle or in an area of significant curvature, at least some deflection of the bullet's trajectory may be expected." According to Aarabi and Levy's Missile Wounds to the Head and Neck, "if a bullet is fired at an angle or hits a curved portion of the skull, deflection will usually result." According to Larry Sturdivan: "Though all the Biophysics lab test shots were aimed so that the WC's specified entry and exit locations would lie on a straight trajectory, none of the bullets penetrated the front of the skull at the "intended" exit location. One even punched out through the right

orbit (eye socket) near the nose.” These statements indicate that the trajectory of a bullet hitting Kennedy from behind while his head was turned would be likely to curve upon entry. This is in keeping with the curve required for a bullet entering the skull by the EOP and heading down the neck to avoid the spine. When you ponder this it makes sense—when you push the corner of a shopping cart into a pole its wheels turn towards the pole. The side that meets the most resistance slows down and spins the side meeting less resistance to face the resistance, like a tank. This characteristic of bullets is noted on many of the websites of gun enthusiasts. On the Single Action Shooting Society website, for instance, one such enthusiast discussed an experiment he and some friends from a SWAT team had conducted on some windshields in a junkyard. They found that: “All rounds deflected up if shot from inside and down from outside the car. If shot from outside at a 45 degree angle the rounds all turned back toward the shooter and down...The .22 LR when fired from inside straight on to the 45 degree windshield deflected so much we could not get a hit on a target at hood distance.”

So then we have to ask ourselves if there’s any evidence for such a deflection. It’s one thing to say it could have happened but another thing entirely to say it probably happened. When one considers that the skull at the side of the EOP is slanted downwards, and that a bullet hitting this slant from the right and from above might be deflected downwards, and that the rightmost section of the wound in the hairline in the mystery photo appears to represent only the upper right corner of the entrance, one should conclude that such a deflection is likely.

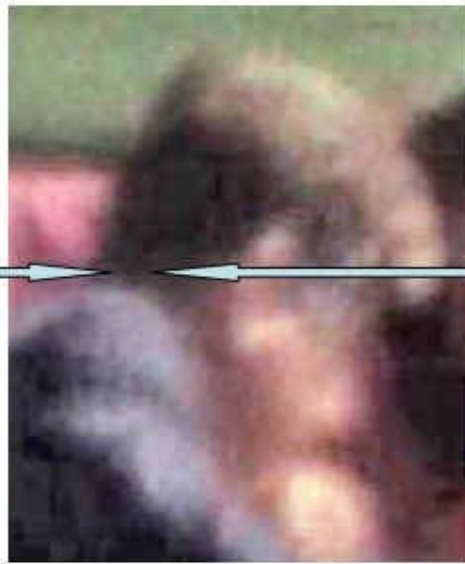
Once one considers that Kennedy was both turned to his right around 50 degrees at Z-224, and that the bullet entering his occipital bone must have come in from his right in order to leave such a mark on his skull, one can approximate the most likely location of the rifle. If we take the extreme case we can say that the bullet angled in from the school book depository. But the most likely origin of a bullet coming in from the right and entering Kennedy’s skull at frame 224 would appear to be the Dal-Tex Building.

Still, this kind of thinking--taking an entrance without an exit and a possible exit without an entrance and matching them up, and then building a case upon it--is exactly what got Dr. Humes into trouble. For fear of pulling a Humes then and incorrectly connecting the leftover wounds, let’s take a step back and see if we can find any real evidence a bullet descended in Kennedy’s neck.

Mirage Analysis



Z-304, cropped and lightened



Z-308, cropped and lightened



Z-312, cropped and lightened

Could the small entrance near the EOP actually be visible in the Zapruder film?

Mirage Analysis

When I first realized that a bullet entering near the EOP could have gone down the neck, I was at a loss as how to prove this to myself. It then occurred to me that if I studied the Zapruder film I might be able to spot evidence for the EOP entry *before* the head shot at Z-312. I looked and looked for signs of blood on Kennedy's collar, to no avail. In retrospect, this makes sense, because if this wound had led to a large loss of blood, surely someone in Dallas would have seen it.

I then switched tactics and focused on watching the exact spot where the wound is visible on the autopsy photos. I noticed basically nothing until frame Z-308, when there was suddenly a dark oval in the area. I looked for a corroborating frame, and found a similar dark shape in the location at Z-312.

Excited, I decided to show these frames to a friend, but when we looked at the frames on his wide-screen TV, we just saw dark shadows. I decided I was guilty of seeing a mirage. I wanted to see something so bad, that I saw it. Later on, while watching the Zapruder film on my ancient TV, I noticed the dark shapes again, and realized I couldn't see them on the other TV because it had a different level of contrast than my old antique.

In November, 2005, I uploaded the digitized versions of these frames to my computer, and attempted to increase the contrast to bring out the dark shapes. I found that by using Adobe Photoshop and lightening the shadows, the shapes I first saw on my ancient TV became readily apparent.

In March, 2006, I went back and inspected every frame of the Zapruder film between 280 and 312, and

lightened the shadows on the clearest frames. I found numerous dark blobs on the back of Kennedy's head in every frame. This undercut any relevance I could attach to any one frame. When I continued my inspection, however, I realized that these dark blobs jumped around from frame to frame. As the dark blob by the hairline re-appeared multiple times, and in a constant relation to Kennedy's ear, I continue to suspect there is indeed a dark shape apparent in Kennedy's hairline, and that it is quite likely a bullet wound.

Hopefully, someone with a better understanding of movie cameras and film will run a series of "blob" tests and determine if the camera was capable of picking up a small wound surrounded by hair at the distance Zapruder was from Kennedy, and whether one can attribute any meaning whatsoever to a recurrent blob on a dark area of a film. It could very well be that the blob I saw on TV was just a mirage.

Re-Thinking Mr. Wilson

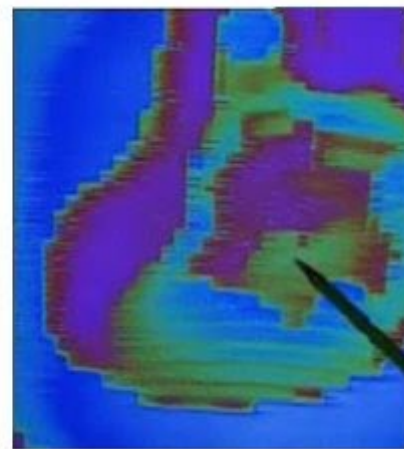


In a 1995 episode of *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*, photo analyst Tom Wilson discussed the Zapruder frame at left. He claimed the colorized image inserted at left and below, which separated out the various shades of brown in the dark patch on the back of Kennedy's head, demonstrated that there was a large hole on the back of the head. He said further that the dark dot in the image—the one above the pencil point--was the bullet path through the exposed brain.

While few students of the assassination have ever taken Wilson's interpretations seriously—his analysis of Kennedy in the Moorman photo was equally outrageous — no one has ever challenged that the images used in his analysis were legitimate high-contrast images of the photos he was studying.

So what was the black dot in the image at left? Could it be the entrance on the back of Kennedy's head?

If not, are we to assume it's just a coincidence that it lines up with the entrance described at autopsy?



Re-Thinking Mr. Wilson

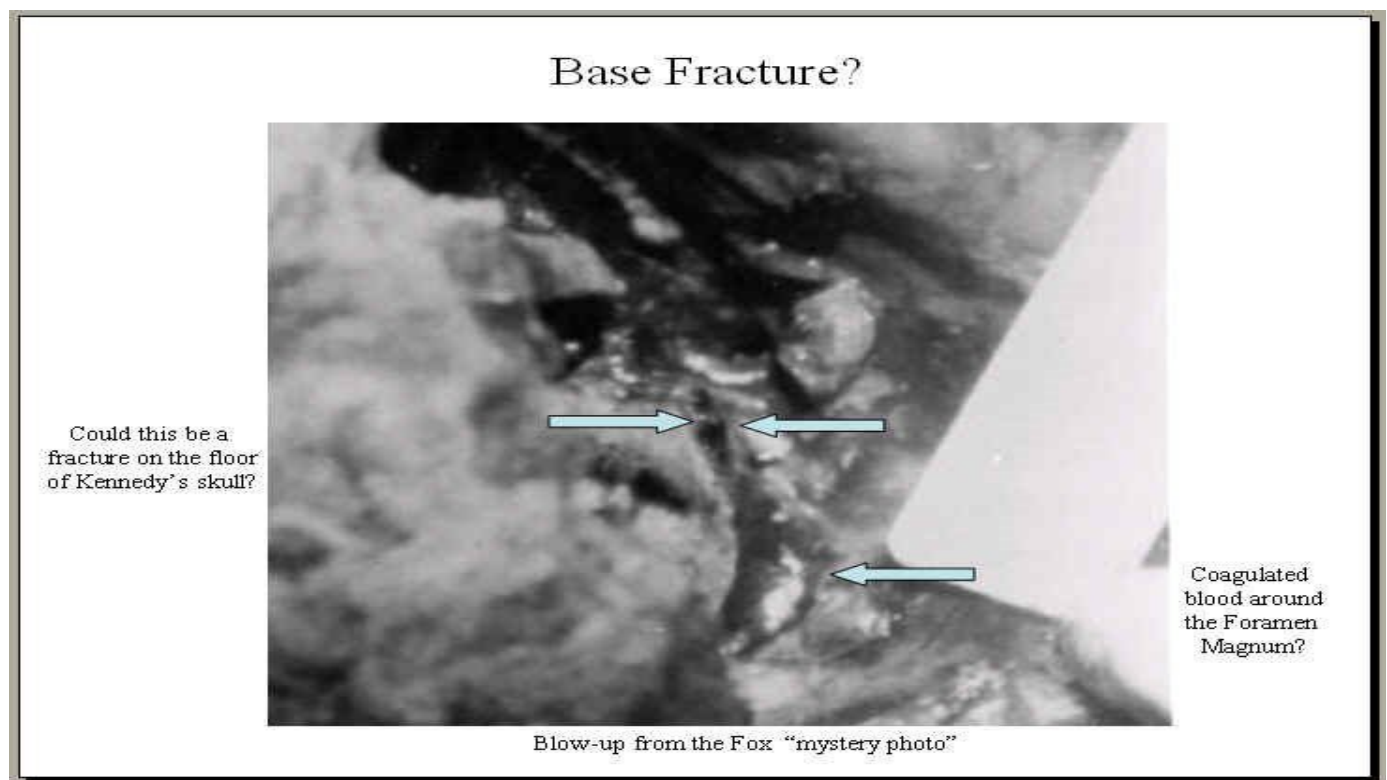
In 2008, while watching a 1995 episode of *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*, I realized that tests similar to the ones I've proposed have already been conducted. Researcher Tom Wilson, who had a scientific background impressive enough to get him access to the autopsy materials—one of only a handful of conspiracy theorists to receive that honor--knew that cameras could record more shades of gray than

could be noticed with the human eye. This got him thinking. What would we find if we used digital technology to expand the contrast of the shades seen in images of the assassination? What would we find inside the shadows?

While virtually no one, including this researcher, would agree with Mr. Wilson's interpretations of what he found inside these shadows, it is nevertheless interesting that, when inspecting the shadows on the back of Kennedy's head in the Zapruder film, Mr. Wilson came across a dark dot at the approximate location of the bullet entrance described at autopsy. Having convinced himself that one shadow-shape represented a hole on the back of Kennedy's head, and that another shadow-shape represented the brain inside the skull, however, he convinced himself that this dark dot represented the bullet's passage through Kennedy's brain. While this, of course, is silly, as a bullet exploding Kennedy's skull like it exploded in frame 313 would not leave a nice round hole in the brain that could be photographed from a hundred feet away, the actual finding of a dark dot in the location depicted in the program suggests a bullet entered low on the head by the EOP. Apparently, Mr. Wilson was unaware of its possible significance.

Mr. Wilson died in 2001. If anyone knows the whereabouts of his images, and if he performed tests on the Zapruder frames just before the head shot, please let me know.

Similarly, if anyone knows if the methodology used by Wilson to create his images has been as discredited as his interpretations of the images, please let me know.



Base Fracture?

But all blobs and dots aside, if a bullet striking Kennedy's skull exited from his neck at a time prior to the head shot at frame 313, there should be some signs that this occurred. To begin with, the bullet would have to have made an exit on the base of his skull. But there's no evidence for this exit. Or is there?

Although Dr. Humes told the ARRB that “We looked with care at the whole interior surface of the skull to see if there were any other defects what have you. There were no others,” a thorough reading of his testimony and a close look at the skull base visible on the open cranium photograph give one reason to doubt he thoroughly inspected the *base* of the skull.

One online article on a proper dissection of the skull and brain notes that, after the brain is removed: “if any intracranial hemorrhage is present the blood is collected and measured. The dura is pulled out from the floor of the skull by holding it with a piece of cotton or gauze...The base of the skull and rest of the cranial cavity is examined for fractures and tested for any abnormal mobility. The fracture of anterior cranial fossa manifests itself by escape of blood and cerebrospinal fluid from the nose, and middle cranial fossa by escape of blood and cerebrospinal fluid from the ear. Since fracture of the posterior cranial fossa and ring fracture are followed by escape of blood and cerebrospinal fluid in the tissues of the neck, they may not be suspected in certain cases and would be missed unless dura is pulled out from the floor of the skull and the posterior cranial fossa carefully examined.”

And this is not some newfangled procedure. The Autopsy Manual for Dr. Finck's employer, The Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, has long noted "For demonstration of fractures the dura should be stripped from the bone. This is best done by winding it onto a hemostat attached to the cut edge of the dura. Some pathologists prefer to use "gas pliers." In either case the dura should be stripped immediately after the brain is removed..."

The open cranium or mystery photograph proves these procedures were not followed. There is dura around the foramen, and what appears to be coagulated blood surrounding the Foramen Magnum. It is perhaps not an oversight, then, that when Dr. Humes told the ARRB that the doctors inspected the skull and found nothing unusual, he failed to reveal whether the dura was pulled out or the blood was drained. The blood was most certainly not measured. Humes, when describing a missing photo the doctors believe was taken of the inside of the skull, did tell the ARRB, however, that the photo “should have been sharp and clear because there was no blood by that time, you see. The brain had been removed, and it was a through and through hole...” While this could be taken as an indication the dura was removed and the blood cleaned up, Humes’ next statement to the ARRB might be even more revelatory. When asked by Jeremy Gunn “were there any fractures in that portion of the skull,” Humes replied “Well yeah, I guess... there were fractures in the posterior cranial fossa radiating from the wound.” This latter recollection, moreover, is supported by the recollections of Kennedy's mortician, Tom Robinson, who told the HSCA in 1977 that "The inside of the skull was badly smashed..." and who, according to notes taken by Doug Horne, told the ARRB in 1996 "there were fractures all over the cranium, including the floor of the skull."

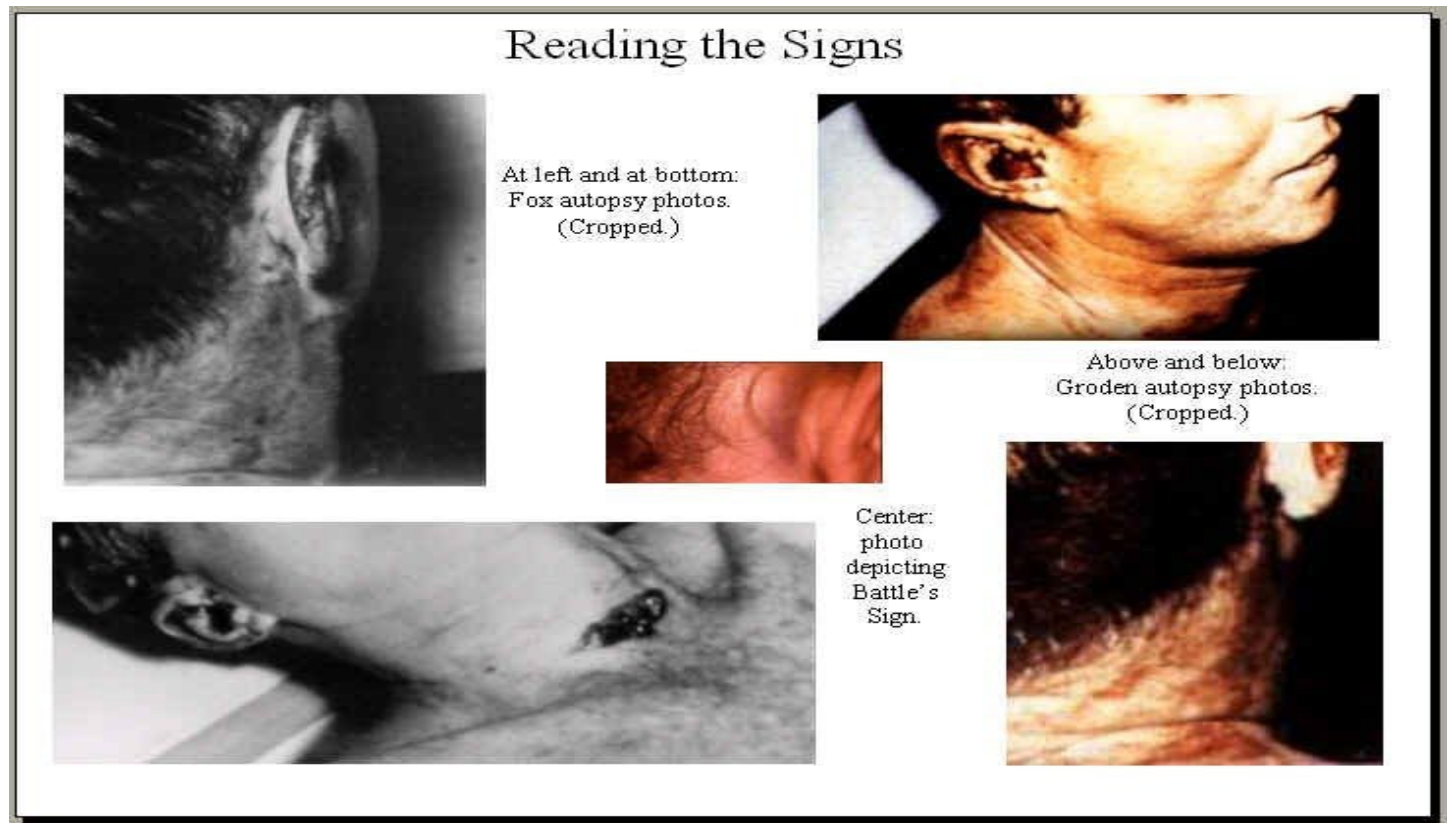
The Clark Panel’s interpretation of the x-rays specifically ruled this out. Their report declared: “Also, although the fractures of the calvarium extend to the left of the midline and into the anterior and middle fossa of the skull, no bony defect, such as one created by a projectile either entering or leaving the head, is seen in the calvarium to the left of the midline or in the base of the skull.” As there were no x-rays taken from what is known as the Towne’s view, which specifically targets the occipital bone, however, they were most certainly over-stating their case. According to Outline of Roentgen Analysis, a 1943 text contemporary with the x-ray equipment used at Bethesda, “Almost all fractures of the vault of the skull are demonstrable on careful x-ray examination. *Fractures of the base, however, may frequently be invisible owing to the complicated structure, the inability to put the patient in the proper position for visualization of the base, and to the superimposition of bones.*” According to a more current text, Radiology of the Skull and Brain “Many fractures of the calvarium extend into the base but frequently they are not identified on roentgenograms” (x-rays). Thus, the x-rays taken of Kennedy's skull would be of little help in establishing that there'd been no exit on the base.

On the other hand, the x-rays of the neck could suggest the *possibility* there'd been such an exit.

According to Power et al in the March 2004 American Journal of Roentgenology, "Air has been shown on both radiography and CT within the cervical spinal canal after skull base trauma." This same article states "The presence of air within the subarachnoid space should alert the clinician to the likely presence of a dural tear." This suggests that, if a bullet were to have exited from the base of Kennedy's skull, air would most likely have been apparent in the subarachnoid space. So was air apparent in Kennedy's subarachnoid space?

Yes, it was. HSCA Radiologist Dr. David Davis reported: "There is some air in the subarachnoid space of the spinal canal, and also apparently in the...middle fossa... but since the fracture is open to the subarachnoid space, this is not at all surprising."

So, the possibility the bullet exited the base can't be ruled out. But are there any other signs?



Reading the Signs

Let's return to Radiology of the Skull and Brain. It states "*Basal skull fractures are common...but frequently are not appreciated on routine skull radiography. They can be suspected clinically because of 1, blood behind the tympanic membrane of the ear in the absence of direct trauma to the ear, 2, subcutaneous hemorrhage over the mastoid process (Battle's Sign), or 3, extensive ecchymoses about the orbits in the absence of direct trauma to the orbits.*" While the ecchymoses (bruising) about the orbits (eye sockets) of President Kennedy were indeed noted at the autopsy, the other two signs were not mentioned. When one looks at the photographs taken of the back of Kennedy's head, however, and compares it to a photograph of someone with Battle's Sign, one can see that he did indeed display this tell-tale sign of a fracture in the base of his skull. The black and white photograph, moreover, seems to be an attempt, in part, to depict this sign, as it appears some blood has been wiped from the area behind Kennedy's ear that was apparent in the nearly identical color photo taken moments before.

A chapter by Dr. Jefferson Browder in Brock's *Injuries of the Brain and Spinal Cord* is also revealing: *"a bloody discharge from the external auditory canal may result from a traumatic laceration of this canal, a rupture of the tympanic membrane alone, or a compound fracture of the skull into the middle ear..."* There was indeed a lot of blood in Kennedy's right ear. When one compares it to Kennedy's left ear, it seems likely this blood did indeed come from the ear. Since it was acknowledged even by the Clark Panel that the middle fossa was fractured, however, this provides little proof that the posterior cranial fossa was fractured.

When we look back at the online description of an autopsy, however, we see that *"The fracture of anterior cranial fossa manifests itself by escape of blood and cerebrospinal fluid from the nose, and middle cranial fossa by escape of blood and cerebrospinal fluid from the ear. Since fracture of the posterior cranial fossa and ring fracture are followed by escape of blood and cerebrospinal fluid in the tissues of the neck, they may not be suspected in certain cases and would be missed unless dura is pulled out from the floor of the skull and the posterior cranial fossa carefully examined."* This tells us that excess blood in the neck tissues could be an indication the posterior cranial fossa was fractured, perhaps even that a bullet traveled down the neck. In the HSCA report by Drs. Kerley and Snow, who compared the autopsy photographs to one another to show that the photographs were of the same man and that that man was Kennedy, it was noted, when discussing the back of the head photos *"There is a 3 by 5 centimeter area of discoloration at the base of the neck in the right area that apparently represents either a slight contusion or some postmortem lividity."* A close look at the right lateral autopsy photo does indeed show bruising at a point on the neck which would appear to be higher than the purported passage of the bullet between the back and throat. Could this bruising have come as a result of a bullet's traveling down the neck?

Intriguingly, the doctors in Dallas who first saw Kennedy, and who were only aware of his throat wound and large head wound, discussed a possible trajectory between these wounds, and had little problem assuming a bullet or fragment traveled up or down his neck. In his initial report, Dr. Robert McClelland even described the throat wound as a *"fragment wound,"* implying it was caused by the exit of a fragment from the bullet creating the head wound. (This, we should recall, became the stance of the FBI in the days and weeks after the assassination; the FBI was so successful in spreading this take on the President's wounds, moreover, that newspapers such as the New York Times and magazines such as U.S. News were still repeating that a fragment descended within his neck months afterward.)

In any event, one might assume from the Parkland doctors' suspicion a bullet traveled up or down the neck that they observed some signs which told them such a passage was likely. In Josiah Thompson's *Six Seconds in Dallas*, he outlined the Dallas doctors' testimony and accumulated these signs. Dr. Charles Baxter, observing from a distance, noted: *"There was considerable contusion of the muscles of the anterior neck."* Dr. Charles Carrico, the first to inspect the throat wound, testified: *"there was some discoloration at the lateral edge of the larynx and there appeared to be some swelling and hematoma."* Dr. Perry, for his part, noted simply that the trachea was deviated *"slightly to the left"...*a point on which Dr. McClelland expanded: the *"swelling and bleeding around the site (the exit in the throat) was to such an extent that the trachea was somewhat deviated to the left side."* As the bullet is believed to have passed medial to the anterior neck muscles, and some distance below the larynx, perhaps the deviation of the trachea and the aforementioned bruises can be best explained by a bullet's having passed down, and traumatizing, the entire right side of the neck.

There is still another sign, recently uncovered, and not as yet fully documented, that suggests the bullet came down the neck. In November 2008, Christine Jenkins, the daughter of Parkland Hospital anesthesiologist Dr. Marion Jenkins, who stood at the head of Kennedy's stretcher throughout his treatment on 11-22-63, performed a one-woman show on the assassination. At the centerpiece of her show was a videotape of her father discussing Kennedy's death in Emergency Room One. According to

one witness to her show, Jack White, Jenkins claimed on this tape that *"Each time he squeezed on his air bag bubbles of blood came out the brain wound."* The air tube was, of course, put into the hole in Kennedy's throat. It is impossible to understand how air would bubble out from Kennedy's cranium unless there was a passageway between Kennedy's neck and skull base. If Jenkins mentioned these bubbles to his fellow doctors, moreover, it goes a long way towards explaining why they were so ready to believe the neck wound was connected to the head wound on 11-22.

(In retrospect, however, it seems likely Jack White was mistaken. Jack was 81 at the time. Jenkins told the Warren Commission *"As the resuscitative maneuvers were begun, such as 'chest cardiac massage,' there was with each compression of the sternum, a gush of blood from the skull wound, which indicated there was massive vascular damage in the skull and the brain, as well as brain tissue damage."* It seems likely, then, that Jack misunderstood Jenkins, and thought the bubbles of blood from the brain wound were related to the air tube, and not the chest massage performed by Dr. Perry.)

Dr. Cyril Wecht has also had thoughts that a bullet traveled up or down the neck. According to Vincent Bugliosi in *Reclaiming History*, Wecht had briefly come to speculate that a bullet had entered Kennedy's throat and exited his *"lower left occipital protuberance."* While Wecht quickly gave up on this idea, due to the incompatibility of such a bullet's trajectory with a shot from the grassy knoll, it is nevertheless important to note that a man with his experience, after viewing the autopsy materials numerous times, had seen nothing to convince him that a bullet did not travel up or down the neck, and had in fact suspected that one did travel up or down the neck.

And then there's this... In a June '67 article in *Ramparts Magazine* discussing the Garrison investigation, former FBI man William Turner wrote: *"a nurse at Parkland Hospital said that when doctors attempted a tracheotomy on the President, the damage was so great the tube pushed out the back of his head."* Obviously, if the quote attributed to the nurse was accurate, it would support that a bullet track connected the throat wound and the head wound. It might support it even if was only partially accurate. (Perhaps the nurse was inaccurately repeating Jenkins' observation about air bubbling up from the brain, or perhaps Turner was inaccurately reporting what this nurse was trying to convey.) When I contacted Turner in October 2007 to see if he could recall this interview, however, he responded *"I remember sticking it in that article but I didn't interview the nurse. I suspect it was David Welch, a Ramparts writer, with whom I made a trip to Dallas on the JFK case. He interviewed a number of witnesses separate from me...I last had contact with David Welch at a Warren Hinckle party some 15 years ago. At the time he was working for a SF union---I can't remember which one."* (I subsequently discovered, via John Kelen's book *Praise From a Future Generation*, that this *Ramparts* writer was named David Welsh, not Welch. If anyone knows the current whereabouts of David Welsh, and how I can reach him and clear up this matter, please let me know.)

But are there any other signs?

The Final Moments



Z-230



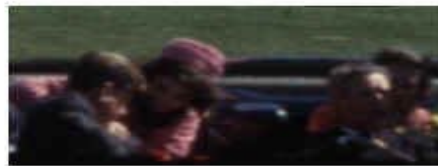
Z-237



Z-246



Z-268



Z-312



Moorman photo at Z-315

Was Kennedy inadvertently telling us something?

The Final Moments

Since a bullet shooting down the neck at Z-224 would have brushed past the cerebellum, I decided to look back through the literature to see if there was any indication something like this occurred. I found that when discussing the brain photos with the ARRB in 1996, Dr. Humes acknowledged, *"the right cerebellum has been partially disrupted, yes."* I also found that Dr. Peters, one of the President's doctors in Dallas, was shown the autopsy photos in 1988 and shared Humes' appraisal. He wrote writer Harry Livingstone that *"the cerebellum was indeed depressed on the right side compared to the left."* I then recalled the HSCA's declaration that *"the posterior-inferior portion of the cerebellum"* was *"virtually intact...It certainly does not demonstrate the degree of laceration, fragmentation, or contusion (as appears subsequently on the superior aspect of the brain) that would be expected in this location if the bullet wound of entrance were as described in the autopsy report."* This time, however, I noticed the qualifiers. They said *"virtually intact,"* which indicates some damage. They also said there was certainly not the degree of damage necessary to be consistent with the autopsy report. Well, this makes sense. The bullet trajectory suggested by the autopsy report, after all, has the bullet heading straight into the cerebellum. These statements by the HSCA Pathology Panel, then, led me to believe the damage apparent on the cerebellum is consistent with a bullet's having headed down into the neck.

Dr. Humes certainly thought so. When interviewed by the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel on 9-16-77, and asked by Dr. Coe if he thought the *"destruction"* apparent on the underside of the brain was a *"post-mortem artifact"* from the removal of the brain, or was caused by the bullet, Humes responded *"I think it was partly caused by the bullet."*

Upon re-reading the supplementary autopsy report from 12-6-63, moreover, I noticed that there were seven slices of tissue removed from the brain for microscopic examination, including one from the *"right cerebellar cortex."* I then noticed that the other six were all from areas reported to be damaged. When I re-read the report I realized that a line I had read many times meant something completely

different than I'd previously believed. The report states "*When viewed from the basilar aspect the disruption of the right cortex is again obvious.*" As "the basilar aspect" means "underneath" and "cortex" means "outer layer," this is quite possibly a reference to the cerebellum as well as the cerebrum.

The results of the microscopic examination of the brain confirm, furthermore, that the cerebellum was damaged: "*Multiple sections from representative areas as noted above are examined. All sections are essentially similar and show extensive disruption of brain tissue with associated hemorrhage.*" Later, during his March 16, 1964 testimony before the Warren Commission, Humes confirmed yet again that the cerebellum was damaged. He noted that "*the flocculus cerebri was extensively lacerated.*" There is no flocculus cerebri. There is however, a flocculus cerebelli. It is on the underside of the cerebellum. While some researchers insist Humes meant to say the "falx cerebri," a covering of the brain, was extensively lacerated, it seems obvious that he would be much more likely to say (or have mis-recorded by a court reporter) "cerebri" instead of "cerebelli" than he would be to say (or have mis-recorded) "flocculus" instead of "falx".

There's also this. On page 159 of his book *The Death of a President*, published 1967, William Manchester reports: "*The last bullet has torn through John Kennedy's cerebellum, the lower part of his brain.*" Well, so what? Who the heck is Manchester? He could just be repeating nonsense he read in the paper. Well, this is what. Manchester's book was authorized by the Kennedy family. It was supposed to answer a lot of the questions. As a result, Manchester was given unparalleled access. Including access to doctors speaking with nobody, and I mean nobody, else. The Sources section of his book lists 5 interviews with Kennedy's physician, Dr. Burkley, between October 1964 and July 1966. Burkley inspected the autopsy photos in 1965. Did Burkley tell Manchester the cerebellum was damaged? And, if not, who did?

Inquiring minds want to know... Which brings us back to our discussion...

At the risk of pulling a Lattimer, who foolishly tried to link Kennedy's movements after first struck to something he described as a Thorburn's response, I decided to see if the President's behavior after frame 224 of the Zapruder film was consistent with that of someone suffering damage to the flocculus in particular, and the cerebellum in general. According to *Neuroscience in Medicine* (2008) "*damage to the flocculus, nodulus, and uvula result in a pronounced loss in equilibrium, including truncal ataxia...*" ("Truncal ataxia" is an "*Impairment of the ability to perform smoothly coordinated voluntary movements.*") The description continues: "*There is an inability to incorporate vestibular information with body and eye movements.*" Well, thankfully, Wisegeek.com helps put this in layman's terms: "*Damage to the flocculus can cause jerky eye movements and difficulty maintaining balance.*"

Now this is quite interesting. Kennedy appears to reach for his neck, but miss, and then lean to his left in the frames after Zapruder frame 224.

An observation by Dr. William Kemp Clark contained in Warren Commission Exhibit 392 becomes relevant at this point. When describing Kennedy's appearance upon treatment at Parkland Hospital, he noted: "*His eyes were divergent, being deviated outward; a skew deviation from the horizontal was present.*" Well, it seems more than a coincidence then that numerous scientific articles cite a correlation between damage to the flocculus and downbeat nystagmus, in which the eyes drift slowly upward, before returning to their target. *Neurological Differential Diagnosis*, 2005, goes even further, moreover, and notes both that the "*flocculo-oculomotor tract*" has "*the only direct cerebellar connection with the eye muscle nuclei*" and that "*clinical lesions and stimulation experiments*" of the cerebellum may "*result in a divergence of the eyes.*" Well, let's put it together. Damage to the flocculus can cause a divergence of the eyes.

Well, then what about damage to the cerebellum in general, as opposed to damage specific to the

flocculus? According to multiple sources, the symptoms of cerebellar damage include a weakness to the side of the body suffering the damage (ipsilateral hypotonia), a tendency to not stop a movement at its proper point (dysmetria), an inability to grasp objects (ataxia), an abnormal head attitude, and disturbances in speech, eye movement, and equilibrium. Between Zapruder frame 224, when the President seems to suffer a wound on his throat, and 313, when he is obviously hit in the head, the President reached in the direction of his throat without grabbing anything, lifted his arms past his throat, slumped to his left (perhaps as over-compensation for the sudden weakness on his right), and stared down without letting out so much as a scream. Ironically, a November 24, 1963 article in the New York Times by Dr. Howard Rusk described this very phenomenon. Mistakenly believing the theory proposed by the Dallas doctors on the afternoon of the 22nd, that one shot hit Kennedy in the throat and exploded out the back of his head, Dr. Rusk explained brain injuries as follows: *"If the injury is in the posterior portion of the brain, where the bullet that killed the President made its exit, the cerebellum is damaged. Then the individual is left with ataxia, evidenced by severe intention type of tremors that occur when one tries to perform a basic act or grasp an object. Damage to the cerebellum is also usually accompanied by a loss of equilibrium."*

Should one not be entirely satisfied with the explanation that Kennedy's strange movements were brought about by damage to his cerebellum, however, there is an additional explanation for his movements that can be added into the mix. This explanation, moreover, is equally suggestive he was struck in the skull before frame 313 of the Zapruder film. Since Brock's *Injuries of the Brain and Spinal Cord* made note that *"Posterior basilar fractures tend to gravitate towards the large foramina"*, I decided to see if there were any behavioral symptoms for a fracture in this area. And I found something which again dropped my jaw. (My jaw has been dropped so many times during this investigation that it's a wonder it hasn't been broken.) Jugular Foramen Syndrome is described by Blakiston's *Pocket Medical Dictionary* as *"Paralysis of the ipsilateral glossopharyngeal, vagus, and spinal accessory nerves, caused by a lesion involving the jugular foramen, usually a basilar skull fracture."* According to the online article *Craniofacial and Skull Base Trauma* by Dr. Harry Shahinian and the Skull Base Institute the paralysis of the vagus nerve would manifest itself through a paralysis of the vocal cords, and a paralysis of the spinal accessory nerves would manifest itself through a paralysis of the neck muscle that flexes the head (the sternocleidomastoid) as well as a weakness of the trapezius muscle, which rotates it. The result is a *"weakness in contralateral head rotation and shoulder elevation."* Contralateral, of course, means affecting the opposite side of the body. As we know all too well, Kennedy turned toward his left and dipped his left shoulder in his final silent moments.

So, yeah, I'd say there's good reason to suspect Kennedy's cerebellum and/or posterior skull was damaged even before he'd received his fatal wound.

Hurray For Horne

It seems possible, for that matter, that his brainstem was also damaged by this time. Now, admittedly, this really didn't sink in with me until 2012. While re-reading a passage in Doug Horne's *Inside the ARRB*, Vol. 3, I had the sudden feeling he was onto something, and that the brainstem was indeed injured.

Horne begins by discussing a 1969 letter written by Pierre Finck. It was written shortly after he'd testified in the trial of Clay Shaw. In this letter, Finck offered William Wegmann, one of Clay Shaw's attorneys, an explanation for the back-and-to-the-left movement of Kennedy following the head shot seen in the Zapruder film. He declared that there was a better explanation for this than that Kennedy was shot from the front. He then offered his explanation: *"due to the severance of his brain from his spinal cord as described in the autopsy report, he experienced decerebrate rigidity due to loss of*

cerebral control."

Well, this is interesting, and not because Finck was correct about decerebrate rigidity. He wasn't. No, this was interesting because the autopsy report does not specify that the brain was severed from the cord. Horne, however, identifies a passage from the report that suggests as much. Ironically, this was a passage with which I was well familiar, as I'd studied it while reaching my conclusion the cerebellum had been damaged... Horne notes that the specimen slides taken from the brain and described in the supplemental autopsy report included one taken from the *"line of transection of the spinal cord"* and that it would make no sense for the doctors to take a specimen slide from a cut they'd made themselves. He then notes that the test results for this slide, as discussed in the report, were the same as for the other slides taken from the brain. As we've seen, the report reads: *"Brain: multiple sections from representative areas as noted above are examined. All sections are essentially similar and show extensive disruption of brain tissue with associated hemorrhage. In none of the sections examined are there significant abnormalities other than those directly related to the recent trauma."*

Now this was where Horne won me over, not on the over-all point he was making, but on the specific point that the brainstem may have been damaged by the bullet. If the *"line of transection of the spinal cord"* was uninjured prior to the autopsy and the removal of Kennedy's brain, there would have been no extensive disruption or hemorrhage on this tissue sample. It would have been a clean cut, without hemorrhage. This proves the damage to the line of transection preceded Kennedy's death.

Horne, however, then cites Dr. Humes' 2-13-96 testimony for the ARRB on this issue, and concludes *"I don't know what to make of all this."*

But I do. Here is the testimony he found so confusing...

Gunn: When you removed the brain, which part of the brain did you cut in order to remove it?

Humes: The brain stem.

Gunn: Was the brain--were you able to ascertain whether the brainstem had received any damage prior to the time that you made the incision?

Humes: It was my impression that it had, yes.

Gunn: Was the brainstem already disconnected at the time that you--

Humes: No, it was not disconnected.

Gunn: How was it that you had the impression that it was--that it had received some kind of laceration or injury?

Humes: Well, one of these photographs shows you, as I tried to point out earlier, the one that was here a few minutes ago--

Gunn: The basilar view?

Humes: Yeah, the basilar view shows this disrupted-looking area right there. That's the brain stem.

Gunn: Looking at the basilar view, are you able to ascertain whether either the left or the right cerebellum has been disrupted? We touched on this issue before, but I just wanted to return to that.

Humes: In this photograph, it would appear the right cerebellum has been partially disrupted, yes.

Horne was confused, one can only assume, because he was trying to get Humes' testimony to fit his theory the body had been altered after Kennedy's death, quite possibly by Humes himself. When one looks at the supplemental autopsy Report, Finck's letter to Wegmann, and Humes' ARRB testimony in context, however, the following scenario seems probable.

1. On the night of 11-22-63, during the early stages of Kennedy's autopsy, Dr. Humes removed Kennedy's brain from his skull, and observed a disrupted-looking area of the brainstem, right by where he'd severed it from the spinal cord.

2. Dr. Finck did not witness any of this, as he had not yet arrived at the autopsy.
3. Dr. Finck was present at the supplemental examination on 12-6-63, however, when the brain was studied and photographed.
4. At the supplemental examination, Dr. Humes took a slide from the line of transection, to see if the disruption he'd observed preceded Kennedy's death.
5. As the study of this slide supported that the brainstem was damaged while Kennedy was still alive, and quite possibly by a bullet, Finck assumed that this bullet had transected the brainstem.
6. After viewing the Zapruder film, and the back-and-to-the-left movement of Kennedy after receiving his fatal head shot, moreover, Finck put two-and-two together, and concluded that the transection of the brainstem had led to Kennedy's strange movements.
7. He'd failed to appreciate that the brainstem had been disrupted, but not disconnected.

And should one think I'm conflating inaccurate statements by Humes to fit an even more inaccurate statement by Finck in order to come to a desired conclusion--that the underside of Kennedy's brain was damaged by the passage of a bullet--one should consider that they aren't the only autopsy witnesses to indicate as much.

James Curtis Jenkins, Humes' and Boswell's assistant at the autopsy, shared his recollections of the autopsy with writer Harrison Livingstone in 1990 and made a startling statement. This statement was so startling, in fact, that one would tend to disregard it as nonsense if there wasn't some support for it in the statements of Humes and Finck. As recounted in *High Treason 2*, he told Livingstone *"It wasn't necessary to surgically remove the brain from the skull. I remember Humes saying 'This brain fell out in my hands. The brainstem has been surgically cut.'"* It is, of course, hard to reconcile this purported statement by Humes with Humes' statements to the ARRB.

We can be grateful, then, that Jenkins shared his recollections with William Law in 1993, and cleared things up a little. As recounted in Law's book *In the Eye of History*, Jenkins told Law that, after expanding Kennedy's large head wound, *"Dr. Humes removed the brain, and made a kind of an exclamatory statement. I think what he said was 'The damn thing fell out in my hand.'"* Law then asked Jenkins *"What would this mean to you?"* Jenkins then admitted that he took from this that *"the brainstem had already been severed."* That the brainstem had already been severed was thus Jenkins' personal impression, and not a direct quote from Humes, as presented in *High Treason 2*.

That the underside of the brain was damaged, moreover, was not just Jenkins' impression based on Humes' statement. As it was his responsibility to prepare the brain for its subsequent inspection, he saw the brain up close, and held it in his hands. It is undoubtedly of help, then, that he told Livingstone *"The brain was there and it was intact but it was damaged. I remember it was difficult to infuse it because the circle of Willis (an H shaped circle of vessels underneath the brain) was damaged and it was difficult to get the needles in."*

Now, what are the odds Jenkins would remember such a thing, if the brain was not damaged on its underside? And what are the odds--if there really was no such damage--that his impression the brainstem was severed would match up perfectly with the claim of Dr. Finck in his letter to Wegmann, 21 years earlier? Jenkins and Finck were virtual strangers to each other. It's highly unlikely Jenkins would know of Finck's letter. Their sharing this recollection--that the brainstem was severed--makes no sense if there was no damage to the underside of the brain whatsoever, and only makes sense--seeing as Kennedy's behavior at Parkland indicated some brain activity--if his brainstem had been seriously damaged.

An early article on Kennedy's wounds becomes relevant at this time. A number of pathologists were consulted for an 11-24-63 AP article by Frank Carey. The only wounds to Kennedy known to these pathologists were a wound on the front of his throat, and another on the back of his head. They did not know, for sure, if these wounds were connected. These pathologists speculated nonetheless that *"President Kennedy's spinal cord and some vital nerve tracts at the base of his brain may have been badly damaged by the bullet that killed him...This could have caused or greatly contributed to his death...by impeding and eventually shutting off the nerve centers in the brain that control breathing and heart action."*

Their thoughts were explained in the following manner: *"if the neck wound was near the Adam's Apple, which is on the mid-line of the neck, the bullet probably struck the spinal cord...a bullet entering the body near the Adam's Apple--or leaving it at that point--could also plow into vital nerve channels at the base of the brain. These channels and centers control breathing and heart-beat action. Injury to the base of the brain--as distinguished from the top and front of the brain--constitutes an immediate threat to life. The top of the brain contains the centers of learning. Thus, while injury there can be handicapping it is not necessarily fatal. In the same way, injuries to the front of the brain, which contains the centers of personality, can alter a person's personality, but will not necessarily kill him. Reports from the Dallas hospital soon after the President's death said the President had had difficulty breathing...that he was breathing at all would rule out that the spinal cord was completely cut by the bullet...the fatal bullet or bullets most probably affected vital areas near the brain stem."*

The possible importance of their thoughts led me to seek corroboration in more recent books and articles. I found that they were correct. Current Diagnosis and Treatment in Neurology, 2006, for example, asserts that the *"proximity of the bullet to the brainstem"* is associated with a *"higher mortality."* But I also found that the brainstem can be damaged by the passage of a bullet elsewhere in the skull. Missile Wounds of the Head and Neck, Volume 1, 1999, for example, reports that test firings on cats have shown that low velocity missiles traveling as far as 2 cm from the brainstem will nevertheless cause respiratory affects, and that *"A patient with a gunshot wound to the head will tend to present in the emergency room with signs and symptoms of brainstem compression and tonsillar herniation, which include apnea and bradycardia..."* It then claims *"It is the sudden increase in intracranial pressure caused by the temporary cavitation that can result in coma or death, even if eloquent structures are not directly affected by the bullet."*

Well, this raises a few questions. As the increase in intracranial pressure brought about by a bullet's passage within a skull would be related to the size of the skull, wouldn't the respiratory affects caused by a bullet passing 2 cm from the brainstem in a cat's skull be greater than that in a human skull? And, if so, well, then, doesn't this suggest that a low velocity missile would have to come closer than 2 cm to the brainstem to cause respiratory affects in a human?

And what about the suggestion patients with gunshot wounds to the head *"tend"* to show signs of tonsillar herniation--that is, that they tend to show signs--such as problems with their respiration--that the increased intracranial pressure forced the bottom of the cerebellum and brainstem down through the foramen magnum of the skull?

No such herniation was noted at Kennedy's autopsy. Can we take from this then that the damage to Kennedy's cerebellum, and his problems breathing while at Parkland Hospital, were caused not by the passage of a high velocity bullet elsewhere in the skull, but from the passage of a low velocity bullet nearby? I'm not so sure.

Let's remember, however, that Kennedy's wounds were far from typical. The top of his skull exploded. Is it reasonable to assume this explosion released much of the pressure that would otherwise be exerted downward on the cerebellum and brainstem? I suspect so.

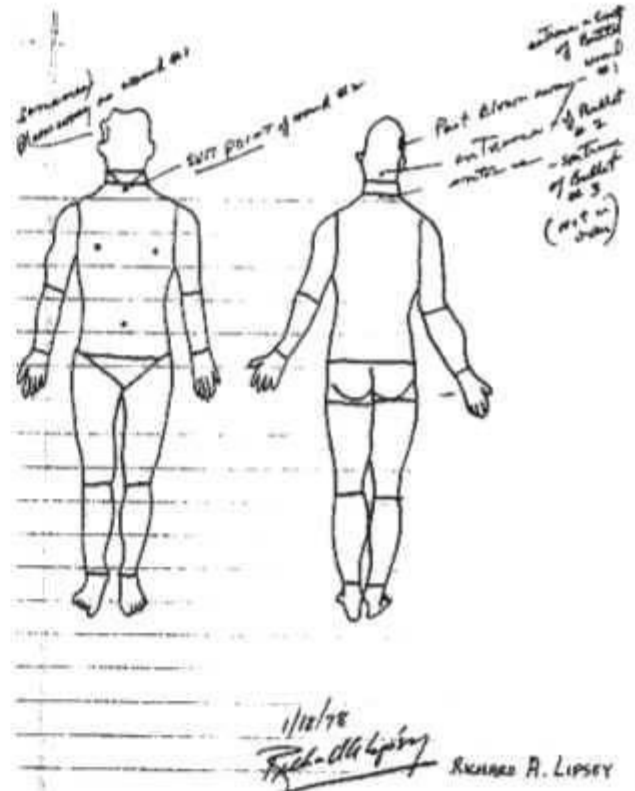
This then leads me to suspect the problems with Kennedy's respiration were caused by some other phenomena, quite possibly the passage of a low velocity bullet past his cerebellum.

Thus, irony among ironies, Kennedy may have told us something with his very last breath, not with the ease of his words, but with the difficulty of his breathing.

Two and a Half Witnesses



Fox autopsy photo, the infamous "stare of death" photo, revealing the damage to Kennedy's right eye socket. Note also the wound on Kennedy's right cheek.



Face sheet created by Richard Lipsey for HSCA staff members Andy Purdy and Mark Flanagan

Two and a Half Witnesses

Having established, however, a strong case for a new perspective on the President's wounds, the statements of three autopsy witnesses become relevant. While their memories and/or impressions could very well be wrong, if they are correct, then the conspiracy to suppress the medical evidence began much earlier than one might otherwise believe. The first witness whose statements are relevant to our analysis is Dr. George Burkley, the President's physician. Burkley was the only doctor to view Kennedy's remains in both Dallas and Bethesda. While he died some time ago, he nevertheless left behind a trail which tells an altogether different story than the one provided by the government.

1. The day after the assassination, Dr. Burkley prepared Kennedy's death certificate. He listed the cause of death as simply "Gunshot wound, skull" (no specific entrance and exit). In the summary of facts he

explained that Kennedy was “struck in the head” and that the wound was “shattering in type causing a fragmentation of the skull.” He said the “second wound occurred in the posterior back at about the level of the third thoracic vertebra.” This location was slightly lower than the location eventually decided on by the autopsy surgeons and was far too low to be compatible with the single-bullet theory. Also intriguing, however, Burkley’s mentioning the small entrance wound on the back discovered at the autopsy but failing to mention the small entrance wound on the back of the skull discovered at the autopsy suggests the possibility he had doubts this small entrance wound connected to the large defect.

2. On November 27, 1963, the FBI delivered the Harper fragment to Dr. Burkley. Two memos found in HSCA record 180-10116-0052, File 02504, indicate Burkley received another skull fragment around this same time from the Secret Service and that both of these items were to be “turned over to Naval Hospital by Dr. Burkley for examination, analysis, and retention until other disposition is directed.” And yet Dr. Humes, who was yet to perform his analysis of Kennedy’s brain on the 27th, and had therefore not completed Kennedy’s autopsy, told the ARRB that Burkley never even told him about the fragment. So what became of it? Did Burkley give it to Humes’ superiors, who then kept it from Humes? Or did Burkley realize it had both internal and external beveling, which indicated that it came from a tangential wound, and then help it disappear?

3. On October 17, 1967, Dr. Burkley was interviewed by William McHugh on behalf of the Kennedy Library. When asked about the autopsy of President Kennedy, he told McHugh “My conclusion in regard to the cause of death was the bullet wound which involved the skull. The discussion as to whether a previous bullet also enters into it, but as far as the cause of death the immediate cause was unquestionably the bullet which shattered the brain and the calvarium.” While, on the surface, this seems to agree with the autopsy report, the “previous bullet” mentioned by Burkley could very well mean “the previous bullet to strike Kennedy in the skull but not shatter his calvarium.” Supporting this speculation, when McHugh asked Burkley if he agreed with the Warren Report’s conclusions “on the number of bullets that entered the President’s body,” Dr. Burkley replied “I would not care to be quoted on that.” (It’s possible, of course, that Burkley’s concern here was the throat wound, which he never associated with the back wound. If he thought this wound was unrelated to the back wound, then he would have by extension believed Kennedy to have been hit at least three times, from both the front and from the back.)

4. A memo created by the original chief counsel of the HSCA, Richard Sprague, and found years later in his files, indicates that on March 18, 1977, he spoke to William Illig, Burkley’s attorney. Illig told Sprague that Burkley had information indicating that Oswald did not act alone.

5. When HSCA staff member Andy Purdy finally spoke to Burkley on August 17, 1977, however, the most Burkley said about the possibility of a conspiracy was that “the doctors didn’t section the brain and that if it had been done, it might be possible to prove whether or not there were two bullets.”

6. On November 28, 1978, towards the end of the HSCA’s investigation, Burkley signed a sworn statement stating that he was interviewed by Mark Flanagan and Andy Purdy of the HSCA in January 1978. In this statement, he acknowledges “I supervised the autopsy and directed the fixation and retention of the brain for future study of the course of the bullet *or bullets*.” (I hope to find Flanagan and Purdy’s account of this interview in the future.)

7. In a letter accompanying the statement and found in the HSCA’s files Burkley noted further that “Had the Warren Commission deemed to call me, I would have stated why I retained the brain and the possibility of two bullets having wounded President John F. Kennedy’s brain would have been eliminated.”

8. In his book *Reasonable Doubt*, writer Henry Hurt claimed to have spoken to Burkley in 1982 and to have been told by Burkley that he believed Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy.

9. A January, 1997 memo by Doug Horne of the ARRB reflects that he contacted Burkley's daughter and asked her to grant access to the files on her father kept by his former attorney, William Illig. It was hoped that these files would contain the information Mr. Illig had called Richard Sprague about almost twenty years earlier. She initially agreed, but by July, 1998, had changed her mind.

Nevertheless, by piecing together Burkley's statements, we can approximate what he was thinking. Nowhere in his statements did he ever say the fatal bullet entered the back of Kennedy's head. Consequently, when he mentioned a "previous bullet" to McHugh it's possible he was referring to an earlier, less severe head wound. Since his placement of the back wound ruled out the single-bullet theory, and since he suspected two bullets struck Kennedy in the head, it's quite possible he suspected Kennedy was killed in the manner here proposed.

A second witness of interest was Tom Robinson, who worked at Gawler's Funeral Home. He helped clean up and reconstruct the President's skull after the autopsy. While his recollections of many of the details of that night were foggy—some changed dramatically between his 1977 interview with the HSCA and his 1996 interview with the ARRB—he nevertheless made several relevant statements. As we've seen he told the HSCA that "The inside of the skull was badly smashed." But that's just the start of it. He also remembered something about the bullet exiting from the throat, that the bullet "might have been coming from the head and down," and that he remembers the doctors probing "at the base of the head," with an "18 inch piece of metal." He told the ARRB, 19 years later that, "there were fractures all over the cranium, including the floor of the skull," and that he had "vivid recollections of a very long, malleable probe being used during the autopsy. His most vivid recollection of the probe is seeing it *inserted near the base of the brain in the back of the head (after removal of the brain), and seeing the tip of the probe come out the tracheotomy incision in the anterior neck. He was adamant about this recollection.* He also recalls seeing the wound high in the back probed unsuccessfully, meaning that the probe did not exit anywhere."

While some have sought to discredit Robinson's statements by pointing out their inconsistencies, they can not be wholly discounted. His memories on some details have proved accurate. For instance, he told the ARRB that "he saw 2 or 3 small perforations or holes in the right cheek during embalming, when formaldehyde seeped through these small wounds and discoloration began to occur." These wounds, not mentioned in the autopsy report, and rarely mentioned elsewhere, are indeed visible in the "stare of death" autopsy photo. While such wounds are consistent with a bullet's exploding near Kennedy's temple while his head was leaning 25 degrees to its left, it's difficult to see how they could be caused by a fragmenting bullet sailing upwards from his cranium, as proposed in Larry Sturdivan's scenario.

Finally, there's Richard Lipsey, who was a military aide to the general responsible for Kennedy's funeral, General Wehle. Lipsey was ordered to keep an eye on the President's body during the autopsy. Consequently he sat close by and tried to listen to what the doctors were saying. He prepared a face sheet for the HSCA staff depicting the President's wounds as he remembered them being discussed. And they're exactly as I've proposed! In dismissing Lipsey's account, the HSCA medical report said "*Lipsey apparently formulated his conclusions based on observations and not on the conclusions of the doctors. In this regard, he believed the massive defect in the head represented an entrance and an exit when it was only an exit. He also concluded the entrance in the rear of the head corresponded to an exit in the neck. This conclusion could not have originated with the doctors because during the autopsy they believed the neck defect only represented a tracheostomy incision...Thus, although Lipsey's recollection of the number of defects to the body and the corresponding locations are correct, his conclusions are wrong and are not supported by any other evidence.*"

How strange that the writers of this report represent these as Lipsey's conclusions, when his testimony is clear that this is simply what he believes he overheard! The panel never even asked the autopsy

doctors if a shot connecting the wounds in the hairline and neck had been considered. The possibility of such a trajectory is never even discussed in their report. If the HSCA forensic pathology panel believed Lipsey to be wrong then they should have just said he probably misunderstood the doctors. Instead, the panel, which concluded that the Bethesda doctors' recollections were off by 4 inches on the head wound and at least 2 inches on the back wound, concluded that Lipsey was obviously wrong because his testimony was in disagreement with the statements of these very same doctors!

Had the panel confused the Hippocratic Oath with a lifelong pledge to be hypocrites?

Something strange was most certainly afoot. In 2012, Lipsey's rapidly rejected recollection that, at least for a time, the autopsy doctors thought the large head wound represented both entrance and exit, gained further support. From an unexpected source: Secret Service Agent Clint Hill. Now, it had long been noted that Hill, in both his Secret Service reports and Warren Commission testimony, claimed to have been shown Kennedy's wounds during the autopsy. And it had long been observed that he recalled seeing a small back wound, and large head wound, but had no recollection of being shown the supposed entrance on the back of Kennedy's head. But, until the publication of Hill's book *Mrs. Kennedy and Me*, in 2012, he'd never recounted a discussion he'd had with one of Kennedy's autopsists, presumably Dr. Humes. Here, then, is this account:

"Moving the body back and slightly to the left he pointed out the wound in the upper right rear of the head. I swallowed hard, listening closely, as the doctor explained what had happened. It appeared that the impact of the bullet hitting the president's head was so severe, it caused an explosive reaction within the makeup of the skull and brain, so portions of the brain erupted outward, and a portion of the skull with skin and hair attached became like a flap. The image of what I saw when I was up above the backseat came flashing back into my mind. The head wound was exposed and I could see into his brain, part of which had exploded outward. It looked like somebody had flipped open the back of his head, stuck in an ice-cream scoop and removed a portion of the brain, then scattered it all over Mrs. Kennedy, the car, and myself. It was a horrific sight. And I couldn't get it out of my mind. "Yes Doctor," I said "That is exactly what happened. I know I saw it. I was five feet away from the president when it occurred."

Note that in Hill's account neither the doctor nor Hill say anything of the wound's being an exit for a bullet entering elsewhere. Note further that Hill says the doctor attributed the nastiness of this wound to the impact of the bullet itself, and not that the bullet made a small hole upon impact and left a big exit after breaking up. Note also that Hill says it looked like someone had stuck an ice cream scoop into the head--with the force thereby coming from above, not below. Hill thought, and the doctor apparently agreed, that the bullet impacted at this location, the location later claimed to be an exit.

This is not as far-fetched as one might at first suspect. Hill's impression that the damage to the brain was less extensive than the damage to the skull was shared by at least one participant in the autopsy. In 1993, Humes and Boswell's assistant James Curtis Jenkins told writer William Law, that, after inspecting Kennedy's brain *"My impression of the brain was that the damage to the area of the brain, the extensiveness of it, did not quite match the extensiveness of the wound. In other words, the damage to the brain seemed to be a little less than you would expect from (the damage to the skull)"* (Note: the words *"the damage to the skull"* were in parentheses in Law's book, *In the Eye of History*, and presumably reflect that Jenkins ended his thought without ending his sentence.)

That Hill thought the bullet impacted at the supposed exit location, and not on the far back of the head, is confirmed, furthermore, by his eyewitness accounts of the shooting. Until 2010, he'd just say that Kennedy was "hit in the head." While promoting the book *The Kennedy Detail*, however, he got a bit more specific.

- "When I got to the presidential vehicle, just as I approached it, a third shot rang out, **hitting the**

president in the head, just above the right ear, and left a hole about the size of my palm." (11-14-10 article in the London Daily Mail)

- "About the time I got to the car, just before I got there, the third shot--that I heard, and I felt--because **it hit the President in the head just above the right ear**, right up in here (he places his hand just above his right ear, with some of his fingers to the back of the his ear), and blood and brain matter were spewing all over the place, including on me." (11-20-10 interview of Hill and Gerald Blaine by Gary Mack at the Sixth Floor Museum, broadcast on CSPAN2, 12-12-10)
- "I was just feet away when I heard and felt the effects of a third shot. **It hit the president in the upper right rear of his head**, and blood was everywhere." (Article by Hill in the New York Times, 11-22-10)
- "By the time I had just about got to the car--I was a few feet from it--there was another shot. **It hit the President in the head above the right ear.**" (Unidentified book store appearance captured in Youtube video US Secret Service Agent Clint Hill Recalls Dallas, uploaded 11-24-10)
- "**The third shot which I heard and felt because I was near the presidential vehicle when that happened hit the president in the head--upper right rear of the right ear--**and it spewed blood matter, brain matter, and bone fragments out over the car and myself." (BBC 4 audio interview published online, 12-1-10)
- "As I approached the vehicle there was a third shot. **It hit the President in the head, upper right rear of the right ear**, caused a gaping hole in his head, which caused brain matter, blood, and bone fragments to spew forth out over the car, over myself." (12-3-10 appearance at Warwick's Bookstore, New York City, posted on Youtube)
- "**The president had been hit in the upper right rear of his head with that third shot.**" (10-9-11 article on Hill on the Fargo--Moorehead Inforum)

Let's recall that the autopsy doctors ultimately claimed the bullet entered low on the back of the head. Let's recall as well that the red spot in the cowlick later claimed to mark the bullet's entrance was not remotely near the right ear.

This demonstrates that Hill thought, and apparently still thinks, the bullet entered at the supposed exit. That this is supported by his recollection of a discussion with a doctor is undoubtedly intriguing, and lends strong support for Lipsey's claim such things were discussed during the performance of Kennedy's autopsy.

It's actually worse than that. As Hill told the Warren Commission his observation of the President's wounds came after the autopsy had been completed, his recent account suggests that, at the end of the autopsy, the doctors were of the impression a bullet impacted at what they later claimed was an exit. Precisely as claimed by Richard Lipsey, in 1978.

There's actually more to this than one might think... Sibert and O'Neill, the FBI agents at Kennedy's autopsy, left the hospital after the autopsy had been completed. This was around the same time Clint Hill discussed the head wound with the doctor.

Here then is how Sibert and O'Neill described the head wound in their airtel to FBI headquarters, written shortly after they'd returned from Bethesda: *"Total body x-ray and autopsy revealed one bullet entered back of head and thereafter emerged through top of skull."* Note that they did not specify a small entrance low on the back of the head. This could be a reference to one wound of entrance and exit. While their official report, written over the next few days, describes in some detail the discovery and probing of Kennedy's back wound, no mention is made of the discovery of a small entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's head. Instead, they write the following:

"Also during the latter stages of the autopsy, a piece of the skull measuring 10 x 6.5 centimeters was

brought to Dr. HUMES who was instructed that this had been removed from the President's skull. Immediately this section of skull was X-Rayed, at which time it was determined by Dr. HUMES that one corner of this section revealed minute metal particles and inspection of this same area disclosed a chipping of the top portion of this piece, both of which indicated that this had been the point of exit of the bullet entering the skull region.

On the basis of the latter two developments, Dr. HUMES stated that the pattern was clear that the one bullet had entered the President's back and had worked its way out of the body during external cardiac massage and that **a second high velocity bullet had entered the rear of the skull and had fragmentized prior to exit through the top of the skull.** He further pointed out that X-Rays had disclosed numerous fractures in the cranial area which he attributed to the force generated by the impact of the bullet in its passage through the brain area. He attributed the death of the President to a gunshot wound in the head."

Now, this, too, could be a reference to one wound of entrance and exit. While the small hole by the EOP described in the autopsy report is, in my impression, readily apparent in the autopsy photos, the thought occurs that the doctors failed to tell the FBI about this hole, for fear it would leave them with more wounds than could readily be explained. Let's remember that the autopsy report, in which this wound was first described, was not provided the FBI until the Warren Commission asked for it, weeks after the FBI had, for all intents and purposes, closed the case.

The subsequent statements of Sibert and O'Neill support this analysis. An HSCA report on a 1977 interview of Sibert reflects that he said the head wound--singular, not plural--was in the "upper back of the head." It notes further that he "has no recollection of writing down the location of the entrance wound in the President's head." It then presents a drawing, presumably made by Sibert, in which one wound is depicted on Kennedy's head, a large wound high on the back of his head. Sibert's 1978 affidavit for the HSCA confirms that, yessirree, he had no recollection of the small bullet hole of entrance described by the doctors. He describes three wounds: the large head wound, the neck wound they believed to be a tracheotomy incision, and the back wound. He then discusses his earlier meeting with HSCA staff members Kelly and Purdy, in which he was shown the autopsy report, and writes "I have no recollection of hearing or writing down measurements relating to the entrance wound in the president's head." He confirmed this, yet again, in 1997, when testifying before the ARRB. When asked if he recalled any discussion of an entrance wound in the skull, he replied: "You mean, other than the one there that went in and that blew out on exit?" He then clarified: "A separate entrance wound in the skull? Is that your question?" But the ARRB's Jeremy Gunn failed to follow up on this. He did, however, ask Sibert if he recalled the doctors discussing a specific entrance location, to which Sibert admitted "I don't recall that. Just that general statement." Gunn then did the clarifying: "So they said it entered the back of the head?...But nothing more specific?" To which Sibert replied "Yes" and "Correct."

O'Neill was better, but not much. The HSCA report on its 1978 interview of O'Neill reflects that "In reference to the head wound, O'Neill recalled that it was massive and pointed towards the right side of his (O'Neill's) head." The report then claims "O'Neill said that the autopsy doctors felt that the bullet that entered the head struck the center, low portion of the head and exited from the top, right side, towards the front." He then drew his interviewers a diagram of this wound, in which the words "entry" and "exit" were written at opposite ends of a large hole.

Well, hello. This suggests he never saw the small hole near the hairline described in the autopsy report. This is further supported by his 1978 affidavit, in which he repeats that the head wound was "massive" and on the "right side of his head," and repeats, to a word, "that the autopsy doctors felt that the bullet that entered the head struck the center, low portion of the head and exited from the top, right side, towards the front." It's intriguing that he so readily reports what the autopsy doctors "felt," but is so

hesitant to report what he saw. In any event, in 1997, when O'Neill was asked by the ARRB's Gunn if he recalled being told the measurements for this entrance wound, he got a bit testy, and replied first that *"If it's in my report, then I do recall it"* and then, a bit later, *"if they did make a statement to that effect, I would have put that in my report."*

Neither Sibert, nor O'Neill, nor Hill, were shown or told about the small entrance wound near the hairline during the autopsy.

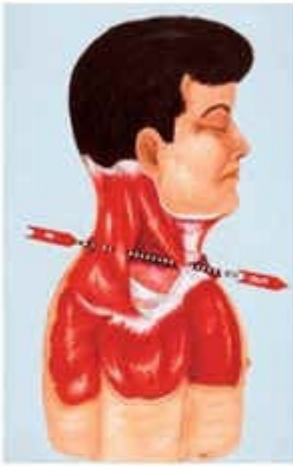
And there's yet another curiosity. While Hill's boss, Roy Kellerman, told the Warren Commission he'd observed an entry wound about the width of a *"little finger"* in Kennedy's *"hairline"* an inch and a half to two inches below the hole on the back of the head on display at the end of the autopsy, the 8-29-77 HSCA report on an interview with Kellerman reflects that he only recalled *"one large hole in the head and no small holes in the head."* Not sure what to make of that... Perhaps Kellerman had become aware of the controversy surrounding the entrance wound he'd once claimed to have seen, and was trying to stay out of it. Or perhaps those interviewing Kellerman for the HSCA, Jim Kelly and Andy Purdy, asked him a quick question about the head wound, and were unaware of his previous testimony.

In any event, it seems possible the autopsy doctors deliberately concealed the existence of the small hole on the back of the head from the FBI. Were they worried its existence would force them to conclude there'd been more than one shooter? Did they then, the next day, after realizing they could claim this hole marked the entrance for a bullet exiting high on Kennedy's head, change their collective mind?

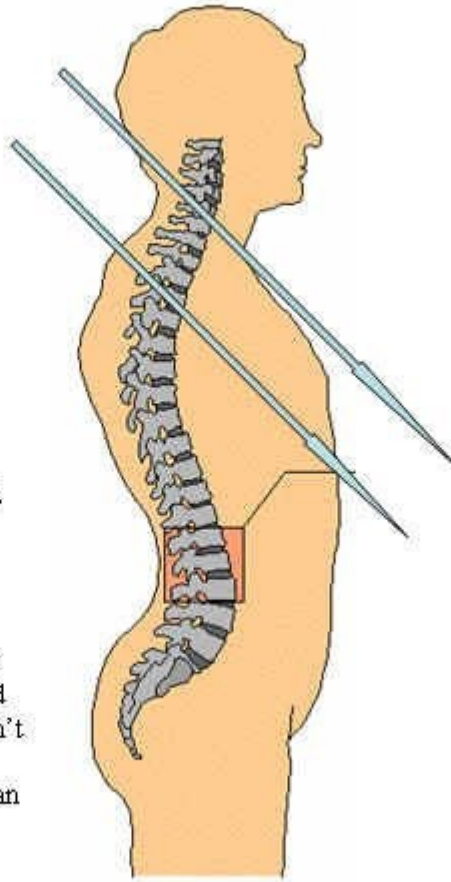
If so, this might explain why Dr. Humes burned both his notes, and his initial draft of the autopsy protocol.

Something strange was most certainly afoot.

45 Degrees of Coincidence?



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 385, prepared under the supervision of Dr. James Humes. In his March, 16, 1964 testimony before the Commission, Dr. Humes testified that the approximate angle of decline of the bullet in the drawing was 45 degrees. Where did he get this from? Was this angle measured at the autopsy? This 45 degrees certainly didn't come from the drawing itself. The angle of descent of the bullet in this drawing is less than one third as steep as Humes testified.



As one can see in the illustration at left, a bullet entering the actual back wound location and descending 45 degrees within the body would not exit from the throat, but the lower chest. Strangely, however, a bullet entering at the head wound location noted at the autopsy and descending 45 degrees within the body would exit precisely at the location of the throat wound. Is this just a coincidence? Or was this 45 degree angle measured at the autopsy, and then spat out by Dr. Humes without his realizing the angles had changed when he'd decided the back wound connected to the throat wound?

45 Degrees of Coincidence?

Sometime after coming to the suspicion the head wound entrance and throat wound were connected, I noticed a strange convergence of 45 degree angles. Consider:

1. The 2 AM 11/23/63 FBI teletype in which the results of Kennedy's autopsy were first forwarded to headquarters relates "One bullet hole located just below shoulders to right of spinal column and hand probing indicated trajectory angle of **forty-five** to sixty degrees downward and hole of short depth with no point of exit."
2. The 11/26/63 FBI report of FBI Agents Sibert and O'Neill on the autopsy confirms "During the latter stages of the autopsy, Dr. Humes located an opening which appeared to be a bullet hole which was below the shoulders and two inches to the right of the middle line of the spinal column. This opening was probed by Dr. Humes with the finger, at which time it was determined that the trajectory of the missile entering at this point had entered at a downward position of **45** to 60 degrees. (Further probing determined that the distance traveled by this missile was a short distance inasmuch as the end of the opening could be felt with the finger.)"
3. On March 16, 1964, Dr. Humes testified before the Warren Commission and the magic number 45 re-surfaced.

Mr. Specter. *Dr. Humes, can you compare the angles of declination on 385, point "C" to "D", with 388 "A" to "B"?*

Commander Humes. *You will note, and again I must apologize for the schematic nature of these diagrams drawn to a certain extent from memory and to a certain extent from the written record, it would appear that the angle of declination is somewhat sharper in the head wound, 388, than it is in 385. The reason for this, we feel, by the pattern of the entrance wound at 388 "A" causes us to feel that the President's head was bent forward, and we feel this accounts for the difference in the angle, plus undoubtedly the wounds were not received absolutely simultaneously, so that the vehicle in which the President was traveling moved during this period of time, which would account for a difference in the line of flight, sir.*

Mr. Specter. *Aside from the slight differences which are notable by observing those two exhibits, are they roughly comparable to the angle of decline?*

Commander Humes. *I believe them to be roughly comparable, sir.*

Mr. Specter. *Could you state for the record an approximation of the angle of decline.*

Commander Humes. *Mathematics is not my forte. Approximately 45 degrees from the horizontal.*

4. This 45 degree angle was then confirmed by Dr. Finck.

Mr. Specter. *And do you concur in Dr. Humes' statements and opinions regarding the point of entry C, point of exit D, and general angle on the flight of the missile?*

Colonel Finck. I certainly do.

5 The angle of descent from the entrance near the EOP to the presumed exit on the throat is 45 degrees.

This seems way too great a coincidence. I mean, think about it. The angle of descent in the drawing created for Humes was nowhere near 45 degrees. Dr. Humes was an educated man. Could he really have been this bad with numbers? Or was the 45 degrees something he remembered measuring at the autopsy? Since he mentioned 45 degrees to the FBI at the autopsy, in relation to the back wound, this sounds reasonable. That the FBI report says the back wound was discovered in the "later stages of the autopsy", moreover, suggests the possibility the doctors had already discussed the head wounds and throat wound prior to their discussion of the back wound. Perhaps, then, they measured a 45 degree descent between the head wound entrance and throat wound before discussing the back wound in detail, and had noted that the descent within the shallow back wound seemed to match this trajectory. Since Humes admitted burning his notes and the first draft of his report, we may never know.

On the other hand, it's possible the 45 degrees mentioned in Humes' testimony was not so innocent, and that, knowing full well that the FBI report reflected he'd said the bullet creating the back wound descended at 45 degrees, he was deliberately pretending that the 45 degree or greater descent approximated at the autopsy was consistent with the drawing he'd had created for the Warren Commission. If so, his volunteering that he was bad with math could have been his way of deflecting the criticisms he knew would come once people saw the FBI's report, and the actual wound locations. Humes certainly should have known that his night-of-the-autopsy approximation of a 45 degree descent was totally inconsistent with his day-after conclusion that the bullet exited from Kennedy's throat, on the same level as the entrance. If he was deliberately clouding the issue, as proposed in this scenario, then it seems possible as well that Arlen Specter, who'd met with FBI agents Sibert and O'Neill while preparing Humes' testimony, was well aware of Humes' deception, and had even coached him on it.

There's something else to consider. An 11-23-63 AP news story on the assassination credited to Frank Cormier (found in the Sumter Daily Item) makes the bizarre claim that the assassin's bullets "traveled

about 100 yards at a 45 degree angle." Well, where did this come from? If this was something Cormier had heard on the radio the evening before, or had seen in an earlier paper, well, perhaps Humes had heard this same broadcast, or had read this same article. If so, then perhaps this influenced his statements during the autopsy, and in turn his subsequent testimony. To be clear, he may have been under the belief the sniper's nest in the book depository really was 45 degrees above Kennedy at the time of the shooting. Perhaps he was simply too ignorant to realize a bullet traveling 100 yards at a 45 degree angle would have to have been fired from a building twice as tall as the book depository. Perhaps he fudged his numbers, and had relied on someone as clueless as himself.

There is no easy answer on this one. It's either a total coincidence that a bullet descending from the head wound entrance to the throat wound would be descending at 45 degrees and Dr. Humes said the angle of descent within the body of the bullet exiting the throat was 45 degrees OR Dr. Humes was not nearly as bad at math as he claimed but was instead trying to cover up the true nature of Kennedy's wounds. No, hold it. On second thought, there's a third option, where Dr. Humes was helping to cover up the bullet's actual trajectory, but knew this to be wrong, and was pretending to be bad at math in order to get the actual bullet trajectory--a descent within the body at 45 degrees-- on the record. I kinda like that one. Something to think about. Not that there's not already more than enough to think about.

Probing the possibilities

Now, to be clear, I am not the first researcher to suspect the doctors connected the back of the head wound and throat wound at autopsy. A 1998 article by Milicent Cranor in the Kennedy Assassination Chronicles, discussed this very possibility. It is important to note, however, that she relied almost exclusively on eyewitness statements in her article. That I would come to this suspicion based purely on the medical evidence, while she would come to this same suspicion via the eyewitness evidence, is undoubtedly intriguing.

As pointed out by Cranor, if the doctors noted the large head wound at the beginning of the autopsy, and a shallow back wound when they turned the body over, as seems logical, they had evidence for two bullets at the beginning of the autopsy. As they, or those supervising them, had presumably been told that Governor Connally had been wounded in his chest, wrist and thigh, that three shots had been heard, and that three bullet shells had been found in the sniper's nest, they would have known from the beginning then that their finding an additional wound on Kennedy would mean more shots were fired than heard, and that there had almost certainly been more than one shooter.

If the doctors later discovered a small bullet entrance on the back of Kennedy's head, and probed this wound, and found that it connected to the tracheotomy incision on Kennedy's throat, as claimed by Lipsey and Robinson, they would have done so, then, with the full knowledge they were out of bounds, so to speak, and had found evidence for a high-tech conspiracy using silenced ammunition. This makes the subsequent claim that they were not allowed to dissect and examine Kennedy's neck--which would have verified this trajectory--all the more intriguing. Were they told not to do so out of respect for the Kennedy family, as claimed, or because this would have demonstrated this third wound beyond all doubt? Did they in fact probe the wound then decide amongst themselves to pretend they hadn't done so?

Or was there an even broader "cover story"? Did they actually not only probe the wound, but remove the organs of the neck afterward?

Maybe. In 1977, mortician Tom Robinson told the HSCA not only that the wound was probed but that the neck organs were removed during the course of the autopsy.

This isn't at all far-fetched. It's undoubtedly suspicious that, in the official story, the autopsy team was not only unaware of Kennedy's throat wound on the night of the autopsy, but was purported to have thought the deep gash they observed came purely as a result of the tracheotomy performed in Dallas. Now, if the team had stuck to this story, and witnesses had confirmed this story, one might be tempted to believe such a story. But instead we have not only Lipsey and Robinson saying they saw the doctors connect the head wound to the throat wound during the autopsy, but Dr. Boswell telling both the HSCA pathology panel and the ARRB that the autopsy team suspected on the night of the autopsy that the tracheotomy incision had been cut through a bullet wound. Now, unfortunately, Dr. Boswell is not the most consistent of witnesses. But Dr. Ebersole, the autopsy radiologist, actually went a bit further than Boswell and told the HSCA panel that the doctors *knew* the throat wound to be a bullet wound on the night of the autopsy. Well, unfortunately, Ebersole's recollections are also not reliable. But John Stringer, the autopsy photographer, also said he thought the doctors knew there'd been a bullet wound in Kennedy's throat on the night of the autopsy...and even told the ARRB he thought he saw the doctors probe this wound while searching for bullet fragments...

So... from this it would seem likely the autopsy team knew of the throat wound on the night of the autopsy. This possibility is undermined, however, by the failure of Dr.s Humes and Finck to acknowledge knowing of this wound at so early a time, and the failure of the FBI's report on the autopsy to mention such a wound. The FBI's failure to mention this wound, however, can be explained by the disturbing possibility the doctors knew full well that their documenting a bullet's passage from the back of the head to the throat would make a conclusion of conspiracy inevitable, and that they then conspired to hide this from the FBI by only telling them of evidence for two bullets--a shallow back wound, and an entrance and exit on the head.

So why, if this is so, would they reverse their findings the next day, and suddenly claim the back wound connected to the throat wound? Well, perhaps Dr. Humes realized after talking to Dr. Perry in Dallas that the cat was out of the bag, and that Perry had discussed this throat wound in detail during the Parkland press conference. This is the official story, after all, and in this case it actually makes sense.

Well, if Humes knew about the throat wound during the autopsy, then why didn't he just claim the back wound connected to the throat wound then and there, one might ask? Well, that question has an even better answer. The FBI agents at the autopsy, Sibert and O'Neill, had witnessed the probing of the back wound, and had been led to believe it was a scientific fact that the bullet creating the back wound did not exit. Dr. Humes, then, may have realized that he couldn't turn around and claim that the bullet creating the back wound had exited the throat, and not arouse suspicion from the agents. He may then have simply opted to pretend there was no throat wound, in hopes it had been overlooked in Dallas.

Or perhaps not. The statements of Dr. Humes' and Dr. Boswell's assistants at the autopsy, James Jenkins and Paul O'Connor, have long been used by conspiracy theorists to suggest a conspiracy. And yet, although O'Connor told author William Law that the autopsists thought the throat wound was a bullet wound, but were prevented from probing the wound by Admiral Burkley, neither of them recalled the throat wound being probed on the night of the autopsy... Now, this may have been by design. A 1977 HSCA report on an interview with O'Connor relates that "*Boswell or Humes told him to go outside the room*" while the body was dissected and probed, and that a Marine guarded him while he waited outside.

So...IF the doctors put a probe in the back of the head wound, and found it came out at the throat wound, as asserted by Lipsey and Robinson, it would appear they were being deliberately secretive about it...and that almost no one at the autopsy knew of it.


Now, one might wish to take from this that this probably didn't occur, and that the doctors probably didn't even know about the throat wound during the autopsy. But the suspicion that the doctors at least

suspected a bullet had come down the neck, and were prevented, for political purposes, from following up on this, cannot be so readily dismissed. Such a possibility, after all, would explain why some autopsy witnesses (Lipsey and Robinson) thought this trajectory HAD been demonstrated, why some key participants (Boswell, Ebersole, Stringer, and O'Connor) thought they knew of the throat wound on the night of the autopsy, and why still other key participants (Humes, Finck, and Jenkins) and witnesses (Sibert and O'Neill) felt sure the throat wound was not probed nor acknowledged as a bullet wound on the night of the assassination.

I mean, let's get real here. Two wounds were observed at Parkland, a head wound and a throat wound. The doctors treating Kennedy, moreover, had announced in a press conference held shortly after his death that these wounds may have been connected. The dissection of Kennedy's neck to determine the likelihood of this connection, then, would have to be viewed as one of the primary purposes of the autopsy held several hours later. And yet, of all the internal structures on Kennedy's body between his waist and the top of his head, the only area not examined was his neck.

This smells to high heaven.

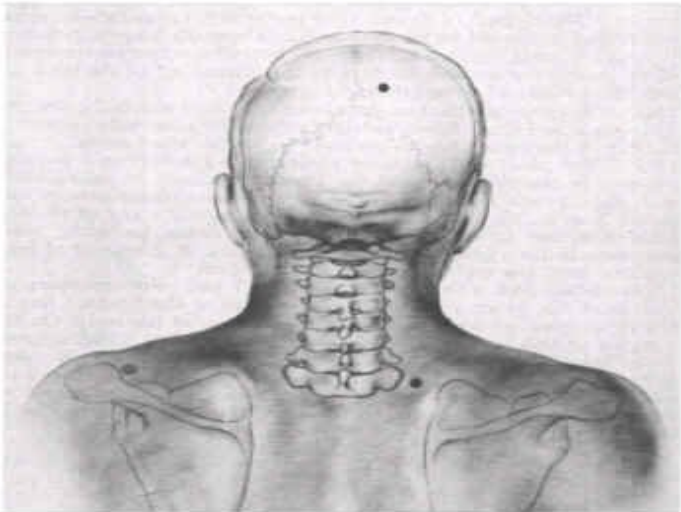
Chest X-Ray/ HSCA Back Entrance Comparison




HSCA Exhibit F-30

PLEASE NOTE: these x-rays
are inverted for the
purpose of comparison

At right: blow-up of F-30 revealing
that the bullet path leading to the
exit in the throat came down the neck.



HSCA Figure 24



Exit
level

Chest X-ray/HSCA Entrance Comparison

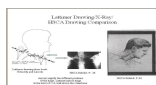
After reading Lipsey's account of the autopsy, and considering the 45 degrees of coincidence, I went back and re-read most of the other accounts of the autopsy, and found another reference supporting Lipsey's contention that the doctors suspected a bullet came down the neck. In the HSCA interview of autopsy photographer John Stringer, he distinctly recalled the autopsists having a "conversation about the pathway through the neck and specifically discussion about air in the throat." This implies that, far

from believing the throat wound was a mere tracheotomy incision, the doctors had other suspicions all along. The “air in the throat” is, almost certainly, a reference to the chest/neck x-ray.

Upon close examination of the chest/neck x-ray, one notes a black spot (representing air in the tissues) at the approximate level of the exit, at approximately the midline of the throat. This would appear to be the exit. Surprisingly, however, the black line which one would have to presume represents the bullet path, can be traced backwards up the neck, to a point much higher than the purported entrance in the President’s back. That the HSCA forensic pathology panel attached no importance to this “interstitial emphysema” (air in the tissues), even though one of its consultants, Dr. Seaman, considered it “highly suspicious compared with the other side,” whilst simultaneously embracing a bullet path between the hole in the back and the hole in the neck, which tore no muscles and broke no bones, yet could not be probed by the autopsy doctors, is mysterious, if not disturbing. That their projected path through the neck starting at the back entrance more than an inch and a half to the right of the President’s mid-line and ending at their proposed exit in the throat slightly to the left of the President’s mid-line blasted right through Kennedy’s spine, while they claimed the bullet never touched a bone, makes their actions doubly mysterious, or disturbing. They simply refused to follow the evidence. Or make sense.

While I initially had doubts that a wound track could be so obvious, I found a few people who seem to agree with me that this is a wound track. People who have seen a few wound tracks. Amazingly, the Clark Panel report, when discussing the back wound and the throat wound, declares: “There is a track between the two cutaneous wounds as indicated by subcutaneous emphysema and small metallic fragments on the x-rays...” Well, I’ll be! Perhaps this is the key to the Clark Panel’s mis-representing the vertical distance between the two wounds—while they could see that the bullet came down the neck, they just couldn’t fathom that it was coming from anywhere but the back wound. If someone were to coin the expression “assassination research makes strange bedfellows,” this would be a perfect example.

Yet another who believes the shadows are a wound track is Larry Sturdivan, the HSCA ballistics expert. In his book, *The JFK Myths*, Sturdivan declares “The x-rays show a faint, but perceptible, shadow of a wound track running from the entry location shown in the autopsy photos to the exit point at the suprasternal notch.” Since Sturdivan adds “The entry was located just above the transverse process of the first thoracic vertebra” however, it’s clear he’s trying to have it both ways, using an entrance slightly higher than the HSCA’s entrance location and insisting that the exit in the throat was not higher than the back wound, as claimed by the HSCA, but lower. Since the shadows on the x-ray begin much higher than T-1, however, we should reject Sturdivan’s conclusion. Moreover, I find it interesting that Sturdivan would call his book *The JFK Myths*, and claim it debunks the theories of the conspiracy community, and then submit that the HSCA had the entry location of the head wound, the exit location of the head wound, and the entrance location of the back wound incorrect. Perhaps he meant for his title to cut both ways. More to the point, since it seems clear that Sturdivan is deliberately disregarding the wound locations of the forensic pathology panel in his work, the question must be asked: why is it considered unpatriotic, unscientific, or anti-American to question the specific conclusions of the government’s panels when that leads you to conclude Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy, when it’s not considered unpatriotic, unscientific or anti-American to question their conclusions if you say Oswald acted alone? This double-standard, I believe, says a lot about why this case is still relevant.



Lattimer Drawing/X-ray/HSCA Drawing Comparison

One of the great surprises one receives when one comes to the conclusion that the air in the neck on the x-rays suggests a bullet traveled down Kennedy's neck is that Dr. John Lattimer, as solid a single-assassin theorist as ever walked the earth, agreed. (Yep, on this issue, the Clark Panel, Lattimer, Sturdivan, and I--surprise, surprise--*agree*!) In his 1972 articles on the medical evidence, and then again in his 1980 book, *Kennedy and Lincoln*, Lattimer presented a schematic drawing of the line of injuries in Kennedy's neck. He declared, proudly, that his drawing was based upon an actual x-ray. On January 10, 1972, in a radio interview with WNBC's Long John Nebel, moreover, Lattimer specified that when one studying Kennedy's x-rays one could see "air in the tissues in President Kennedy's neck along the track of the bullet." It is clear, then, that he believed the sharp descent in his schematic was justified by the air in the tissues apparent on Kennedy's x-ray.

This explains an awful lot. Much of the strangeness one encounters while studying Lattimer's research comes from his trying to correlate the track of the bullet he saw on the x-rays with his belief this bullet entered Kennedy's back. To do this, Lattimer distorted the arrangement of Kennedy's clothes and the shape of Kennedy's body on his drawing. This allowed the bullet to create an entrance on Kennedy's jacket 5 inches from the top of his collar, enter his back at the level of his "Adam's Apple," and travel inches down his neck. The nonsense of such a trajectory, and the desperation of Lattimer in proposing such a trajectory, is more than readily apparent.

When one compares Lattimer's drawing with Kennedy's actual x-ray, the supposed basis of the drawing, moreover, other distortions become clear. For one, the bullet fragments identified by a D on Lattimer's drawing, and purported by him to be "near the tip of the transverse process of the seventh cervical vertebrae," are not spread out above and below the bullet track, as depicted by Lattimer, but an inch or more below the bullet track he proposes. (The seventh vertebrae is at the top of the black area along the spine on the x-ray.) For two, the lung in his drawing is inches higher on the body than it is on the x-ray. As this lifts the bruise on the lung--something unlikely to be acquired by a bullet passing inches away--up to the bullet path, the reason for this distortion seems evident.

When one compares Lattimer's drawing of the President's wounds to a similar drawing created by the HSCA, his distortions become even more clear. The HSCA drawing, for starters, has the bullet entering Kennedy's back heading slightly upwards through the body while Lattimer's drawing has the bullet headed sharply downwards. The HSCA, in keeping with the autopsy photographs, moreover, places the back wound on the back while Lattimer lifts it up onto the neck. While the two present the lungs in the same place in comparison to the bullet track, this is not an agreement between the two but is actually a discrepancy, as Lattimer's bullet track is much higher within the body. While the HSCA presents the lungs as just below the level of exit when the body is erect, but higher than the exit due to Kennedy's severe forward pitch, Lattimer presents the lungs as being higher than the exit even when erect. Since Lattimer does not dispute that the bullet exited the throat midway between the Adam's apple and the bony notch at the bottom of the throat, moreover, this suggests that he believed Kennedy's lungs extended above his rib cage, into his neck.

Of course, this is preposterous. It's clear then that Lattimer, as Sturdivan, was trying to have it both ways: while his interpretation of the x-rays led him to believe the bullet traveled down the neck, he still wanted to be able to say the passage of this bullet bruised Kennedy's lung, even though his proposed trajectory would pass approximately three inches away from the nearest lung. While some, including Lattimer, have argued that the confusion around Kennedy's back wound is related to the fact that Kennedy's Addison's disease made him a hunchback, I don't believe that even one of these men has been foolish enough to suggest Kennedy's lungs changed position and rose above the level of his ribcage as a result of his affliction.

It was while comparing the lungs in these drawings that I had a bit of a breakthrough. While the HSCA and Dr. Lattimer were in agreement on the shape of the bruise on Kennedy's lung, which is consistent

in relation to the bullet cavity and is thus supportive that the cavity was the cause, I realized that on this issue both drawings were inaccurate. While the photograph of this bruise is one the doctors remembered taking, but never saw again, Dr. Humes' testimony on the bruise is quite clear, and is in disagreement with the drawings. He told the Warren Commission that the bruise was 5 centimeters at its greatest diameter "and was wedge shaped in configuration, with its base toward the top of the chest and its apex down towards the substance of the lung," and repeated that it "was a roughly pyramid-shaped bruise with its base toward the surface of the upper portion of the lung, and the apex down into the lung tissue." Humes was telling them, therefore, that the bruise came to a point. Such a bruise would not be expected from a temporary cavity, which radiates in an oval, but could very well have come as a result of a bullet deflecting from an overlying bone. Articles on pulmonary contusions from gunshot wounds reflect that they are far more prominent when a bullet slaps against a rib or chest wall than when a bullet actually traverses the substance of the lung. One such article, found in a 1944 edition of *Surgery*, reported on a study by Dr. Rollin Daniel in which dogs were shot and immediately dissected. This study connected the level of pulmonary contusion to the amount of energy released into the *adjacent non-lung tissue*. The single-bullet scenario, in which a bullet magically slides between muscles and does not damage the arteries, necessitates that the damage to the surrounding tissue was minimal. This suggests then that the lung was bruised through some other mechanism than the temporary cavity of the bullet. The first thoracic vertebrae attaches to the spine just above the uppermost margin of the lung. Did a bullet deflect off this bone from above, and thereby bruise the underlying lung?

The evidence suggests as much.

Lattimer Skeleton/X-ray Comparison



Lattimer image from book:
Kennedy and Lincoln.
Why is there no first rib
on Lattimer's skeleton?



Typical illustration of the rib cage,
demonstrating the level of the first rib.



HSCA Exhibit F-30.
Arrow points to what
appears to be a deflection
of the bullet's path,
at the neck of the first rib.



Blow-up of F-30
showing possible deflection
of the bullet's path at the first rib.

Lattimer Skeleton/ X-ray Comparison

Should one doubt that Lattimer believed the bullet traveled some distance down Kennedy's neck, one need only look at another photo published in Kennedy and Lincoln. This photo depicted the purported bullet path alongside a skeleton. Intriguingly, this skeleton appears to be missing a first rib, which represents the uppermost level of the lung in most humans. Even more intriguing, at the '93 conference on the medical evidence in Chicago, Lattimer presented a version of this photo in which the first rib was readily identified, at a point *thoroughly interfering* with the bullet's trajectory should Lattimer not have purported such a sharp descent within the neck.

In any case, in this photo, Lattimer made crystal clear his belief that the bullet entered around the level of the third or fourth cervical vertebrae, near the middle of Kennedy's neck, where no one but no one saw an entrance. Why he didn't realize such a bullet path would be more likely to have come from the hole in the hairline than from the hole in the shoulder can perhaps be attributed to his lack of imagination.

It certainly occurred to Dr. Cyril Wecht. A transcript to a January 10, 1972 WNBC radio interview of Dr. Cyril Wecht by John Nebel (found in the Weisberg Archives) reflects that Wecht, when told Dr. Lattimer, who'd viewed the autopsy materials the day before, claimed the x-rays showed the bullet entered inches higher than as shown on the Rydberg drawings, had thoughts similar to my own. He told Nebel that if the bullet hole was inches higher, as claimed by Lattimer: *"I'm telling you that that moves it from the back of the neck where it had been previously moved from lower down in the back, we're now moving it up higher into the head. I'm beginning to wonder whether Dr. Lattimer may have confused this with the bullet hole of entrance in the back of the skull near the right occipital protuberance which is that bony prominence that you'll feel on the back of your head if you'll put your hand there now and touch. Really--and I'm not being, again, sarcastic--if he moves up the bullet hole which is diagrammed in at the back of the neck, if he said to you that it's really a couple of inches higher, you're already getting up into the region of the occipital protuberance. I'm beginning to wonder which bullet hole he's talking about."*

Unfortunately, however, Wecht failed to follow up on this possibility when viewing the materials that August. And yet, seeing as he later told Vincent Bugliosi he'd had thoughts the throat wound marked the entrance for a bullet exiting near the EOP, it appears he continued to be intrigued by Lattimer's observation.

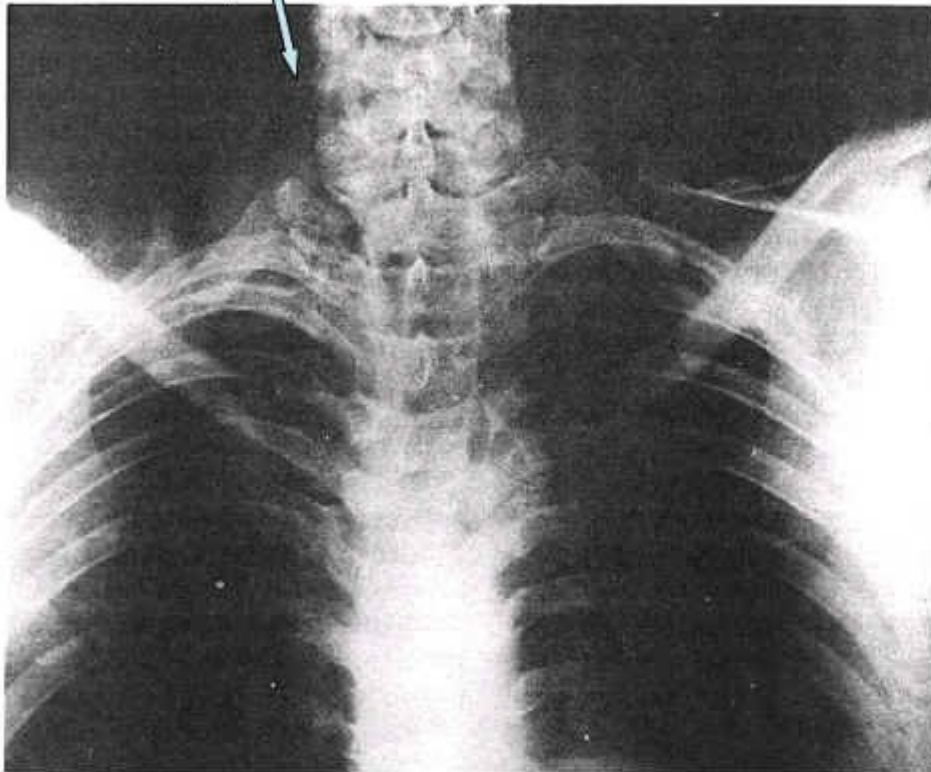
In any event, when one reflects that there were unexplained radiopaque densities by the transverse process (a bony finger sticking out from the spine) of both the President's sixth and seventh cervical vertebrae (C-6 and C-7), and that the transverse process to the first thoracic vertebrae, just above his lung, was indisputably fractured, one should realize that the damage to his vertebrae and the bruise upon his lung can be more readily explained by a bullet coming down his neck than by a bullet coming from an entrance on his back, which left no probe-able missile path through his muscles. That the bullet exited at the level of the lowest damage to his vertebrae, T-1, as opposed to the middle damage of his vertebrae, is yet another indication that that the damage did not come as a result of the temporary cavity surrounding the bullet, especially since in the Forensic Pathology Panel's interpretation the bullet was heading upwards in the body, and would therefore have been some distance from C-6 as it passed.

When one studies the x-rays, moreover, one can see a deflection of the bullet track where the first rib meets the spine. The shadow changes course and heads for the throat. Due to the aforementioned bruise, it would appear then that bone was struck. This, then, could represent one of the two deflections necessary for the bullet striking Kennedy near the EOP to exit from the middle of his throat. The other one occurred upon the entrance to his skull.

This would seem to be more than just a coincidence. Perhaps we are indeed on the right...track.

See No Evil

Air from the tracheotomy?



HSCA Exhibit F-30, or Figure 11 in the final report:
X-ray no. 9 taken at the beginning of the autopsy

Artifact?

"Artifacts?"



Figure 10 in the final report:
X-ray no. 8 taken midway
through the autopsy.

See No Evil

When I re-read the Final Report of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, I was finally able to satisfy myself that a bullet descended in Kennedy's neck, most logically from the entrance in the hairline. Not because of what was said in the report as much as what was not said. What was not said was a convincing explanation for what appears to be a bullet track heading down the neck.

Here's how the forensic pathology panel dealt with the white spots apparent on x-ray number 8 and identified by the Clark Panel and Dr. Lattimer as possible bullet or bone fragments. These fragments just so happen to be directly along the bullet path from the occipital bone to the throat wound. An acknowledgment of these fragments as fragments, whether bone or metal, would call into question the single-bullet theory as proposed by the HSCA. So the doctors did what all prominent doctors do in a time of crisis. They brought in some specialists to tell them what they want to hear... Dr. McDonnell said the white spots were "artifacts not uncommonly caused by foreign materials on the film or in the developing solution." He stated further that the dark shadow seen on x-ray number 8 was not seen on x-ray number 9 and that this suggested this shadow too was an artifact. Dr. Chase said "the 1 by 2.5 millimeter object was too small and too dense to be bone; rather, the little trail of dots near the fragment was indicative of artifacts." Dr. Seaman said "there was a fragment-like object near the transverse process which was too dense to be bone ("fairly confident") He said the transverse process

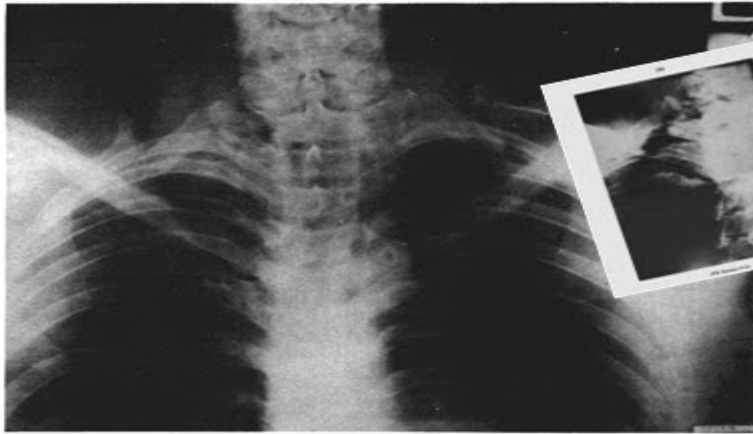
appears normal with air present (*“possibly byproduct of tracheotomy”*), calling it “highly suspicious compared with the other side.” So here we have the HSCA’s radiology consultants basically saying that they don’t know what to make of the x-rays but that it’s okay by them if the forensic pathology panel decides they want to dismiss as artifacts what might just be bullet fragments in Kennedy’s neck. They’re also giving them the wink wink nod nod that they can call the apparent wound track coming down the neck, the possibility of which is never mentioned in the report, by the way, as “air” from the tracheotomy. Naturally, the panel took them up on their offer.

Here’s the hot air belched forth by the panel to dismiss the “air” in the neck, and the unspoken possibility the bullet came down the neck: *“The panel noted a general haziness and poorly defined decrease in radiodensity in the neck tissues just above the right chest cavity in films 8 and 9, and attributed this to interstitial emphysema. This was probably related to the surgical tracheotomy or missile injury to the trachea, followed by positive pressure insufflation, with a slight escape of air into the adjacent tissues. Continued breathing by the President, possible even after the trachea had been perforated by the missile because the overlying defect was more or less sealed by the shirt and necktie, could also have caused air to leak into the adjacent tissues.”* So the air backed up into Kennedy’s neck when his shirt and necktie somehow sealed off the exit from his throat???? And, by some strange chance, this air backed up into the neck on the right side only, even though the exit on the trachea was, according to the HSCA, slightly to the left of midline? And this air went up in a line that deflected off the first rib? When we recall that radiologist Dr. David Davis told the panel that air from a skull base fracture *came down* the neck, their lame attempts to explain how this air went *up* the neck seem especially pathetic. Clearly, as revealed by their dismissal of Lipsey’s statements, they refused to acknowledge the possibility that anything could come down the neck. One wonders why this is. I mean, why not just call the air an artifact and get it over with?

Unlike Dr. McDonnell, by the way, I don’t believe the dark shadows in x-ray number 8 are an artifact. Although there is clearly more air in the tissues than in the earlier x-ray, I believe they represent the same wound track as in the pre-autopsy x-ray, just from a slightly different angle. Since the bullet creating this wound was not found, moreover, it seems possible a piece of the bullet is still in there somewhere, hidden amongst the bones.

Perhaps this mystery will be solved when Kennedy is finally exhumed.

Down the Neck?



JFK Exhibit F-30

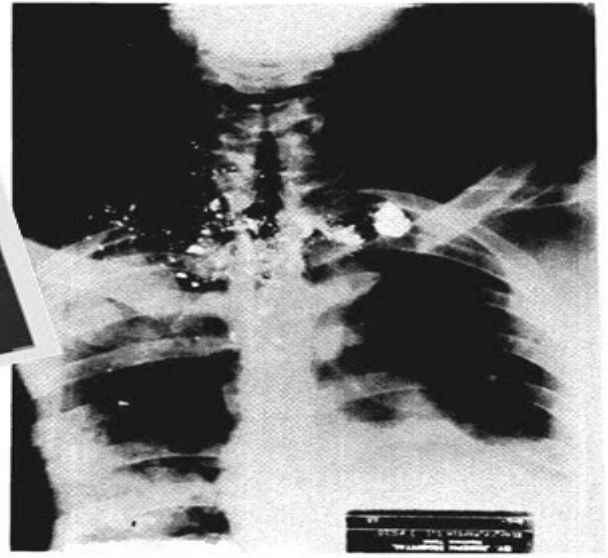


FIGURE 6.—X-ray of Dr. King after death and before autopsy.

When one compares the x-rays of Kennedy's neck used in Dr. Baden's HSCA testimony (Exhibits F-30 and F-31, at left and at center), with the x-ray of Martin Luther King's neck used in Dr. Baden's HSCA testimony (Figure 6, at right), one can see that the destruction in King's neck was far greater, and that the hunting ammunition used to kill him broke into pieces as it descended his neck. Still, the bullet passing through Kennedy's neck supposedly did so on a nearly flat trajectory, and supposedly struck no bone. So why is there ANY similarity? Did a projectile of smaller caliber than the one killing King descend Kennedy's neck without breaking up? Or are the shadows on F-31 some sort of illusion?

Down the Neck?

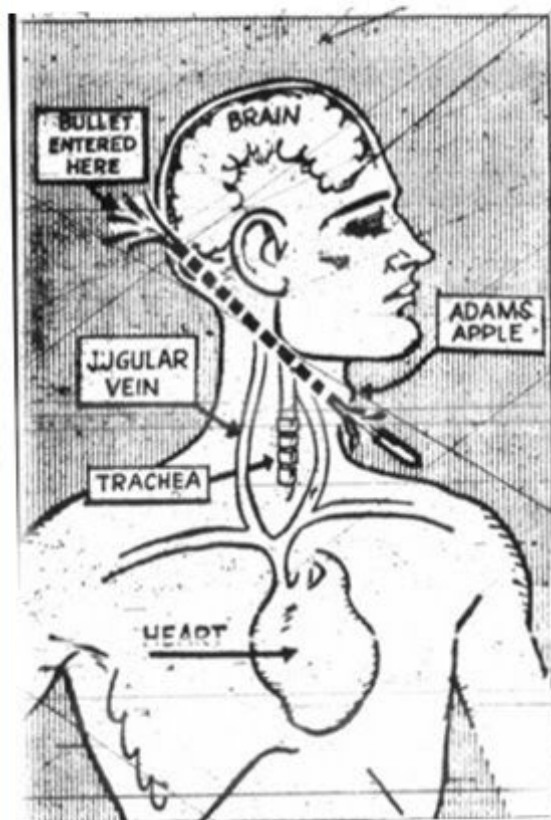
Or perhaps sooner... In 2009, after inspecting the x-rays of Martin Luther King found on the Mary Ferrell website, and entered into evidence during the HSCA hearings on his death, I realized that a comprehensive study of the x-rays of gunshot wounds to the neck might very well prove that a missile passed down Kennedy's neck, leaving air in the tissues. Although the soft-nosed bullet striking King's face and traveling down his neck left bullet fragments along the way, and although this bullet released far more energy in King's neck than the bullet presumed to have descended Kennedy's neck, the pattern and amount of air in the tissue was actually quite similar.

This suggests a bullet traveled down Kennedy's neck.

Still later in that year, I came across something else to give us hope these nagging questions may soon be resolved. With the publication of Doug Horne's Inside the Assassination Records Review Board came the dissemination of his reports on three meetings the ARRB had with three consultants. Of forensic pathologist Dr. Robert Kirschner's 4/11/96 meeting with the ARRB and study of the x-rays, Horne writes that the *"small dark areas near T-1 and T-2 were felt to be air due to some disruption...either the back wound or the skull wound. Dr. Kirschner said he would defer to the opinion of our Forensic Radiologist on this matter."*

Do you hear that, radiologists? That's history calling you to do your homework, study the x-rays, and solve this thing.

What Lies Beneath?

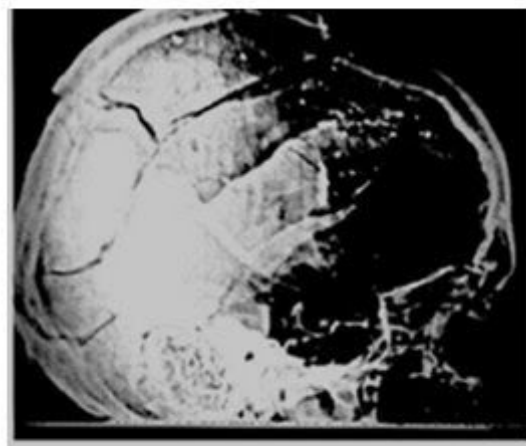


Above: the path of the lethal bullet as presented by the Boston Globe, 11-23-63. Note the 45 degree descent of the bullet, the precise angle of descent given by Dr. Humes for the bullet exiting Kennedy's throat. Was this a mere coincidence?

At right: a typical skull x-ray in which the teeth and jaw are shown. Such an x-ray would also show the first few cervical vertebrae, where a bullet striking near Kennedy's EOP and descending at 45 degrees would likely encounter his spine (as shown by the blue line).



At right: HSCA Exhibit F-53, Kennedy's right lateral x-ray, after enhancement. Is it just a coincidence that, in cropping Kennedy's jaw from the x-ray, his uppermost cervical vertebrae have also been removed?



What Lies Beneath?

And might I make a suggestion? Look at the head x-rays as well as the neck x-rays... While I long-ago rid myself of the suspicion Kennedy's teeth and jaw were cut off his published x-rays to hide a bullet in the jaw itself, I have in more recent times grown increasingly suspicious that the x-rays were cut to hide something else. When one looks at a skull x-ray complete with the teeth, and maps out a 45 degree descent from an imagined entrance by the EOP to an imagined exit on the throat, it becomes startlingly clear a bullet on this trajectory would encounter the spine around C1 or C2--the area of the spine cut off the x-rays of Kennedy's skull, at least in the HSCA's exhibits. As the uppermost vertebrae on the x-ray of Kennedy's neck, published as HSCA Exhibit F-30, appears to be C4, this means that C1--C3 are not shown on any of the published x-rays, from any angle. This seems more than a little suspicious...

In any event, the x-rays need to be inspected by someone well-versed in the radiology of gunshot wounds and open-minded to the possibility something came down the neck...

Finding someone open-minded on this point may just be the hard part.

Since I first came forward with my "theory" a bullet came down the neck, I have been subjected to insults from left and right, conspiracy theorists and single-assassin theorists alike. Some have even gone so far as to claim I dreamt up this theory all on my own (failing to realize that at least two witnesses to the autopsy shared this theory) and that no credible person could propose such a trajectory

(failing to see that a bullet's heading on this exact trajectory was the operating thesis for many of those curious about such things in the days after the assassination).

Let me clarify this last point...

As discussed, the Parkland doctors trying to save Kennedy's life thought it possible, even likely, that a bullet entering his neck blew out the back of his head. They said as much on 11-22-63.

And the science editor for the Boston Globe, Ian Menzies, writing for the next day's paper, and realizing that the shots had supposedly come from behind Kennedy, reversed the trajectory. He wrote:

"The rather meager medical details attributed to Dr. Malcolm Perry, the attending surgeon, described the bullet as entering just below the Adam's Apple and leaving by the back of the head. Since that statement Friday afternoon it is believed from determining the site of the firing that the bullet entered the back of the head first and came out just under the Adam's Apple."

A drawing depicting this trajectory accompanied Menzies article, and is shown on the slide above.

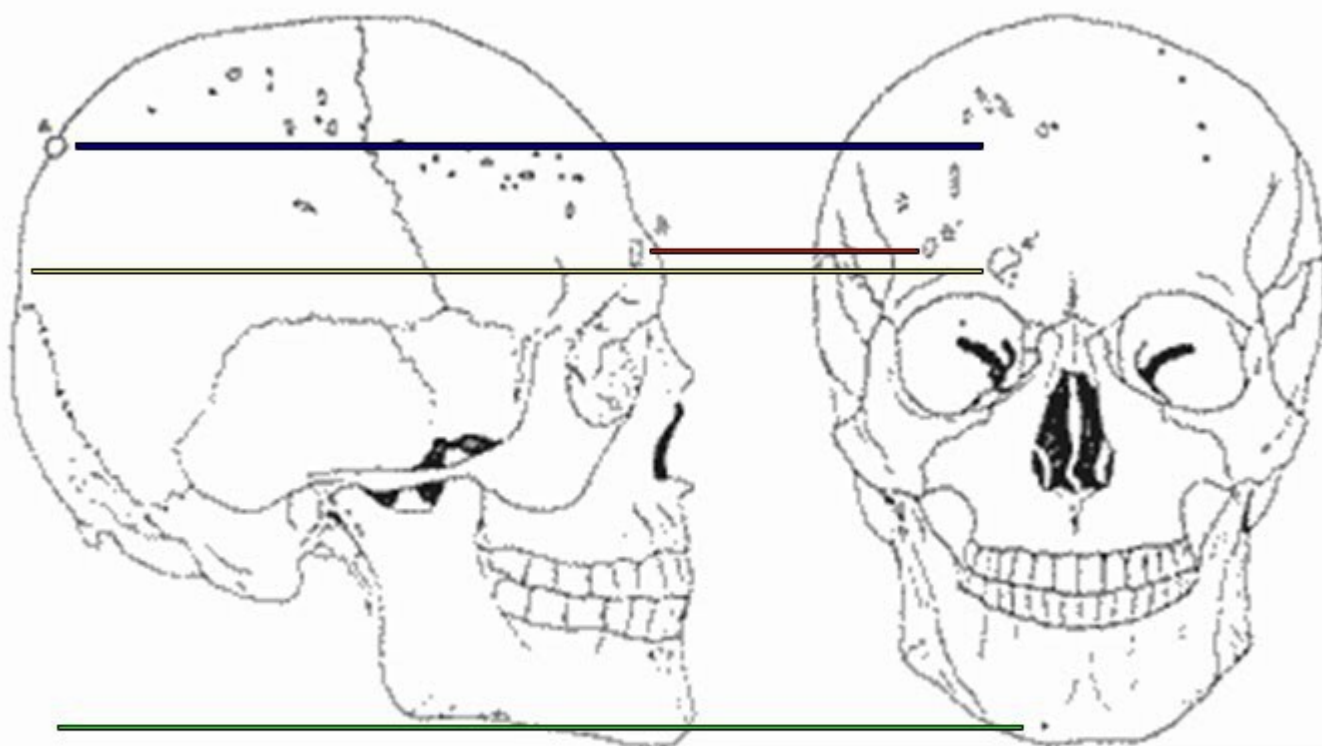
From this it seems likely that millions of Americans in the days after the shooting believed the bullet killing Kennedy had coursed down his neck from his head. Within weeks of the assassination, on December 18, in fact, the Washington Post had either forgotten or had pretended to have forgotten that the Parkland doctors' original statements had suggested otherwise, and instead reported: "one of the surgeons explained over television that he (Kennedy) was shot only once, and that a fragment from the bullet that hit his head coursed downward and emerged from the front of the throat."

As pointed out in chapter 1, moreover, the FBI and mainstream media continued to push that a bullet fragment came down Kennedy's neck for SIX MONTHS after the shooting, when the single-bullet theory explanation for the throat wound was leaked to the press. By conservative estimate, then, it's fair to say that a majority of Americans believed a bullet or bullet fragment came down the neck and that this perception only changed gradually. There never was, after all, a *medical* reason to doubt that a bullet or bullet fragment came down the neck...only a visual one--as Kennedy reached for his neck before frame 313, it seemed logical to assume his throat wound was unrelated to his head wound. That he'd had an earlier head wound was not even considered...

Thus, the major stumbling block to acceptance of the possibility raised by my study of the evidence--that a bullet came down Kennedy's neck around frame 224--is that those believing Dr. Humes, Boswell and Finck were SO incompetent and/or dishonest that they not only reported the wrong location for the head wound entrance, and were off by FOUR inches, but confirmed this location after viewing the autopsy photos on TWO separate occasions, COULD NOT POSSIBLY be so incompetent or dishonest they would miss or fail to report a hole in the base of Kennedy's skull, and a bullet's passage down his neck...

And that's really really inconsistent....and really really silly...

Look Again



In his April 1974 article in *Forensic Science*, Dr. Cyril Wecht presented two illustrations of a skull. Upon these he depicted the locations of the bullet fragments he'd observed on JFK's x-rays. These are shown above. At first glance one notices a major error—that Wecht depicted the large fragment on the back of the head above the forehead fragment on the drawing presenting the side view, but below the forehead fragment on the drawing presenting the front view. (This is demonstrated by the added blue, red, and yellow lines.) But look again. Wecht also depicts a fragment at the level of Kennedy's chin (the green line), which could be in his neck.. Could this be one of the fragments recalled by Jerrol Custer?

Look Again

Yep, in a mind-bending (not to mention tongue-twisting) change of perspective, I've found it's just silly to dismiss the possibility a bullet came down Kennedy's neck...

The silliness of such a thing is made even more clear, moreover, when one realizes that Jerrol Custer, one of the x-ray techs at Kennedy's autopsy, told the ARRB in 1997 that he recalled seeing bullet fragments in Kennedy's neck around C3--C4. While Custer was unable to find these fragments on the existing x-rays, and said he suspected he'd seen them on a now-missing A-P x-ray of the cervical spine, his claim of missing x-rays has little support. Perhaps, then, he was looking for the fragments on the wrong x-ray.

Perhaps he should have looked harder elsewhere. When one reads Custer's ARRB testimony, it's clear he pretty much skips over x-ray number 8, which shows the neck below C3-C4. Perhaps he'd been mistaken about the exact location of the fragments he remembered seeing; perhaps the fragments were instead in the region of C7 and T1, where others noted fragments. Or perhaps Custer saw the fragments exactly where he said he saw them, only on some other x-ray, like the A-P x-ray of Kennedy's skull, where Dr. Cyril Wecht claimed to see a fragment in a location corresponding to the high neck.

Yes, you read that right. It seems possible Dr. Wecht—who no one would call shy—actually noticed something of great importance in his first trip to the archives, and that this discovery has since been

overlooked. By everyone, including himself. In his April 1974 article in Forensic Science, in which he reported his conclusions after first viewing the autopsy materials, Dr. Wecht presented two illustrations of a skull, one showing the skull from the front and one from the side. Upon these skulls, the purported locations of the fragments on Kennedy's x-rays were depicted. Now, the subsequent publication of the x-rays shows that these illustrations aren't exactly accurate. And they're not even consistent.

Embarrassingly, the large fragment purportedly on the back of the skull is depicted far higher on the back of the skull in the illustration of the side view than on the illustration of the front view. Now, this may have been a simple over-sight, and a reflection that Wecht suspected the fragment near the top of the head on the lateral x-ray appeared behind the eye on the A-P x-ray, due to the A-P's being taken with the skull at an angle. But the drawing of the skull is not at such an angle, and depicting the fragment on the skull as if it were is quite misleading.

And, anyhow, that's beside the point.

No, what matters here is what Wecht depicts in the illustration of the front view: a bullet fragment on Kennedy's chin. In the legend, he writes "*There is the appearance of a very small particle on the right side of the mandible near the midline. No density corresponding to this location is seen on the lateral x-ray. Its location could be in the region of the spinal column and thus relate to the President's back wound.*"

Or not. Apparently, Wecht failed to realize that, should a fragment really be found near the spinal column at so high a location, it would almost certainly not "relate to the back wound," but to the wound low on the back of Kennedy's head.

Do you hear that, radiologists? That's history calling you YET AGAIN to do your homework, study the x-rays, and solve this thing...

Chapter 18: X-Ray Specs

A look at black and white and varying shades of gray, to see if they support or refute our new perspective

Skull X-Rays

The 'largest section of this missile'?



HSCA Exhibit F-55, the Anterior-Posterior x-ray, (A-P x-ray), which means it was taken from the front, with the x-rays heading towards the film at the back of his head.

The "next largest fragment"?



HSCA Exhibit F-52: the right lateral x-ray, which means it was taken from the right side, with the x-rays heading towards the film along his left side. Rotated 24 degrees backwards to match the A-P x-ray. (Kennedy's head was tilted back 30-35 degrees when the x-ray was taken.)

For reasons beyond my grasp, the first image in each chapter sometimes fails to appear. If there's nothing up above, don't despair; you can still see the image [here](#)

Skull X-rays

When one looks at the autopsy x-rays of President Kennedy, it is important to remember that they were made using portable equipment. This was due to the doctors' reluctance to move the President. This portable equipment was not first-rate, however, and some poor images came as a result. With that in mind, it's easy to understand how the autopsy doctors missed out on some of the details we now find so compelling. It is less easy to understand how the Clark Panel saw so much.

For starters, the Clark Panel, presumably under the influence of Dr. Russell Morgan, their one radiologist, claimed: *"a hole measuring approximately 8 mm in diameter on the outer surface of the skull and as much as 20 mm on the internal surface can be seen in profile 100 mm above the extreme occipital protuberance. The bone of the lower edge of the hole is depressed."* Well, why was the skull at the lower edge of the hole depressed? Since the Clark Panel proceeded to describe a large fragment at the back of Kennedy's skull, claiming it was *"embedded in the outer table of the skull close to the lower edge of the hole"* and the HSCA radiologists explained that this fragment, measured at exactly 6.5 mm, (the width of a bullet from Oswald's gun), was 1 cm below the depressed fracture, it follows

that the fragment was officially on a depressed section of bone as much as a centimeter below the alleged in-shoot on a non-depressed section of bone. How did this happen? Dr. Baden's testimony before the HSCA that this fragment was a piece of metal that "rubbed off from the bullet on entering the skull and was deposited at the entrance site " is thoroughly inadequate.

And why wasn't this fragment, presumably on the back of Kennedy's head, even mentioned in the autopsy report? The autopsy report mentioned two fragments removed from Kennedy's cerebral cortex but nothing about a large fragment embedded on the back of the skull. Dr. Humes testified, moreover, that they'd removed two fragments from behind the right eye. It seems possible then that they believed the bullet fragment on the back of the skull was behind Kennedy's right eye, and stopped looking for it when they found a smaller fragment. This is supported by the fact that the club-shaped fragment in the forehead readily visible on the HSCA's enhanced x-rays, which is widely believed to represent the fragment recovered at the autopsy, is basically invisible to the naked eye on the original, un-enhanced x-rays viewed by the doctors at the autopsy. The Clark Panel, tellingly, mentioned a large fragment on the back of the head but none near the forehead, specifying, in fact, that the trail of fragments in Kennedy's head ended "*just anterior to the region of the coronal suture,*" inches away from the forehead fragment.

It's reasonable to assume, then, that the failure of the doctors to mention this fragment in the autopsy report was some kind of mistake. While some have claimed the FBI's report of the autopsy proves the doctors lied about this fragment, a closer study of this report reveals this isn't true. The 11/26/63 Report of Agents Sibert and O'Neil states that "*X-rays of the brain...disclosed a path of a missile...the path of the disintegrated fragments could be observed along the right side of the skull...The largest section of this missile as portrayed by x-ray appeared to be behind the right frontal sinus...The next largest fragment appeared to be at the rear of the skull at the juncture of the skull bone.*" Those who believe the doctors lied take from this that the second fragment mentioned is a reference to the large fragment or slice found on the x-rays. I beg to differ. To me, it's more than clear that the first fragment mentioned is a reference to the "slice," and that the second fragment is a reference to a smaller fragment visible near the crown of the skull. I believe this for four reasons: 1) the small fragment near the crown is the second largest fragment visible on the x-rays; 2) it is indeed at the rear of the skull; 3) it is near a "*juncture*" in the skull, the sagittal suture along the midline, as revealed by the A-P x-ray; and 4) it is in the so called "*path of disintegrated fragments*" mentioned by the agents, while the large fragment is not.

Still, as the autopsy report failed to mention a fragment at the back of the head, and the Clark panel discussed it, the appearance was created that this fragment had been suddenly "discovered." As a result, an air of mystery developed around this fragment.

The nature of the fragment grew more mysterious with time. One of the Rockefeller Commission's consultants, Dr. Richard Lindenberg, amazingly, tried to dismiss the fragment as nothing unusual, reporting that "*the bullet became deformed when it entered the skull and lead was squeezed out of its base. One larger fragment lies outside and next to the lower margin of the entrance wound*" and then concluding "*The presence of a distinct exit wound also suggests that the bullet did not disintegrate within the cranial cavity but was only somewhat deformed. Disintegration must have taken place as it exited the skull.*" (Lindenberg thereby asserted that there was a large bullet fragment on the outside of the back of the head, but that the bullet didn't in fact break up until it exited from the front of the skull! Huh? As we've seen, this line of bull-okey was later repeated by Dr. Baden.) Some, including ballistics expert Howard Donahue, developed their own novel explanations of this fragment. Donahue believed, and convinced many others, that this fragment was the result of a ricochet.

When one reads about ricochets in such books as Vincent J. M. DiMaio's *Practical Aspects of Firearms: Ballistics and Forensic Techniques*, however, one finds that the bullets are flattened length-wise and that there is no record of them breaking into narrow cross-sections, or slices. As non-jacketed, lead bullets have been found to on occasion "pancake" on the back of men's skulls, however, some have said that the possibility remains that this "slice" on the back of Kennedy's skull was not a slice but a lead fragment of a bullet that ricocheted. (It's probably too small to be a "pancake" of a full-sized bullet.) Even this contention, however, is seriously undercut by DiMaio's research. On page 90 of *Practical Aspects* he has a chart indicating the expected level of deflection of bullets fired from various angles. According to this chart, a 6.5 mm full metal jacket bullet like those fired in Oswald's gun would have no appreciable deflection upon hitting smooth stone from 20-30 degrees above. If one is still convinced the fragment on the back of Kennedy's skull came from a ricochet then one should reflect that any shot fired from the sniper's nest towards President Kennedy and somehow ricocheting off the street to strike him would have to have magically avoided striking motorcycle officer James Chaney, riding slightly behind and to the right of the President.

Although he did not discuss this fragment in his 1978 HSCA testimony, HSCA ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan has in recent years developed his own theory about the fragment. He has concluded that, since it makes little sense for there to be a round fragment on the back of Kennedy's head, well, then there isn't one, and that what appears to be one is most probably an artifact, an error on the x-ray. (Sound familiar?) The one thing he says he's sure it isn't is a cross-section of a bullet, as he claims to have never seen a perfectly rounded piece of bullet jacket in a wound. He also shares the opinion of Dr. David Mantik (who, unlike Sturdivan, believes the fragment was deliberately added to the x-ray to make people think the shot came from behind) that the fragment seems to have greater optical density (whiteness, demonstrating thickness) when the x-rays penetrate its thin round face on the a-p x-ray, than when the x-rays penetrate it edge-wise on the lateral x-ray.

In 1979, however, the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel concluded simply that *"The small missile fragment present at the margin of the entrance wound was probably a portion of the missile jacket..."* This avoided the conclusion suggested by the circular shape of the fragment--and the panel's conclusion that the nose and tail of the bullet ended up in the front seat--that it was just what their ballistics expert now swears it is not: a slice from the middle of the bullet sheared off upon impact by the oval entrance in the cowlick, 1 cm above, and lodged between the walls of the President's skull. When one considers that the fragment is, according to the reports of the Clark Panel and HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, 6.5 mm in diameter, the same as a cross-section of the bullet, moreover, the conclusion that the fragment was a "slice" seems obvious.

That the panel was too scared to conclude what seems obvious, moreover, seems equally obvious. For, when one reflects that skull bone is made of three layers, an outer hard shell, a spongy middle, and a brittle inner lining, it makes little sense to believe that the middle of a bullet, while traveling at 1800 feet per second, would get sliced off upon entrance to the skull and end up in the spongy middle of the skull bone directly by the entrance. Since the nose of the bullet had purportedly created beveling, where through the outward dispersion of energy the hole in the brittle inner table was (according to the Clark Panel) two and a half times the size of the entrance hole on the outside of the skull, moreover, one can only wonder how this bullet slice found its way into the inner table. Did it Frisbee through space before lodging in the depressed segment of bone below? That no doctor has ever uncovered a comparable case, whereby a slice of a metal-jacketed bullet lodged between the walls of a skull near the point of impact, is not surprising. It just doesn't happen.

And so the HSCA FPP pulled the chicken switch and failed to conclude that the fragment on the back of the head was a slice of a bullet, and instead mumbled (if written words could mumble) that the fragment was "*probably*" a portion of the missile jacket, which just so happened to be circular in shape, and just so happened to be, according to their colleagues on the Clark Panel, the same width as a cross-section of the bullet. And, oh, by the way, they also concluded that this bullet, now shorn of this circular bit of jacket, continued on largely intact until "*striking the automobile, causing it to fragment into several pieces*" one of which was the nose of the bullet, and one of which was the to-all-appearances-intact base of the bullet.

In other words, they'd made clear the fragment was a slice without having the guts to say as much.

That something is wrong is further confirmed by the fact that the most visible supporters of the HSCA FPP's conclusions--Dr. Baden and single-assassin theorist John McAdams--still refuse to admit what is obvious--that their conclusions suggest the fragment was a slice from the middle of the bullet. Instead, Dr. Baden, in a high-profile appearance at the 2003 Wecht Conference, claimed that the fragment simply "*rubbed off*" the open base of the bullet. Huh? Well, at least this spurious explanation, which is in direct opposition to the findings of Baden's Pathology Panel, by the way, acknowledged that the fragment was not a slice incorporating both jacket and lead. Meanwhile, McAdams, apparently unable to process that the base of the bullet was found intact in the front section of the limousine, claimed (in a September 17, 2010 post on the alt.assassination.jfk newsgroup) that the fragment "*was almost certainly sheared off the base of the bullet.*" My God! What smoke!

More on this later.

Radiology Review



HSCA Exhibit F-55,
The A-P x-ray, with
the back of Kennedy's
head resting on the film.

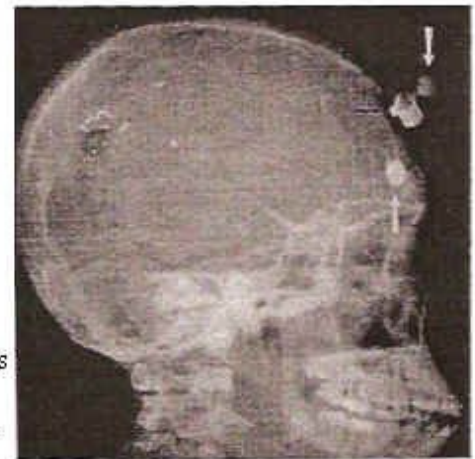


HSCA Exhibit F-52,
the right lateral x-ray,
with the right side of
Kennedy's head resting
on the film.



Note: the blackness in the right
hemisphere from air in the tissues.

At left and right:
X-rays in The
American Journal
of Roentgenology,
March, 1990



Note: small fragments
by the entrance
in the parietal bone.

Radiology Review

To properly understand the x-rays, there are a number of concepts one must keep in mind. The first and foremost concept is that an x-ray is a negative image reflecting the density of an object, and not its surface appearance. The areas of the x-ray film most exposed to x-rays are the darkest, and the areas least exposed, the whitest. Dense matter, such as bone or metal, will, of course, show up as white, while air will show up as black. A dark object or area is referred to as being radiolucent (meaning it is easily penetrable by x-rays), while a white object or area is referred to as being radio-opaque (meaning it is not easily penetrated). This established, we can begin to discuss the autopsy x-rays of President Kennedy, probably the least understood and most controversial element of the medical evidence.

We should start by killing some myths about the x-rays. After only a few days of research I found that the assertions of many conspiracy theorists, including Harrison Livingstone, that Kennedy's x-rays were inconsistent with the wounds described in the autopsy report, or even that they depicted a different person, were completely groundless. While Livingstone and others insisted that the dark shadows on Kennedy's right forehead area demonstrated that his right face was missing, I found that air in the tissues is to be expected in the x-rays of gun shot victims. In fact, I found a quite similar x-ray in the March, 1990 American Journal of Roentgenology. The caption of this x-ray reads: "*Note the pneumocephalus, calvarial fractures, and loss of brain parenchyma.*" Pneumocephalus means air in the brain cavity, calvarial fractures means fractures of the dome of the skull, and loss of brain parenchyma

means a loss of the brain's distinctive shape. Basically, this victim, as Kennedy, had had the right half of his brain turned to mush by gunfire, and had a quite similar x-ray as a result.

Should one think I'm exaggerating the obviousness of Livingstone's mistake, then one should consider that Drs Cyril Wecht and David Mantik offered a similar rebuttal to the "missing face argument" of Livingstone and others in the book *The Assassinations*, published 2003. They wrote: *"most of the x-rays in the beam are absorbed not by the bone, but rather by the brain itself. The dark area should instead have suggested to them that brain, rather than skull, was missing in this area."* While Wecht and Mantik, in turn, observed that Kennedy was laying on his back when x-rayed, and that the brain in such case would have settled to the back of his head, they also expressed doubt that the damage observed at autopsy was sufficient enough to explain why the brain had settled to such an extent. On this point, I suspect they are mistaken. The autopsy face sheet did make note that the falx cerebri, a covering of the brain, which helps keep it in place, was *"loose"* along the sagittal suture, which runs along the middle of the skull from the coronal suture on back to the occipital bone. An article in the August 2006 *Radiology* written by doctors from Dr. Finck's employer, the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, moreover, made note that *"In eight of 10 subjects with gunshot wounds through the brain, the brain was settled in the dependent portion, and pneumocephalus was present in the nondependent portion of the calvarium... The brain in the remaining two subjects was extruded from the calvarium."* In other words, the doctors found that air was apparent in the frontal area of all ten of the high-velocity gunshot victims they'd studied. As a result, I suspect the air observed on the frontal area of Kennedy's x-rays is far from suspicious.

The March 1990 *American Journal of Roentgenology* offers another x-ray of interest. This lateral x-ray (taken from the side) depicts the remnants of a bullet in a victim's forehead after traversing the skull. As predicted in Spitz and Fisher's *Medico-legal Investigation of Death*, the copper jacket failed to exit. Of even more interest, however, is that there are a number of small fragments on the outside of the skull surrounding the bullet's entrance. As the bullet killing Kennedy is purported to have entered in this same region of the skull and to have broken up to a much greater degree, it makes absolutely no sense that the bullet supposedly making its entrance in the cowlick left no fragments around the outside of the entrance. None. Of course, there are those who've convinced themselves that a full metal jacket bullet can fracture upon impact and only begin to break up as it traverses the skull. That's like saying you can explode an egg through a window without getting any yolk on the window. No, it's worse than that. It's like saying you can explode an egg through a window and leave an egg-shaped hole in the glass, without getting any yolk, egg white, or shell on the window.

A second look at this lateral x-ray reveals that it is strikingly dissimilar to Kennedy's x-ray in at least one other way. While Kennedy's lateral x-ray is black towards the front and whitest towards the back, the x-ray in the periodical is, outside the bullet fragments, whitest where almost all other skull x-rays are whitest, the petrous bone sitting at the base of the skull.

Optical Density Comparison



HSCA Exhibit F-297:
pre-mortem x-ray of President Kennedy.



HSCA Exhibit F-52:
post-mortem x-ray of President Kennedy.



Three x-rays of the same skull exposed at 25, 50, and 100 milliamperes-seconds. Source: Medical Radiographic Technic.

Optical Density Comparison

When one compares Kennedy's lateral autopsy x-ray to other x-rays of its time period, including x-rays taken of his own skull before his death, one can see that something is indeed odd. The contrast between its white areas and dark areas is much greater than normal. The strange appearance of this x-ray, in fact, led Dr. David Mantik to conclude this x-ray has been altered.

Now, before one gets too excited about this, one should know that virtually every radiologist to comment on the x-rays, including those who believe the x-rays demonstrate the likelihood Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy, disagree with this conclusion. In Anthony Summers' December 2001 *Vanity Fair* article *The Ghosts of November*, for example, he cited Radiologist Dr. Randy Robertson, his colleague Patrick Burnett and Neuroanatomist Dr. Joseph Riley, among those who contend that the x-rays have NOT been tampered with. There is no comparable list of radiologists expressing the opposite opinion, and confirming Mantik's conclusions.

Still, Mantik's observations regarding the extreme contrast of the x-rays are valid and deserve some discussion.

To that end, we need to increase our understanding of how x-rays are created, and how Kennedy's x-rays could be so inferior. Dr. John Ebersole, the autopsy radiologist, gave a partial explanation to the HSCA when he told them *"I would like to explain one thing. These films, these x-rays were taken solely for the purpose of finding what at that time was thought to be a bullet that had entered the body and had not exited. If we were looking for fine bone detail, the type of diagnostic exquisite detail we want in life, we could have taken the x-rays in the x-ray department, made the films there, but we felt that the portable x ray equipment was adequate for the purpose; i.e., locating a metallic fragment."*

The portable x-ray equipment used at Bethesda was reportedly an old General Electric 250. The 1943 guidebook *Medical Radiographic Technique* by General Electric's Technical Services Division explains

"Defining contrast as the degree of difference in density between adjacent areas on the film, it is not difficult to recognize that gross-overexposure or under-exposure will affect this difference." It then offers: *"Technics should not be used to produce maximum contrast, but rather technics which will give satisfactory contrast for maximum visibility of structure."* The book thereby presents three x-rays of a human skull: one created with a short exposure that is too light; one created with a longer exposure that has an appropriate amount of contrast; and one created with an even longer exposure that is too dark.

It seems clear from looking at these x-rays and comparing them to Kennedy's that his x-ray was over-exposed. But it's also clear that something's wrong, as the contrast is far greater in Kennedy's over-exposed x-ray than in the examples in the book. The intensity of the whiteness towards the back of Kennedy's head is so great, in fact, that it appears few x-rays ever penetrated the bone in this location. This virgin whiteness, in turn, leads the solid bone around it to look grey, while forcing the areas without solid bone, the areas with air in the tissues, to look black.

Since the x-ray equipment had a chart which told the x-ray techs, Custer and Reed, how long to expose an image, based on the measurements of the object being x-rayed, one wonders how they could have screwed it up so badly. A partial excuse could be related to Reed's admission that, in order to prevent his having to re-do his work should there have been a mix-up developing the x-rays, he exposed two x-ray films at the same time, and boosted the energy level to compensate.

This is not just my assumption. On page 96, Medical Radiographic Technic shows three chest x-rays taken with different energy settings (with peaks of 50, 60, and 80 kilovolts). As you might guess, they show *"excessive," "satisfactory,"* and *"insufficient contrast,"* respectively. The book then claims *"Of the various factors affecting density and contrast in the radiograph, that most widely used is the x-ray tube voltage."* This, then, leads me to suspect that an improper combination of exposure time and energy setting caused the strange appearance of Kennedy's skull x-rays.

The thought also occurs that the unique structure of the skull, in which a fairly solid organ, the brain, is encased inside relatively thin layers of bone, only exacerbated the problems related to Custer and Reed's taking two x-rays at once.

I found confirmation for this thought in Manual of Roentgenological Technique, a textbook published in 1947. It notes that *"The more nearly the density of the part examined approaches that of the surrounding tissues, the more precisely must the kilovoltage or penetrability of the rays be selected in order to give proper differentiation of the parts. While higher kilovoltage produces greater penetration, lower kilovoltage values produce a greater degree of contrast in the structure of varying density. Over-penetrated roentgenograms present a grey lack of contrast and under-penetrated films show a chalky increase of contrast which is equally objectionable."* It seems possible from this that Kennedy's skull x-rays were both under-penetrated and over-exposed, and that this unfortunate combination led to their strange appearance. Perhaps Reed had failed to properly set the energy level. Perhaps, should one study numerous x-rays made with similar equipment, at various settings, one would find the peculiar appearance of Kennedy's x-rays not so peculiar at all.

This possibility is further supported by a book I picked up at a thrift store, almost as a joke. Textbook of Veterinary Diagnostic Radiology (1986) relates: *"The degree of blackening of the x-ray film is measured in terms of optical density. Optical density and film blackness are directly related...Of particular importance in patient radiography is the fact that x-rays are not absorbed homogeneously by the body; some tissues absorb x-rays more efficiently than others. This phenomenon is called differential absorption...it is important to recognize that the degree of differential absorption of x-rays by the patient is a function of x-ray energy. As the energy of x-rays increases, so does their penetrability. Thus, when higher energy x-rays are used, the lesser is the degree of differential absorption by the patient. When lower energy x-rays are used there is more difference between the*

radiopacity of bone and soft tissue."

And should one think my quoting a book on veterinary radiology inappropriate, one should know that I've confirmed this point in more appropriate textbooks as well. Limited Radiography (1999), for example, holds that:

"A diagnostic quality radiograph should have adequate density (blackness), good contrast (range of gray shades), clear recorded detail (definition and resolution), and no visual distortion or magnification (size and shape) of the anatomy being examined... Production of the visible radiographic image is controlled by the following exposure factors: milliamperage, kilovoltage peak, and source-to-image distance... The two major photographic factors of the image are 1) density and 2) contrast. Density is seen as the overall blackness of the total image. Density is controlled by milliamperage-seconds... The density of the radiograph is directly proportional to the amount of milliamperage used for exposure and length of time the exposure is delivered (referred to as milliamperage-seconds setting)...Density is directly proportional to milliamperage and time... Distance, or source-to-image distance has a significant influence on density... Simply put, the radiation beam diverges and proceeds in a straight path... The area covered becomes increasingly larger with lessened intensity as the beam of radiation travels a greater distance from the source... Contrast is the second major photographic factor... Radiographic contrast results from the distribution of black metallic silver in the film emulsion and is directly controlled by the penetrating effects of kilovoltage. Radiographic contrast is visualized in the image as gray tones or degrees of gray that reveal the differences between body organs or tissues. Contrast enhances information... Contrast is controlled by the kilovoltage or, more technically, the quality of energy or wavelength (short or long)... A variety of long and short wavelengths (low and high energies) will demonstrate a range of shades from black to gray to white (gray tones) and their density differences. The differences are easily seen in the structures visible in the radiographic image... Radiographic contrast is generally referred to as the overall contrast seen in the image. It includes long-scale (more gray tones) contrast and short-scale (more black and white tones) contrast. Radiation of higher energy (shorter wave-length), 70 kilovoltage peak or more, will produce long-scale contrast with many gray tones... If there are large differences in the thickness of body structures, e.g., bone vs. soft tissue, or if 70 kilovoltage and lower is used, short-scale contrast with more pronounced black and white tones will be produced... the degree of density is proportionate to the milliamperage-seconds...By comparison, contrast is controlled by kilovoltage peak... It should be noted that although kilovoltage peak and milliamperage seconds have an interactive effect in increasing or decreasing contrast and density respectively, they may not be interchanged to compensate for the lack of one or the other... if structures are underpenetrated due to a lack of kilovoltage peak, no amount of milliamperage-seconds increase will improve the penetration; added milliamperage-seconds will only add density... Conversely, if an image is underexposed and lacks density, milliamperage-seconds must be added; kilovoltage peak would add only scattered radiation and thus cause the image to look gray and flat without clarity."

It seems quite possible, then, that Kennedy's x-rays were under-penetrated and overexposed, and that this caused their unusual appearance. And yet... Dr. Mantik, who is by trade a radiation oncologist, and not a radiologist, has failed to address the possibility. In a quick study of his statements on the the x-rays online and in books, I found a reference to his comparing the x-rays to one of Kennedy while alive, to those of his own patients, and to 19 x-rays of gunshot wounds to the head, courtesy Dr. Doug DeSalles. (Curiously, in his summary of Mantik's studies in his book Inside the ARRB, Doug Horne reports this last number as 9.) In all Mantik's writings, however, I found no reference to his ever attempting a comparison to x-rays taken with the equipment used on November 22, 1963, at various settings. While Mantik presents photos of Kennedy's computer-enhanced x-rays to make his claim there's too much contrast, furthermore, he fails to tell his audience that these x-rays were computer-

enhanced for the HSCA. In fact, in looking back through a half dozen or so of Mantik's writings and appearances, I've been unable to find a confirmation that the Optical Density measurements he finds so incriminating were those of the original x-rays, as opposed to the computer-enhanced x-rays shown his audience.

This, then, suggests the additional possibility that the unusual optical density measurements so decried by Mantik stem not from the x-rays having been faked, as he concludes, but from the computer-enhancement performed for the HSCA. As a consequence, then, of both Dr. Mantik's failure to address the possibility the x-rays were improperly created, and his failure to acknowledge that the x-rays he presents have been computer-enhanced, I must admit that I, as fellow buffs Dr.s Robertson, Riley, and, as I've been led to believe, Wecht, find Mantik's conclusion the x-rays have been altered premature, and unconvincing.

Memo to Mantik

In June 2011, on the CTKA website, Dr. Mantik responded to my criticisms and analysis. He addressed my doubts about the significance of his OD measurements in his usual dismissive manner. After asking himself if he'd used the enhanced x-rays for the OD measurements, he responded *"No--definitely not. This is an eccentric charge by Speer."* He reacts, of course, as though I'd "charged" him with using the enhanced prints for his measurements when, as you've just read, I merely claimed his behavior "suggested the possibility." He then attempted to explain his behavior. He asserted that he'd always printed the enhanced prints when discussing the unenhanced x-rays *"because the prints of the unenhanced x-rays do not accurately portray the extant x-rays"* and that *"In print format, the enhanced x-rays are closer in image content to the extant x-rays."*

Yes, you read that right. He admitted that his misrepresentation of the enhanced x-rays as the x-rays he'd studied and measured was not only not accidental, but premeditated. He then defended his actions with an equally surprising claim. He insisted *"Given a choice of viewing the extant x-rays or the enhanced prints, most experts would prefer to see the x-rays. The enhanced prints were produced primarily because they more accurately reflect the x-ray images (than do the unenhanced prints)."* Yes. He went there. While, earlier in his article, he'd offered *"The HSCA, of course, enhanced the X-rays, but I suspect that was mostly to obtain useful prints for publication. (Printing changes the contrast),"* he now committed himself. To support his claim the prints of the enhanced x-rays more accurately depict the original x-rays than do prints of the originals, he had actually claimed that's why they were created.

Well, this was nonsense. Mantik offered no support for this claim, and none is readily available. In his report on the x-rays, in Addendum C to the report of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, HSCA Radiology consultant Dr. G.M. McDonnel related that he'd first viewed the x-rays (radiographs) on March 7, 1978, and that afterward *"At my suggestion portions of these radiographs were digitized and enhanced for further observation and analysis."* After presenting his findings, moreover, McDonnel concluded *"The digitized and enhanced images produced by Aerospace Corporation permitted definitive observation and analysis of the original radiographs. Further, enhancement permitted analysis or elimination of artifacts on the images. The most vivid result is the clear definition of the multiple fractures radiating from the area of the entrance of the penetrating missile in the right occipital bone."*

That's right. McDonnel stressed that the enhanced x-rays were created to help him in his analysis, and that, furthermore, they were of help. He said nothing about how the enhanced x-rays better reflected the originals when printed, or that enhancement of the x-rays could be of help when publishing the report of the pathology panel (for the handful of people who would ever see it prior to its availability on the internet). Mantik's suggestion of as much is thus exposed as smoke. While he, in his 2011 response to

my criticisms, expressed dismay that I'd failed to ask him if he'd measured the enhanced or unenhanced x-rays, his response justifies my reason for not doing so. I hate being lied to, or being fed such nonsense that it *feels* like I'm being told a lie.

My distrust of Mantik, unfortunately, only grows stronger. In September 2011, while browsing through the Harold Weisberg Archive, I came across Authenticity of the JFK Autopsy X-rays, a June 1995 essay by Mantik in which he reversed himself (if only briefly) and argued that the x-rays in the archives were in fact unaltered. Well, near the end of this essay is a revealing passage...quite revealing, in my opinion. In this passage, Mantik notes that the x-ray tech at Kennedy's autopsy, Jerrol Custer, had been shown Kennedy's x-rays, and had said that they do not look authentic. He then offers *"I suspect that what troubles him is the remarkable difference in contrast between the prints and the original X-rays. I know that several of us, who had repeatedly viewed only prints of the X-rays, have been somewhat surprised, when first viewing the X-rays, at the lesser degree of contrast seen there."*

Well, I'll be. In 1988, KRON broadcast an interview of Custer, in which he was shown prints of the x-rays of Kennedy's skull, and claimed they did not match his recollections. Custer claimed it was the substance of the x-ray that was the problem, and said nothing of the contrast. He was, tellingly, shown the enhanced prints of the x-rays. In 1993, in his book *The Killing of a President*, moreover, Robert Groden published the largest and clearest images of the x-rays yet published, and reported: *"Technician Jerrol Custer took the X-ray pictures on the night of the autopsy. These X-rays, purportedly of the President's head, do not depict the true nature of the President's wounds. Custer has stated that the pictures shown here are not the x-rays he took that night."* These were, once again, the enhanced prints. There is no evidence that Custer had, by 1995, ever been shown the unenhanced prints of the x-rays.

Now, if the enhanced prints look more like the originals than the unenhanced prints, as Mantik now claims, why would he have claimed in 1995 that Custer's confusion stemmed from the *"remarkable difference in contrast"* between the prints seen by Custer and the originals? Had Mantik incorrectly assumed that Custer had exclusively been shown unenhanced prints?

Well, no, that doesn't work either. In 1995, Mantik claimed that people viewing the unenhanced original x-rays were surprised by their *"lesser degree of contrast"* than the prints available to the public. This suggests--assuming, of course, that the prints he is referring to are the unenhanced prints--that the printing of these x-rays had increased their contrast. Well, in 2011, he turned around and claimed that he believed the HSCA had enhanced the prints in order *"to obtain useful prints for publication,"* and that, as a result, these prints looked more like the unenhanced originals than prints of the unenhanced originals. Yikes. For him to be consistent, then, he'd have to believe that the "enhancement" of the x-rays *reduced the contrast* of the x-rays, so that their appearance once printed more closely conformed to the appearance of the original x-rays as viewed with the naked eye.

And that makes no sense...

This leads me to suspect, then, that, when Mantik wrote *"I know that several of us, who had repeatedly viewed only prints of the X-rays, have been somewhat surprised, when first viewing the X-rays, at the lesser degree of contrast seen there"* that the prints he had up until that time viewed repeatedly had been the enhanced prints published in conspiracy books, and not the unenhanced prints published in the HSCA report. Mantik had been studying the x-rays for years, and had, apparently, not realized that the x-rays in the books that looked inauthentic were computer-enhancements performed for the HSCA, and not prints of the originals.

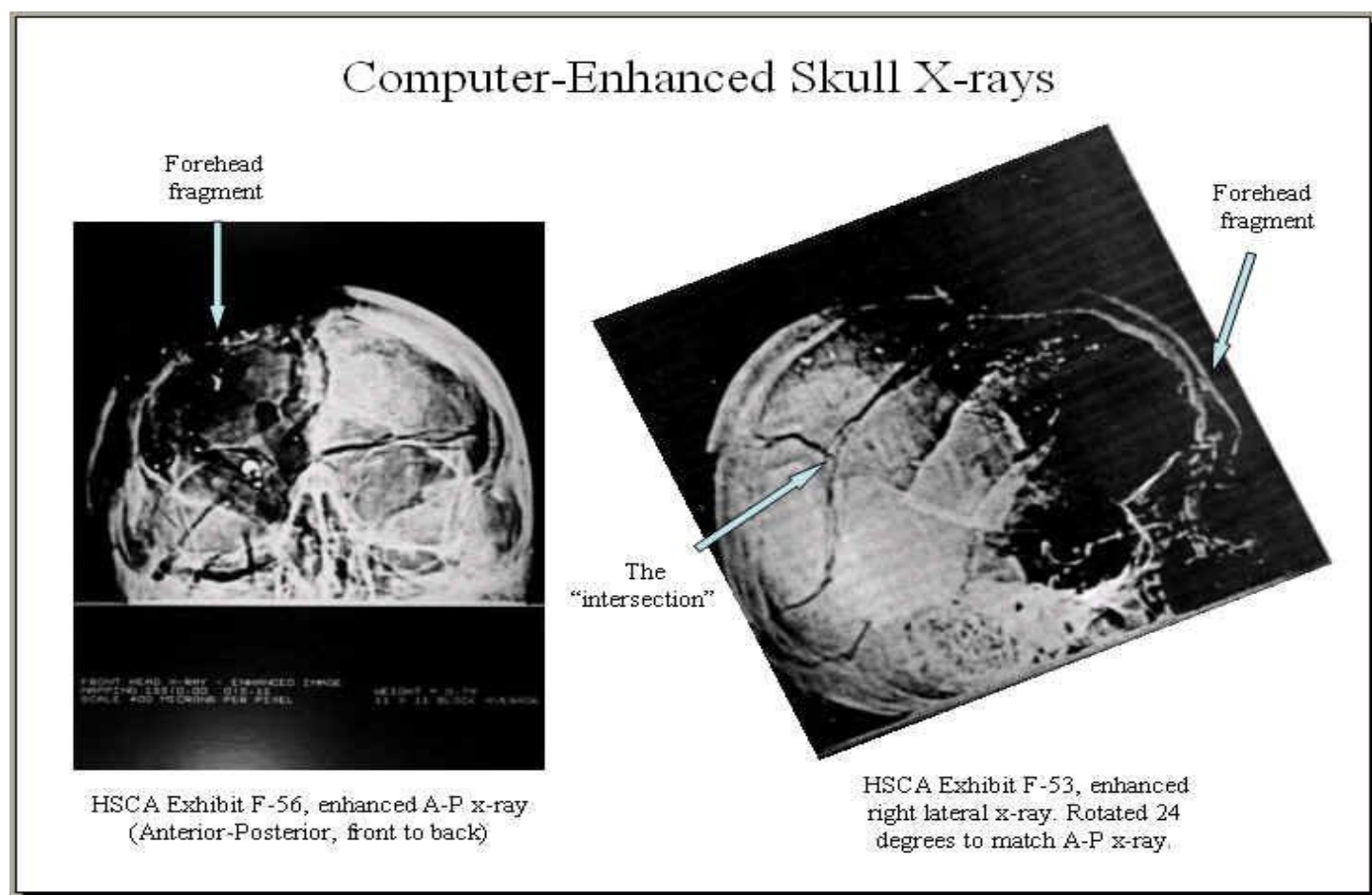
Now, to be honest, the concept of "contrast" is a confusing one, and the word "contrast" is often used in contradictory ways. One radiologist e-mailed some years back after reading an earlier version of this chapter. He objected to my use of the word "contrast." He said *"To me 'contrast' means the ability to distinguish things close together in physical density and this happens in the sweet spot of the film"*

where there are lots of shades of gray. The sweet spot is not very wide and has to be placed on the area of interest. For example the area of the lateral view of the skull where the brain has been blown or sucked out is overexposed in my terminology (while the exposure toward the rear looks OK) and all the shades of gray have been wiped out up front and I would never say that view had too much contrast..."

Well, this is interesting. I had used the word "contrast" in order to be consistent with the General Electric guidebook. Perhaps, then, Mantik has at one time or another shared this radiologist's interpretation of the word "contrast." If so, however, wouldn't he have insisted from the beginning that the original x-rays showed a greater degree of "contrast" (shades of gray) than the published prints, instead of the opposite?

Yes, there's no getting around it. In his attempt to explain his repeated misrepresentation of the enhanced x-rays as the x-rays he'd measured, Mantik has either said something that simply isn't true or "enhanced" the truth by telling a big whopping lie.

Now, let's take a look at these "enhanced" x-rays...



Computer-Enhanced X-rays

When one looks at the computer-enhanced prints of the x-rays released by the HSCA (or at least the photos published of these prints), one comes to a quick realization. There is a bullet fragment visible on both the AP x-ray and lateral x-ray, in the President's forehead, above his right frontal sinus. There were two fragments removed at autopsy, one large one from behind the right frontal sinus, and a smaller one nearby. Well, if this is the larger fragment, where's the smaller one? And, if this is that fragment, what

of the even larger fragment seen on the A-P x-ray? In the sections above, I've surmised that the doctors went looking for that fragment, later determined to be on the back of Kennedy's head, and stopped when they found this club-shaped fragment in his forehead. Well, the enhanced x-rays show the two fragments to have been of radically different proportions. Could they really have been that mistaken? Or is there a better explanation?

When one reads the reports of the HSCA's radiology consultants, Dr.s McDonnell and Davis, included in Vol. 7 of the HSCA's report, one finds even more to ponder. Much of what they said fails to support the conclusions of the forensic pathology panel. In fact, if one reads closely, one can find substantive support for our operating premise that a bullet broke up on the outside of Kennedy's skull above his ear.

First of all, neither of the two doctors mentioned the large entrance hole at the back of the head described by the Clark Panel. Second of all, Dr. David Davis said he believed the fractures at the back of Kennedy's skull emanated not from the HSCA's in-shoot but from the bullet slice itself. Since it simply makes no sense for a bullet to enter half-way into a skull, break-up, and have a slice from its middle lodge within its in-shoot, (particularly as the tail of the bullet struck the windshield only a few feet from its nose), a better explanation is needed. Third, when Dr. Davis discussed what he proposed was a trail of fragments stretching from a location some 6 centimeters above and in front of the supposed entrance wound in the cowlick along the mid-line of the brain towards the President's forehead, he admitted that the largest of this supposed trail of fragments (the one high up near the crown of his head) appeared to be "*outside the intracranial space.*" This makes absolutely no sense if the large defect was solely an exit! I mean, how could bullet fragments speeding through a skull at hundreds of feet per second reverse themselves and attach themselves to the outside of the skull at a location inches back towards the entrance? Dr. Davis himself admitted: "*It is impossible to work this out entirely.*" That this fragment didn't come as a result of the impact at the in-shoot is refuted by the small size of the entrance wound, which would have been truly impossible if the bullet had exploded in half on the outside of the skull at that location. Furthermore, since the reported trajectory of these fragments within the brain doesn't follow the HSCA's trajectory of the dissolving bullet, which they believed headed 18 degrees left to right within the skull and exited en masse (in order to create the large skull fractures apparent near the temple), it's clear a better explanation is needed here as well.

Although not mentioned by the radiologists, the x-rays give us yet another reason to believe a bullet impacted on the side of Kennedy's head, above his ear. Take a close look at the lateral x-ray above. A fracture line running from the area of the supposed in-shoot in the cowlick confirms something happened in that area; this fracture line, however, comes to a complete stop after intersecting a fracture line coming from the large defect near the temple.

Well, what's the significance of this, you might ask? Well, only that the large defect preceded whatever occurred near the cowlick. Don't believe me? Then one should consider this passage by Dr.s James Messmer and B.G. Brogdon in chapter 18 of *A Radiologic Atlas of Abuse, Torture, Terrorism, and Inflicted Trauma* (2003): "*Determination of entrance and exit wounds in the skull is assisted by the rule of intersecting fractures, which states that a linear fracture from an earlier blow will stop propagation of a fracture from a second blow.*"

And should that not be clear, one should also consider this passage from *Forensic Neuropathology: A Practical Review of the Fundamentals* (2007): "*Cranial gunshot wounds produce primary (and sometimes secondary) radiating gunshot wounds that extend from the entrance wound outward. It has been established that these radiating fracture lines develop faster, and thus are already present, when a*

bullet exits the skull. Radiating fracture lines from the exit will, therefore, stop at the preexisting fracture lines caused by the entrance wound, allowing the entrance and exit wounds to be distinguished by this skull fracture pattern irrespective of beveling characteristics of the entrance and exit wounds."

When one studies other textbooks and forensics journals, moreover, one finds that the belief fractures stop when they encounter pre-existing fractures dates back to 1903, when first proposed by a German pathologist named Puppe. Puppe's Rule, as it has come to be known, has been accepted ever since. There is nothing controversial about it. The Oxford Handbook of Forensic Medicine, 2011, notes *"Puppe's Rule is that fracture lines resulting from the second injury will not cross those from the first, thereby helping identification of which fracture occurred first. The rule has been recently applied to analysis of radial fracture lines caused by multiple bullet wounds to the head."* And yet, not one of the Clark Panel, Rockefeller Commission, and HSCA's radiology consultants mentioned that, "Oh yeah, the x-rays demonstrate that Kennedy's supposed exit wound by his temple pre-existed his supposed entrance wound in the cowlick."

Now, that's not to say that no one noticed. According to notes taken by Doug Horne, Dr. Douglas Ubelaker, the forensic anthropologist consulted by the ARRB in 1996, *"observed that one fracture line occurred prior to the other, because the longer one stopped the shorter one."* While Horne's notes failed to reveal which lines intersected, and which came first, one look at the x-ray makes this pretty obvious.

Clearly, a better explanation is needed!!

So here it comes... Dr. Donald W. Marrion, in 1999's Traumatic Brain Injury, describes: *"In some instances, a bullet disintegrates when it hits the skull at an angle, sending multiple fragments into the scalp and thereby having the appearance of a shotgun wound on plain skull radiographs."* If we assume Kennedy was struck in such a manner at frame 313 of the Zapruder film, of course, it correlates Dr. Davis' observation that the fragments appeared to be in the scalp with Dr. William Kemp Clark's observation and testimony that Kennedy's large head wound appeared to be a tangential wound. It appeared to be because it was.

That Dr. Davis was agreeable to this conclusion is confirmed by a 12-22-78 letter written to the HSCA. In response to their question of whether the x-rays were consistent with a shot being fired from the grassy knoll, he wrote: *"the only possible occurrence would have required President Kennedy's head to have been tilted to the left side, that is, with the right ear elevated and the left depressed...in order to justify our potential explanation that a tangential blow might have been struck to the right top of Mr. Kennedy's skull at about the same time the posterior missile entered."* Dr. Davis then haggled about the exact trajectory needed for this to work, and concluded *"If the films of Mr. Kennedy's head at the time of the impact do not show such a tilt, I think that it is completely reasonable to assume that there was no possible head wound from the right side."* Dr. Davis had thereby confirmed that his problem with such a shot did not come from his study of the x-rays, but from the assassination films, and that the x-rays were completely consistent with the large defect's having been created by a tangential blow.

Those studying the x-rays at autopsy, in fact, suspected such a blow. On 3-11-78, the radiologist at the autopsy, Dr. John Ebersole, in testimony originally slated to be sealed for fifty years, discussed his opinions regarding the fatal head shot with the HSCA medical panel. He told them: *"In my opinion it would have come from the side...I would say on the basis of those x rays and x rays only one might say one would have to estimate there that the wound of entrance was somewhere to the side or to the posterior quadrant."* Such a wound is most assuredly not the small wound on the back of the head by

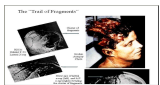
the EOP.

There were others at the autopsy who shared this assessment. When discussing the back of the head in the lateral x-ray, radiology tech Jerrol Custer testified before the ARRB *"you see the fragmentation, how it starts to get larger and larger and larger...The brain has been pushed back, and it pops the skull out."* When asked then if this meant the trauma began at the front and moved towards the back of the head, Custer clarified *"Yes, absolutely."* An HSCA report on an interview with Dr. Humes' and Dr. Boswell's assistant at the autopsy, James Curtis Jenkins, reflects a similar opinion: *"He said the wound to the head entered the top rear quadrant from the front side."*

Jenkins would later clarify his thoughts. As recounted in High Treason 2, in 1990, he told Harrison Livingstone that *"just above the right ear there was some discoloration of the skull cavity with the bone area being gray and there was some speculation that it might be lead."* When then asked by Livingstone if this might have been an entrance, he replied: *"Yes, and the opening and the way the bone was damaged behind the head (it) would have definitely been a type of exit wound."* In an interview with William Law, published in Law's book In the Eye of History (2005), moreover, Jenkins stood by this assessment. About Humes and Boswell, he related *"They were speculating about a lot of things."* When asked about what, he continued *"Well, about a hole actually above the right ear. The speculation was that it had some gray substance on it and of course the speculation at that point in time that it was from a bullet."* When asked if they came to a conclusion regarding this hole, he responded *"No, I think--from my assumption--that it was an entry wound."* He then acknowledged that *"Later on I was told there was a wound below the nuchal line on the back of Kennedy's head"* and that even so *"I came out of the autopsy that night and I was sure that the bullet entered the right side of the head and exited in this area"* (at which point he pointed above his right ear).

As none of these men noted a separate entrance and exit for the large head wound they observed, it seems clear they were describing a tangential wound impacting on the side of Kennedy's head at the supposed exit defect. It follows then from this that they were either unaware of the small entrance wound near the EOP discussed in the autopsy report or of the impression the small entrance wound near the EOP discovered at the autopsy did not correlate with the large defect more readily observed at the top of the head, and that there was more than one head wound.

While undoubtedly problematic for the single-assassin conclusion, the assumption that the shot striking Kennedy at frame 313 was a tangential blow nevertheless makes sense out of all sorts of nonsense. It explains why the President's skull fragments shot upward from above and forward of Kennedy's ear, but not from the purported entrance in the hairline, and why the four major scalp lacerations described in the autopsy report all began at the large defect, and none at the supposed entrance. It removes the messy proposition that the bullet traversing Kennedy's skull changed directions upon exit before striking the windshield, and replaces it with the far more likely assumption that the bullet was deflected after breaking up on Kennedy's skull, and then struck the windshield. It explains, moreover, why the crumpled nose of this bullet was found to have been covered with human skin, a recently-discovered fact that is completely at odds with the official theory that this bullet entered through a small hole in the back of Kennedy's head and tumbled through 4 inches of brain matter.



The "Trail of Fragments"

Should one still not be convinced, then perhaps one should look at the scalp fragments more closely. Such an inspection will reveal that the bullet fragments purportedly leading across the brain project into the upper right quadrant of the brain, an area of the brain the doctors claimed was missing. Dr. Humes, we should recall, had testified before the Warren Commission that *"The greatest loss of brain substance was particularly in the parietal lobe, which is the major portion of the right cerebral hemisphere"* and that *"The base of the laceration was situated approximately 4.5 cm. below the vertex."* More to the point, Dr. Boswell had testified: *"the top of his head was blown off. A 14-centimeter segment of it was blown off. And it was on the right side of his brain that the brain was missing."* That the supposed trail of fragments on the x-rays were not even in the brain, and appeared "to be suspended in midair," moreover, was proposed by Dr. Mantik long before I, and reported in Harrison Livingstone's 1993 book *Killing the Truth*. Got to give credit where credit is due.

When one looks real close, furthermore, it appears that some of the fragments appear to be where even skull is missing. Since the ballistics expert at the autopsy, Dr. Finck, reported to his superiors in the Army that *"many metallic fragments were seen on x-ray films, but only two were recovered,"* and that his post-autopsy examination of the removed brain revealed no metallic fragments, only bone fragments, it seems reasonable to assume that the bulk of these bullet fragments were in the President's scalp or hair, and not within his skull. As the doctors, under the reasonable impression the President was slated for an open-casket funeral, were understandably reluctant to shave his head, and as Dr. Finck, the one member of the autopsy team with experience with bullet wounds, arrived after the removal of the brain, it seems reasonable as well to assume that Humes and Boswell simply peeled back Kennedy's scalp without inspecting it, and then rushed through the unappetizing business of searching the President's skull for bullet fragments. When Humes' testified about this inspection before the Warren Commission, after all, he admitted that: *"in this area of the large defect we did not encounter any of these minute particles. I might say at this time that the x-ray pictures which were made would have a tendency to magnify these minute fragments somewhat in size and we were not too surprised in not being able to find the tiny fragments depicted in the x-ray."* So, NO particles from the supposed "trail of fragments" were found on the interior of the skull near the supposed exit.

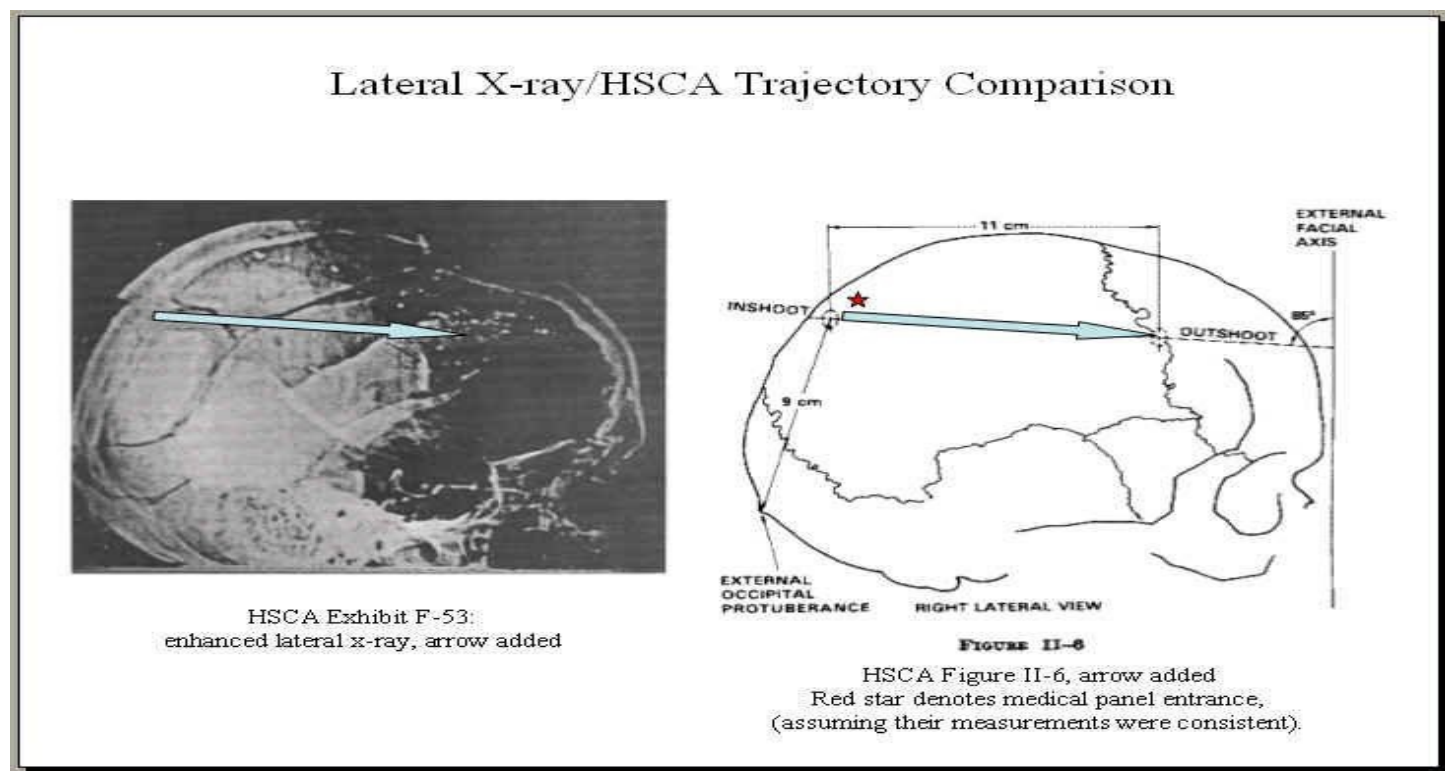
Unfortunately, Dr. Humes' inability to find these fragments failed to prevent him from citing them as support for his theories. In the autopsy report Humes claimed that a bullet entering near the hairline deposited *"minute particles along its path"* from the entrance near the EOP to the right forehead. The Clark Panel and HSCA both claimed this same trail of fragments, when projected backwards, led to the in-shoot in the cowlick. In fact, virtually all of the fragments are well above both Humes' proposed path and the path first proposed by the Clark Panel. (When asked about this by the Rockefeller Commission, Clark Panel leader Russell Fisher's co-author and pal Dr. Werner Spitz explained that the right side of the skull was displaced on the x-rays and that *"if this were all placed back in its original location...then that dispersion of metal fragments which indicates the wound track comes into perfect alignment..."* Yeah, okay. Funny how the rest of the x-ray seemed in perfect alignment, and how only the top inch or two of the right side of the skull was lifted an inch or two compared to the left side...)

Anyhow, the supposed "trail" of fragments makes little sense when one notes that the energy and particles of a disintegrating bullet are believed to fan out in a cone. Since the HSCA radiology consultant Dr. David Davis acknowledged in his report that *"the metallic fragment pattern that is present from some of the metallic fragments located superiorly in the region of the parietal bone, or at least projecting on the parietal bone, are actually in the scalp,"* we have good reason to believe a bullet broke up on the outside of the skull at a point further forward than the cowlick. In support, it should be noted that one of the men who did inspect Kennedy's scalp, mortician Tom Robinson, when asked about the fatal bullet by the HSCA staff, stated his assumption that *"It exited in many pieces,"* and then

explained, *“They were literally picked out, little pieces of this bullet from all over his head.”* In further support, moreover, we can go back to the statements of autopsy assistant James Curtis Jenkins, and recall that in the exact spot where he claimed the doctors discovered a gray discoloration of the skull, Dr. Davis saw metallic fragments, which he assumed were in the scalp. A gray discoloration of the skull of course suggests the presence of lead. Lead is of course a metal. Two plus two equals four.

When one realizes that the largest fragments of an exploding bullet travel the furthest, and that the two largest fragments discussed at the autopsy were on the opposite ends of Kennedy’s skull and equidistant from our proposed entrance, and adds this to the fact that, defying expectation, there were no small fragments surrounding the supposed in-shoot in the cowlick, then one should rightly conclude that the lateral x-ray demonstrates convincingly that a bullet broke up near the site of the supposed out-shoot, above the right ear. I’d bet everything I have on it. And have.

But there are always those who disagree. Larry Sturdivan offers an explanation as to how all the fragments from the bullet he now proposes entered low on the skull ended up at the top of Kennedy’s head. He writes: *“Many of the fragments deposited in the President’s brain were flushed out, along with the brain tissue, as the large amount of blood flowed out of the explosive wound in the side of his head, in the car and in Parkland. It is evidently some of these that were deposited in the bone flaps by clotting blood that show as a “trail” of fragments near the top of the lateral view.”* Sounds good. But does this really make sense? I mean, if these fragments were all on bone flaps, which is doubtful, and were held in place by “clotting blood,” wouldn’t these fragments slide to the back of Kennedy’s head once he lay firmly on his back? The x-rays, after all, were taken more than 8 hours after Kennedy’s head exploded. Certainly, Sturdivan doesn’t believe Kennedy’s casket was shipped on end.



Lateral X-ray/HSCA Trajectory Comparison

When one compares the lateral x-ray to the trajectory drawings of the skull prepared for the HSCA

trajectory analysis, one finds that not only is the supposed trajectory far below the purported “trail of fragments” but that the supposed outshoot, as discussed earlier, appears to be below the cluster of fragments, on bone. If this is true, of course, this means that the trajectory analysis plotted an in-shoot where there was no in-shoot, to an outshoot where there was no outshoot. I’m not kidding.

When one looks at the purported in-shoot near the cowlick on the trajectory drawing one can see that although the in-shoot was supposedly only 1.8 cm from the middle of the back of Kennedy’s head, this would still project slightly inwards from the back of Kennedy’s head when viewed laterally, due to the rounded nature of the skull. When one looks at the x-ray, however, one sees that there is no clear-cut entrance at this location. That this entrance was hard for even trained experts to locate can be revealed by reading the various reports written for the Clark Panel, Rockefeller Commission, HSCA, and ARRB. To put it mildly, they lack consensus. Here is a brief summary...

February, 1968. Dr. Russell H. Morgan, the radiologist on the Clark Panel notes in its report that *"On one of the lateral films of the skull, a hole measuring approximately 8 mm in diameter on the outer surface of the skull and as much as 20 mm on the internal surface can be seen in profile approximately 100 mm above the external occipital protuberance. The bone of the lower edge of the hole is depressed."* This places the hole in a section of parietal bone that presumably fell to the table when the doctors peeled back the scalp and NOT in the occipital bone near the hairline where the doctors claimed to have seen a beveled entrance. Morgan also notes that *"embedded in the outer table of the skull close to the lower edge of the hole, a large metallic fragment"* can be observed and that *"on the antero-posterior film"* this fragment *"lies 25 mm to the right of midline."* This suggests the fragment is in the depressed bone below the entrance. He then notes *"This fragment as seen in the latter film is round and measures 6.5 mm in diameter."* As the ammunition found in the assassination rifle measured 6.5 mm, this suggests the fragment was a cross-section of the bullet. Morgan then offers that *"Immediately adjacent to the hole on the internal surface of the skull, there is localized elevation of the soft tissues. Small fragments of bone lie within portions of these tissues and within the hole itself."*

January, 1972. Dr. John Lattimer, a urologist, becomes the first independent examiner of the autopsy photos and x-rays. He would later be asked to testify for the Rockefeller Commission. In his article on his examination, published in the May 1972 issue of Resident and Staff Physician, Lattimer presents his conclusions. These conclusions are not truly independent, however. In the article, he admits that a *"top roentgenologist, Dr. Russell H. Morgan,"* had previously reviewed the x-rays, and had *"issued a technical report about them, couched in proper medical terms."* This is a reference to the report of the Clark Panel. Lattimer then adds *"The author wishes to fully acknowledge this report by forensic experts."* Throughout the article, moreover, Morgan's influence is obvious. In his depiction of Kennedy's wounds, Lattimer depicts a bullet entrance high on the back of the head and notes *"The ovoid 'wound of entry' was fairly high up on the back of the skull, well above the hairline, where the skull was starting to curve forward, and about 10 cm above the occipital tuberosity... The bone at the lower margin of the hole was depressed slightly and the wound in the inner table was characteristically larger than the wound in the outer table (cone shaped), exactly as one would expect from a 'wound of entrance' into the back of the skull."* He then asserts *"A (6.5 mm diameter) fragment of the bullet had been shaved off by the sharp edge of the thick bone of the skull and was embedded in the margin of the wound of entrance."* That Lattimer was simply regurgitating the Clark Panel's report is suggested, moreover, by the fact Lattimer changed his opinion late in life, and ended up believing the bullet entrance on the back of the head was low on the head, as proposed in the autopsy report.

August, 1972. Dr. Cyril Wecht, a forensic pathologist, becomes the first independent forensic pathologist to view the autopsy photos and x-rays. He would later testify for the Rockefeller

Commission and function as a member of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel. As reported by writer David Lifton, who accompanied Dr. Wecht to the Archives, Wecht can't find a bullet entrance on the back of the head on the x-rays. For his April 1974 article on his examination, however, Wecht appears to take a cue from Dr. Lattimer, and defers to Dr. Morgan. On Wecht's depiction of Kennedy's skull, as viewed from the side, he presents *"a sizable fragment"* on the back of the head *"at the lower margin of the hole of presumed bullet entry."* In the text he then claims that from viewing the autopsy photos and x-rays *"one entry wound is definitely identifiable...high on the rear of the skull."* That Dr. Wecht was not an expert on x-rays, and was simply deferring to Morgan, is supported, moreover, by the fact Wecht later co-wrote an article with Dr. David Mantik in which they claimed that the small fragment on the back of the head in the lateral x-rays was too small to be the large fragment on the A-P x-ray.

April, 1975. Dr. Werner Spitz, a forensic pathologist closely associated with the Clark Panel's Dr. Fisher, and a member of both the Rockefeller Commission Panel and HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, views the autopsy materials. In his report, he notes *"The missile which struck the right side of the President's head penetrated approximately 10 cm above the occipital protuberance and 2 1/2 cm to the right of the midline."* These are the exact measurements offered by the Clark Panel. As a result, it seems more than likely Spitz was yet another deferring to Morgan's opinion regarding the wound location. Even so, it's interesting that in Spitz's 6 page report for the Rockefeller Commission he never mentions the large fragment apparent on the x-rays. Instead, he claims, weakly, that *"Nothing in the evidence which I have viewed tends to conflict with my opinion that the two shots which struck the president could have come"* from the sniper's nest.

April, 1975. Dr. Richard Lindenberg, a neuropathologist on the Rockefeller Commission's Panel, and another close associate of Dr. Fisher's, views the autopsy materials. He appears to have been yet another to rely on Fisher's and Morgan's conclusions, and notes in his report that a *"circumscribed defect in the posterior parietal bone which has the characteristic of an entrance hole"* is apparent on the lateral x-ray. He then claims a bullet *"hit the right side of the head of the president approximately 2.5 cm from the midline and 10 cm above the occipital protuberance."* He notes further that the *"bullet became somewhat deformed when it entered the skull and lead was squeezed out of its base. One larger fragment lies outside and next to the lower margin of the entrance wound."* Apparently, he felt Lattimer's conclusion the fragment had been "shaved" from the bullet was inaccurate.

April, 1975. Dr. Fred Hodges, the sole **radiologist** on the Rockefeller Commission's Panel, views the materials. He notes that, although a bullet entrance is not *"readily detected,"* many *"linear fracture lines converge"* on the site of the *"small round hole...described in the autopsy report in the right occipital bone."* He notes further that *"one large metallic fragment is flattened against the outer table of the occiput."* He concludes that *"The x-rays and photographs are diagnostic of a gunshot wound in which the bullet struck the right occiput leaving a portion of itself flattened against the outer table before penetrating the bone, producing a small hole of entry largely obscured on the x-ray by the more extensive havoc caused in the brain and anterior skull represented by extensive fractures, missing bone, disrupted soft tissues and gas within the cranial cavity."* By concluding there was a bullet entrance in the location described in the autopsy report, Hodges rejects the conclusions of Dr. Morgan and the Clark Panel.

April, 1975. Dr. Robert McMeekin, a forensic pathologist on the Rockefeller Commission's Panel, views the autopsy materials. He is quite vague about what he observes, however. He reports simply that *"The evidence presented is consistent"* with the fatal bullet's being fired from the sniper's nest. He then notes that from studying the Zapruder film, he concludes that *"The motion of the President's head is inconsistent with the shot striking him from any direction other than the rear."* Note that he fails to say

the medical evidence says as much. Note that he fails to support the wound location and fragment location offered by the Clark Panel. From this it seems reasonable to assume McMeekin believed the Clark Panel and/or the original autopsists had made some mistakes, but didn't want to get in the middle of it. Intriguingly, the man running the Rockefeller Commission's investigation, former Warren Commission counsel David Belin, had presented the members of its medical panel with fourteen points that should be addressed in their reports. Not among them was the actual location of the entrance on Kennedy's skull. Not among them was the actual location of the large fragment on the A-P x-ray. Apparently, Belin had no interest in solving these mysteries.

April, 1975. Dr. Alfred Olivier, a veterinarian, and both a Warren Commission and Rockefeller Commission consultant on wound ballistics, is shown the autopsy materials. His report on his examination is also vague, and notes merely that *"It appears that the President was struck by two separate bullets that came from behind, somewhat to the right and above."* He offers no support for the entrance wound location offered by the original autopsists, nor the one offered by the Clark Panel. He never mentions the mysterious fragment readily identifiable on the A-P x-ray.

October, 1977. Dr. Lawrence Angel, a forensic anthropology consultant to the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, views the autopsy materials. In his report on his examination he notes that the fatal bullet's entrance *"appears to have been just below obelion and 18 mm to the right of midline."* Obelion is a point on the posterior parietal bone along the sagittal suture for which Angel gives no measurements. Angel also notes a *"radiopaque lump behind obelion with which cracks appears to mark entry."* In other words, he, like Hodges, does not see an entrance on the back of the head, but assumes the presence of one due to the fragment and fractures on the back of the skull. By claiming the entrance was below obelion and that the fragment was behind obelion, moreover, Angel also suggests that the fragment was above the bullet entrance, the opposite of what was suggested by Morgan and the Clark Panel.

February, 1978. Dr. Norman Chase, a **radiology consultant** to the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, is interviewed by an HSCA investigator. The memo on this interview asserts that while viewing the x-rays, Chase notes an *"entry point"* on *"upper rear head."* He reportedly claims further that a *"large metal fragment"* is *"prominent"* on the A-P x-ray, and that he *"believes it corresponds to the metal fragment in the rear of the head as evidence on the lateral view."* This suggests that he does not see an actual hole on the back of the head, and is even unsure if the the large metal fragment is on the back of the head.

February, 1978. Dr. William Seaman, a **radiology consultant** to the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, is interviewed by an HSCA investigator. The memo on this interview asserts that while viewing the x-rays, Seaman notes a *"possible defect"* in the *"upper rear skull,"* and that it *"could be an entrance wound and could not be a missile exit wound,"* but can not detect *"beveling of the skull at that point."* This beveling was not only supposedly detected by Morgan and the Clark Panel, it was measured down to the millimeter, and cited as proof the wound was an entrance wound. And that's not all... Seaman was a colleague of Dr. Lattimer's at Columbia University, and had assisted Lattimer in some of his experiments regarding the Kennedy assassination. (This was acknowledged in the May 1972 issue of Resident and Staff Physician, in an article on Lattimer accompanying Lattimer's article on the Kennedy medical evidence.) It seems quite likely, then, that Seaman was not an entirely unbiased party, as one should expect, but one who knew full well he was supposed to find an entrance at the *"upper rear skull."* And yet he only found a *"possible defect."* In the short report on the investigator's discussion with Seaman, for that matter, the large fragment is never mentioned.

March, 1978. Dr. John Ebersole, the **radiologist** at Kennedy's autopsy, is finally released from a military order of silence handed down within days of the autopsy. A March 9, 1978 AP article (found in the Reading Eagle) on an interview with Ebersole reports that he now admits *"I would say unequivocally the bullet came from the side or back...There is no way that I can see on the basis of the x-rays that the bullet came from anywhere in the 180-degree angle to the front, assuming Kennedy was facing forward. It looked to me like an almost right to left shot from the rear."* When, during his March 11, 1978 testimony before the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, Ebersole is shown Kennedy's x-rays and asked if he can identify an entrance location for a bullet, moreover, Ebersole responds *"In my opinion it would have come from the side on the basis of the films. I guess that is all that can be said about the films at this time... I would say on the basis of those x rays and x rays only one might say one would have to estimate there that the wound of entrance was somewhere to the side or to the posterior quadrant."* By saying that the x-rays only showed that the bullet came from the side or behind, Ebersole was acknowledging that he was unable to note a bullet entrance on the back of the head in the x-rays.

August, 1978. Dr. G.M. McDonnel, a **radiology consultant** to the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, views the enhanced images of the x-rays. He had previously viewed the originals. In his report on these examinations, he fails to note a bullet hole on the back of Kennedy's head. Instead, he notes a depressed fracture with radiating fractures 10.6 cm above the EOP. He also notes a metallic fragment 1 cm below this fracture, on the outer table of the skull, above the mid-portion of the EOP, that is *"nearly spherical"* on the enhanced A-P image. As he proceeds to describe this fragment as a *"spherical shaped contoured metallic fragment"* it seems clear he either had trouble finding it on the lateral view, and just named it in accordance with its appearance on the A-P view, or that he thought he saw a corresponding *"spherical shaped"* fragment on the back of the head in the lateral view. No one else, of course, has claimed to see such a thing.

August, 1978. Dr. David O. Davis, a **radiology consultant** to the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, views the enhanced images of the x-rays. In his report on his examination, he fails to note a bullet hole on the back of the skull, but says radiating fractures *"seem to more or less emanate from"* an *"imbedded metallic fragment"* 9-10 cm above the EOP on the outer table of the skull. He then notes that *"On the frontal view, this metallic fragment is located 2.5 cm to the right of midline, and on the lateral view, it is approximately 3-4 cm above the lambda."* As he later says the central point of the skull fractures is 3 cm from midline, this means that, in Davis' analysis, the large bullet fragment ended up to the left of the entrance.

1979. The Report of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel does not note an entrance hole apparent on the x-rays, but notes a depressed fracture as a *"sharp disruption of the normal smooth contour of the skull 10 cm above the EOP"* (which places it higher than in the Clark Panel Report, whose measurement of 10 cm was the distance to the 8 mm hole above the depressed fracture). The report also mentions *"suggested beveling"* of the inner table and radiating fracture lines. In its section on the course of the bullet through the head, moreover, it notes that *"embedded within the lower margin of this defect is a radiopaque shadow which, in the opinion of the panel, is a fragment of the missile. This shadow is 10 cm above the external occipital protuberance and 2.5 cm to the right of the midline"* in the A-P x-ray. (If one is to assume they shared the trajectory panel's belief the entrance was 1.8 cm from mid-line, this means the Pathology Panel felt the bullet fragment ended up to the right and below the bullet's entrance.) The report then notes that *"one surface of this fragment...is round. The maximum diameter of the fragment measures .65 centimeter."* This last measurement was not provided by any of the panel's radiology consultants, nor was it mentioned in the testimony of the panel's spokesman, Dr. Michael Baden, before the committee. As a result, one can only assume it was added into the report at

the last second, and was taken from the findings of Dr. Morgan and the Clark Panel.

1979. The Report of the HSCA Trajectory Panel claims the entrance high on the back of Kennedy's head was 1.8 cm to the right of midline and 9 cm above the EOP. This places the entrance 1 cm below the depressed fracture observed by the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, and on intact bone. This also contradicts the conclusions of the Clark Panel.

January, 1996. Dr. Douglas Ubelaker, a forensic anthropologist, is shown the autopsy materials and interviewed by the AARB. The report on this interview claims that *"No entry wound could be located anywhere on the A-P x-ray"* by Ubelaker. It notes further that he *"could not locate any entry wound to the head on the lateral x-rays,"* and that he noted a large fragment visible on the A-P x-ray, but *"could not find this object anywhere on the lateral x-rays of the head."*

February, 1996. Dr. John J. Fitzpatrick, a forensic radiologist, is shown the autopsy materials and interviewed by the ARRB. The report on this interview claims that *"No entry wound was seen on the A-P x-ray"* by Fitzpatrick. It notes further that he also claims *"No entry wound can be found on the lateral head x-rays."* It also reports that Fitzpatrick admits he's *"puzzled by the fact that the large radio-opaque object in the A-P skull x-ray could not be located on the lateral skull x-rays."*

April, 1996. Dr. Robert Kirschner, a forensic pathologist, is shown the autopsy materials and interviewed by the ARRB. The report on this interview notes that *"No entrance wound could be located on either the two lateral x-rays, or the single-A-P x-rays..."* by Kirschner. It then claims that he wonders if the supposed large fragment embedded on the back of the head was instead *"a plug of bone forced forward into the skull by an entering bullet."* This confirms that Kirschner saw no sign of this fragment or plug on the back of the head in the lateral x-rays.

The conclusions just discussed raise lots of questions.

First of all, how could the Clark Panel, using un-enhanced x-rays, "see" so much more than everybody else? Particularly when the panel's radiologist, Dr. Morgan, later complained that these x-rays were of "poor quality" and "severely over-exposed"?

The likely answer, of course, is that they didn't actually see these things, and only said they did because it helped them shut down the "junk" in Josiah Thompson's book, and build support for their argument that the actual entrance on the back of the skull was four inches higher than determined at autopsy.

But what about the other radiologists? Shouldn't an oval-shaped bullet entrance high on the back of someone's head be readily identifiable to experienced radiologists and doctors using computer-enhanced x-rays?

Why is there no consensus on what is shown in the x-rays?

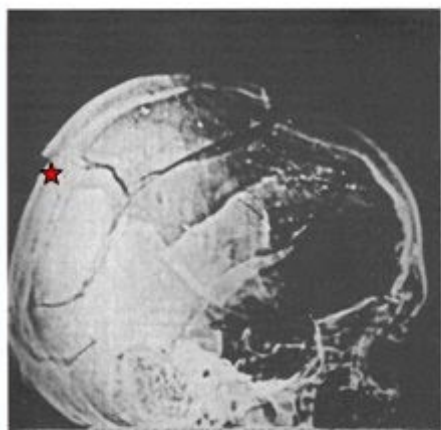
It should be noted that the lack of a clearly identifiable hole on the back of Kennedy's head in the x-rays has led to some mighty strange speculation. While it was not my intent when writing these pages to go through every wrong or misguided statement made by a conspiracy theorist, Doug Horne's status within the so-called research community is of such a magnitude that I find it necessary to note some of his mistakes. Here is one such mistake...

On page 554 of his monster work, Inside the ARRB, Horne writes:

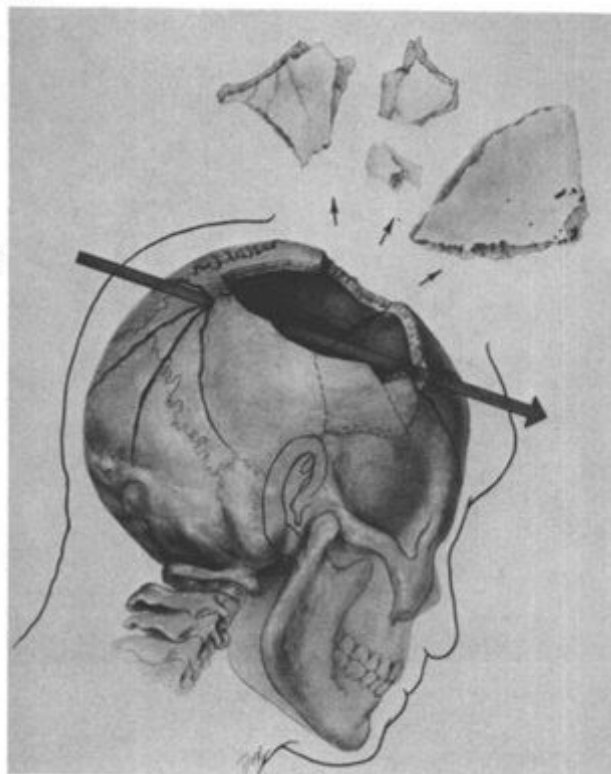
"Dr. Mantik believes that the apparent fragment trail seen in both lateral skull x-rays, high in the skull near the vertex, that appears to connect a point high in the forehead with the large displaced skull fragments high in the back of the head is real, and is evidence of a bullet's passage through the skull, as it disintegrated. If his definitive finding that there is no entry wound 1 centimeter above the so-called 6.5 mm object on the A-P x-ray is correct, and if the 3 pathologists are correct that the entry wound in the skull was really 4 inches lower than where the Clark Panel and HSCA tried to place it, then, as Mantik points out, the fragment trail near the vertex of the skull constitutes evidence of a second shot to the head, almost certainly entering high in the right front and exiting rather high in the rear of the skull, where the large displaced bone fragments are located on the right lateral x-ray. There is much evidence to support this placement of the entry for the missile which caused this fragment trail in the right front, and its exit in the rear..."

I'll give you a second to digest that. Yep, you got it... Horne is asserting that since Dr. Mantik believes there is no entrance high on the back of the head where the HSCA claimed it to be, that this then is evidence there was an entrance high in the right front and an exit high on the back of the head... Uhhh, silly question...But IF there is a hole on the back of the head--which Mantik doesn't even claim to see--who's to say that it's not the entrance described by the HSCA, only not where they said it was?

Baden's Bluff



While HSCA Exhibit F-53, Kennedy's lateral x-ray, at left, shows the fractured crown of Kennedy's skull to be contained within the scalp, the official depiction of Kennedy's wounds, Exhibit F-66, at right, depicts the crown as having been blasted from the skull. (The red star at left has been added to reveal the entrance location at right.)



Dr. Baden was so convinced the crown was missing, in fact, that he actually testified that the dark area on the A-P x-ray, Exhibit F-55, to which he is points at left, "shows the extensive loss of bone" near the "point of entrance beneath the cowlick area." This testimony was not supported by the subsequent report of his panel.

Baden's Bluff

Still, to be fair, Horne wasn't the first to speculate on large holes in the head unseen by others. I mean, at least he didn't claim to see such a hole on the x-rays. Not so, Dr. Michael Baden.

In his 1978 HSCA testimony, Dr. Baden pulled one of the all-time boners. (Excuse the pun).

If you look at the slide above, you'll see that the bone above the supposed cowlick entrance, at the crown of Kennedy's skull, is visible on the lateral x-ray. No one honestly disputes this. And yet, after entering this x-ray, Exhibit F-53, into evidence, Dr. Baden, the spokesman for the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, entered Exhibit F-66 into evidence. Exhibit F-66, a drawing which depicted both the location of the large defect and the skull fragments recovered from outside the skull, showed the crown to be missing.

While one might assume the artist creating this drawing had made a simple mistake, and had inaccurately placed the location of the large defect too far back on the skull, the testimony of the illustrator, Ida Dox, indicates she made these drawings under the close scrutiny of Dr. Baden. So was Baden the one at fault?

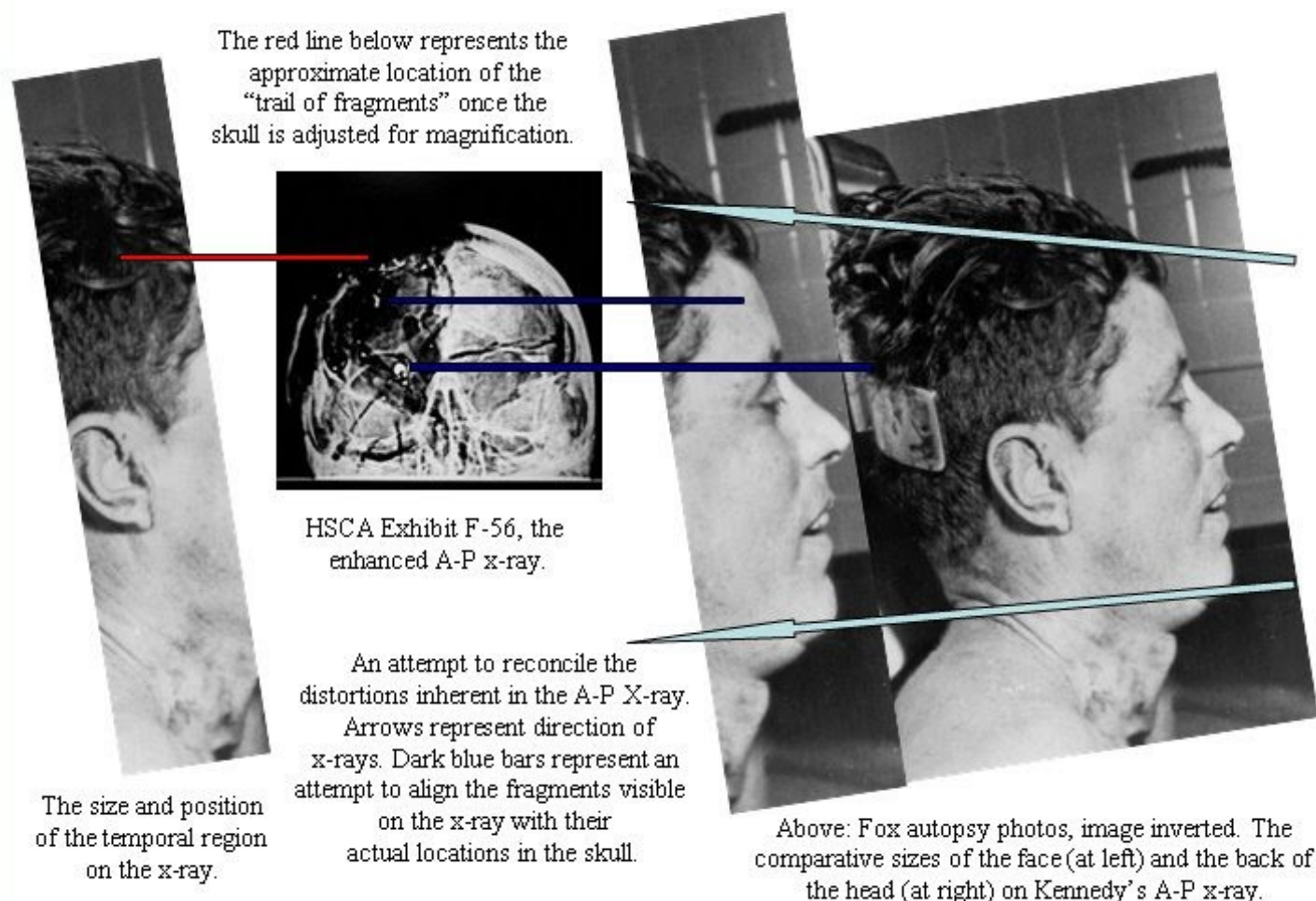
Undeniably, yes. During his testimony, when pointing to Exhibit F-55 and the bullet fragment supposedly on the back of Kennedy's head, Baden testified *"there are fracture lines radiating from the*

point of entrance marked by the relatively large fragment and the x-ray lines extending from it." He then used his pointer to encircle the large dark area on the right side of the skull in the x-ray, and continued *"This corresponds precisely to the point of entrance beneath the cowlick area and shows the extensive loss of bone in that area."* Baden had thereby supported the wound location in Exhibit F-66 and, in the process, revealed his inability to properly interpret x-rays. Although he spoke as a representative of a panel, furthermore, there is nothing to indicate his baffling conclusions were shared by anyone else. There is nothing in the Panel's report, nor in the report of any of the Panel's consulting radiologists, to indicate the dark area of the x-ray represents a loss of bone *"beneath the cowlick area"* on the back of Kennedy's skull. The autopsy photos, moreover, show that the head *"beneath the cowlick area"* remained intact. Conspiracy or no conspiracy, Baden was clearly pushing nonsense in this part of his testimony.

But it was intriguing nonsense, nonetheless. Since the lateral x-ray was darkest towards the front of the skull, and reveals a large defect in that area, it would only have made sense, should someone believe the dark area of the A-P x-ray represented an "extensive loss of bone", that the missing bone be on the forehead. Although refuted by the radiology literature, which asserts that a large dark area on a skull x-ray may only signify that there's air in the underlying tissues, this has indeed been the conclusion of many conspiracy theorists. So why did Baden take the opposite route, and testify that the dark area on the A-P x-ray was evidence of missing bone on the back of the skull by the entrance? Was he trying to refute the report of HSCA forensic anthropology consultant Lawrence Angel, and Angel's conclusion frontal bone was missing? Was he trying to cut-off speculation about a frontal entrance? Or was he just confused?

Baden's bluff, or blunder, along with his previously-discussed inability to properly orient the "mystery photo," demonstrates beyond any doubt that his credibility is questionable, and not just questionable by conspiracy theorists scratching for something, anything, to question.

The Distortion Problem



The Distortion Problem

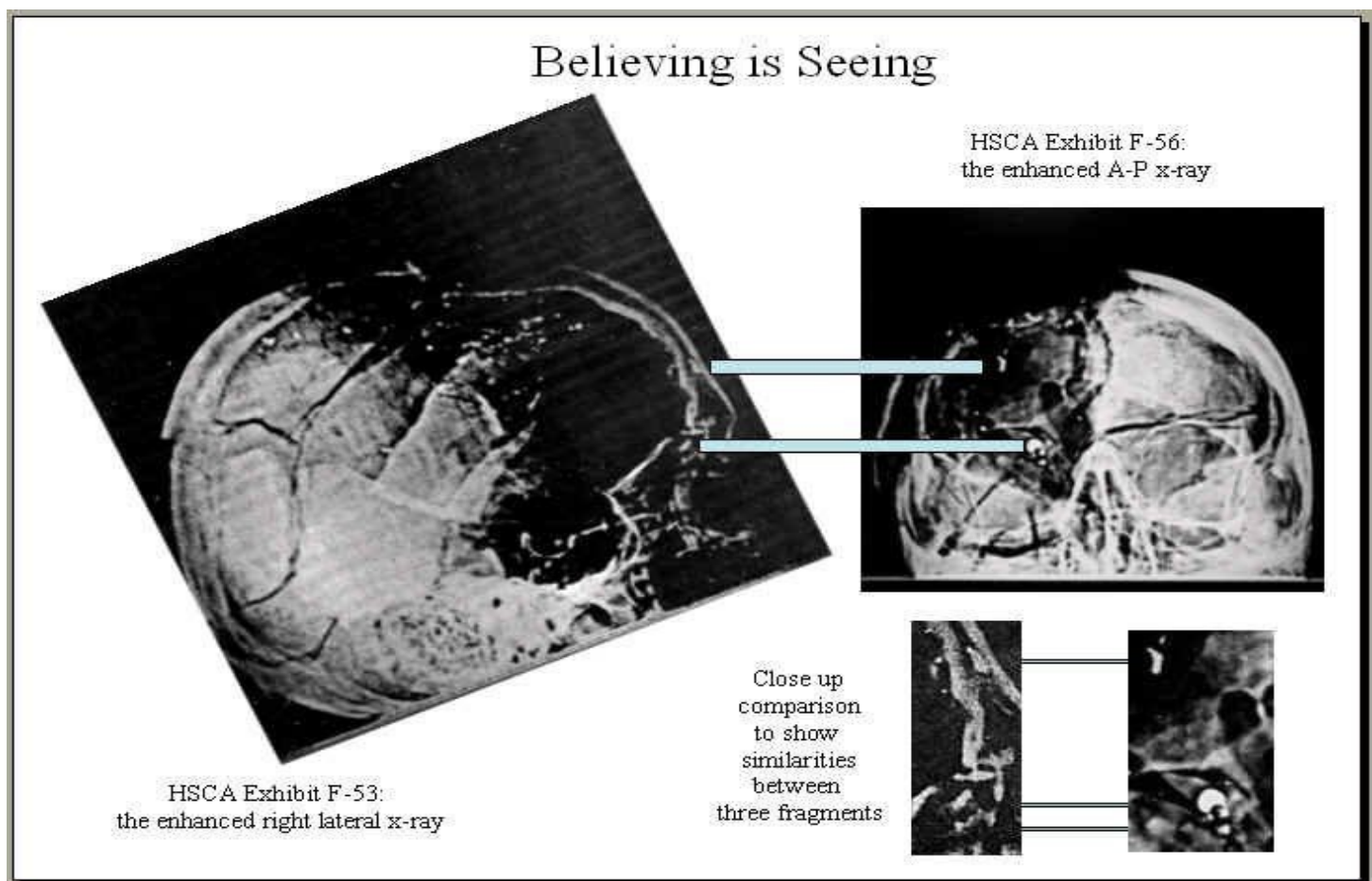
The erratic interpretations of Kennedy's x-rays can be partially explained by the fact that Kennedy's A-P x-ray was unusually distorted. While many think of x-rays as see-through pictures, they are actually quite different. While in a photograph one is aware of perspective, that things in the background appear smaller than they really are, in a well done x-ray there is a fairly straight shot of the x-rays through the body, and each side of the body is accurately represented in proportion to the other.

This is not always true for x-rays created on portable x-ray machines, however. Researcher Joe Durnavich discovered that The General Electric machine used to make Kennedy's x-rays needed to be at least 72 inches away from the film to minimize magnification. In Kennedy's case it was only 44. This meant that the x-rays hitting the film were not heading straight through Kennedy, but were spreading outwards. This meant that the x-rays hitting Kennedy's face, by spreading outwards before they hit the film, magnified his face in comparison to the back of his head. Durnavich estimates that Kennedy's forehead was magnified 22% when compared to the back of his head. I've seen similar calculations in radiology textbooks and Durnavich's calculations appear to be accurate.

Adding to the confusion over Kennedy's x-rays, however, is that the x-ray techs couldn't figure out how best to prop up Kennedy's badly damaged skull. So they just sat it on the film cassette. As a result, his skull is tilted back approximately 14 degrees in the x-ray. While Jerrol Custer has said it was

tilted back as much as 30 degrees, this seems much too much. Joe Durnavich's slightly smaller estimate of 23 degrees fails to take into account that the x-rays were not framed with the skull in the anatomically upright position (The skull was tilted 10 degrees forward.) Larry Sturdivan, using measurements of Kennedy's teeth taken from the original x-rays, concluded the "net upward tilt of the head in the A-P view would be 11.5 degrees." When one lays flat on the floor, moreover, one's head tilts back 20 degrees or so even under normal conditions. Since this 20 degree backwards tilt comes with the occipital bone as the pivot, and Kennedy had a depressed fracture on the back of his head, it only makes sense his head would tilt back *less* than normal when laying flat on the table. (Dr. Joseph Riley is another who disputes that Kennedy's head was tilted back 30 degrees in this x-ray.)

On this slide, I have attempted to match up the relative positions of Kennedy's face and back of his head in order to figure out the exact locations of the skull fragments in the x-rays. On one side, I aligned the temporal region of his skull, once adjusted for magnification, with the A-P x-ray. This confirmed that the "trail of fragments" on the x-ray matched up perfectly with the large defect of the skull, and is apparently on the scalp. On the other side, I placed an adjusted-for-magnification photo of Kennedy's face (an inverted image of the left lateral photo), and placed it directly behind an adjusted-for-magnification back of his head. As I'd previously determined that the head in this photo was tilted back approximately 5 degrees, I tilted it back an addition 9, to reproduce the 14 degree backward tilt of Kennedy's skull in the x-ray, and then matched up the top of the A-P x-ray against this larger face. It seems to be fairly accurate. The forehead fragment projects right onto the forehead. The large fragment or slice projects right up near the crown of the head by the mysterious red spot...



Believing is Seeing

Satisfied with the results of my distortion analysis, I decided to try to do a comparison between the A-P x-ray and the lateral x-ray. While I had initially planned on copying the proportions and angles used by Joe Durnavich in his article, I quickly realized that you could not accurately project the distorted image of the A-P x-ray onto the lateral x-ray. I thought about cutting up the lateral x-ray into 10 slices, and then make each one progressively shorter than the first one, and then try to line them up to get a concept of how they would appear in the A-P x-ray. I started with the forehead. I decided to line up the exact heights of the forehead fragment. And then I had another breakthrough...

For when I lined up the forehead fragment in the A-P x-ray with the identical-sized forehead fragment on the lateral x-ray, I found the location of the "slice" on the back of the head. And it wasn't on the back of the head. And it wasn't even a "slice."

I noticed that just above the right eye socket there were a number of fragments, and that the largest of these fragments had the identical height of the supposed slice. I noticed also that it was at a slight angle, whereby it would appear to be thicker in the A-P and more radio-opaque than when viewed upright. I then spotted a small fragment just below it. And found that just below the "slice" supposedly on the back of the head in the A-P view there was a similar fragment. In short, I realized that the Clark Panel's statement that "there is, embedded in the outer table of the skull close to the lower edge of the hole, a large metallic fragment... Immediately adjacent to the hole on the internal surface of the skull, there is localized elevation of the soft tissues. Small fragments of bone lie within portions of these tissues," was, in fact a description of an area just above Kennedy's right eye socket, the very area from which Dr. Humes had testified to removing two fragments, one measuring 7 by 2 mm, and one measuring 3 by 1 mm.

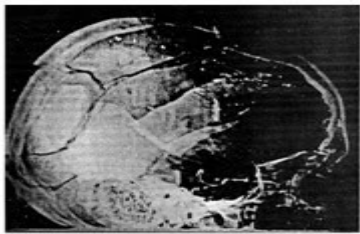
I then looked back at the un-enhanced x-rays used by the Clark Panel, and realized that the fragment I'd identified behind the eye was not visible on the lateral view, only on the A-P view, and that the small fragment in the forehead, believed by many to be the fragment recovered at the autopsy, was only barely visible on the lateral view, and completely invisible on the A-P. This led me to believe that Clark Panel radiologist Dr. Russell Morgan had made an honest mistake. He saw a fragment on the A-P view, couldn't find it on the lateral, convinced himself it was at the back of the head by the bullet hole "discovered" by Dr. Russell Fisher, and moved the fragment much as Fisher had moved the bullet entrance. The autopsy protocol used by The Clark Panel to help with their report, it should be noted, stated only that *"From the surface of the disrupted right cerebral cortex two small irregularly shaped fragments are recovered."* As a result, there is no evidence that Morgan or anyone else on the panel was aware that Humes had testified the largest fragment was behind the right eye. From this, then, it follows that the Clark Panel never even considered the possibility that the fragment on the x-rays was behind the right eye, and that the mistake of one expert--Morgan-- had become official government doctrine.

I was dazed by this revelation, and a bit saddened. I knew I would have an uphill battle trying to get people to believe a layman as myself could notice something overlooked by so many "experts". And so I decided to double-check Kennedy's post-mortem x-ray against his pre-mortem x-ray, to make sure what I presumed to be a bullet fragment did not pre-exist the assassination.

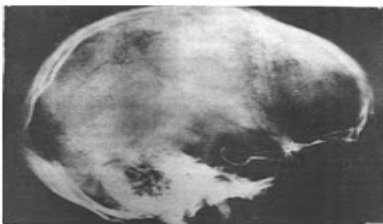
P.S. In his 2011 review of this website, published on the CTKA website, Dr. Mantik misled his readers by pointing out the small fragments below the large fragment on the A-P view, and claiming *"Metallic debris (claimed by Speer not to exist) just inferior to the 6.5 mm object, is identified by a horizontal lavender arrow. Some of these (lavender) fragments may have correlates on the lateral x-ray, which would then mark them as authentic metal debris."* When discussing the lateral x-ray, he then added *"Two tiny metallic-like fragments (invisible here--lavender arrow) can be seen on the x-rays at NARA."* The lavender arrow, no surprise, pointed to the back of the head. Well, this was yet another self-inflicted blow to Mantik's credibility. Mantik was purportedly reviewing this website. The above slide

has been a part of this website since it was created. I showed it at the COPA Conference in 2009, with Mantik in the audience. He mentions this slide in his review. Mantik is either lying or 100% in error to claim I said these fragments don't exist, when I have repeatedly and consistently shown where they are on the lateral view and have repeatedly and consistently presented them as compelling evidence the large fragment was behind the right eye. That he not only hides this from his readers but simultaneously claims the fragments are on the back of the head, where, by his own admission, no one else has seen them, smells to high heaven.


Seeing is Believing



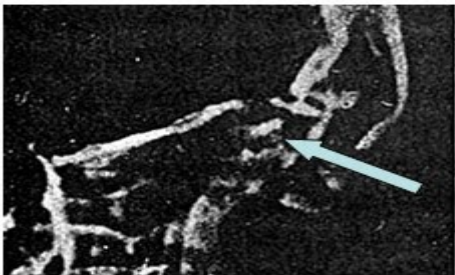
HSCA Exhibit F-53: Kennedy's right lateral x-ray



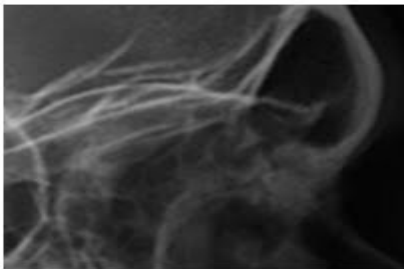
HSCA Exhibit F-297, Kennedy's pre-Mortem x-ray



Skull x-ray found online



Blow-up from Exhibit F-53 showing fragment location



Blow-up from skull x-ray showing normal eye socket

Although the fragment behind the eye apparent on HSCA Exhibit F-53 (at above left) seems obvious, the possibility exists that this opacity pre-existed the assassination. Unfortunately, the face was removed from HSCA Exhibit F-297, Kennedy's pre-mortem x-ray, (at above center), preventing a proper comparison. As x-rays found online, such as the one at above right, show nothing in the location of the presumed fragment, however, we can feel fairly certain that the white shape on the lateral x-ray is indeed a fragment. This is demonstrated at left.

Seeing is Believing

Although my alignment of Kennedy's A-P and lateral x-rays had led me to believe I'd found the location on the lateral x-ray of the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment easily observed on the A-P x-ray, I decided to study Kennedy's pre-mortem x-rays to confirm that what I saw was not a piece of bone. When I went to compare HSCA Exhibit F-297, the pre-mortem x-ray, against Exhibit F-53, the lateral x-ray, however, I was reminded that Kennedy's face had been cropped off the pre-mortem x-ray, and that a thorough comparison would therefore be impossible.

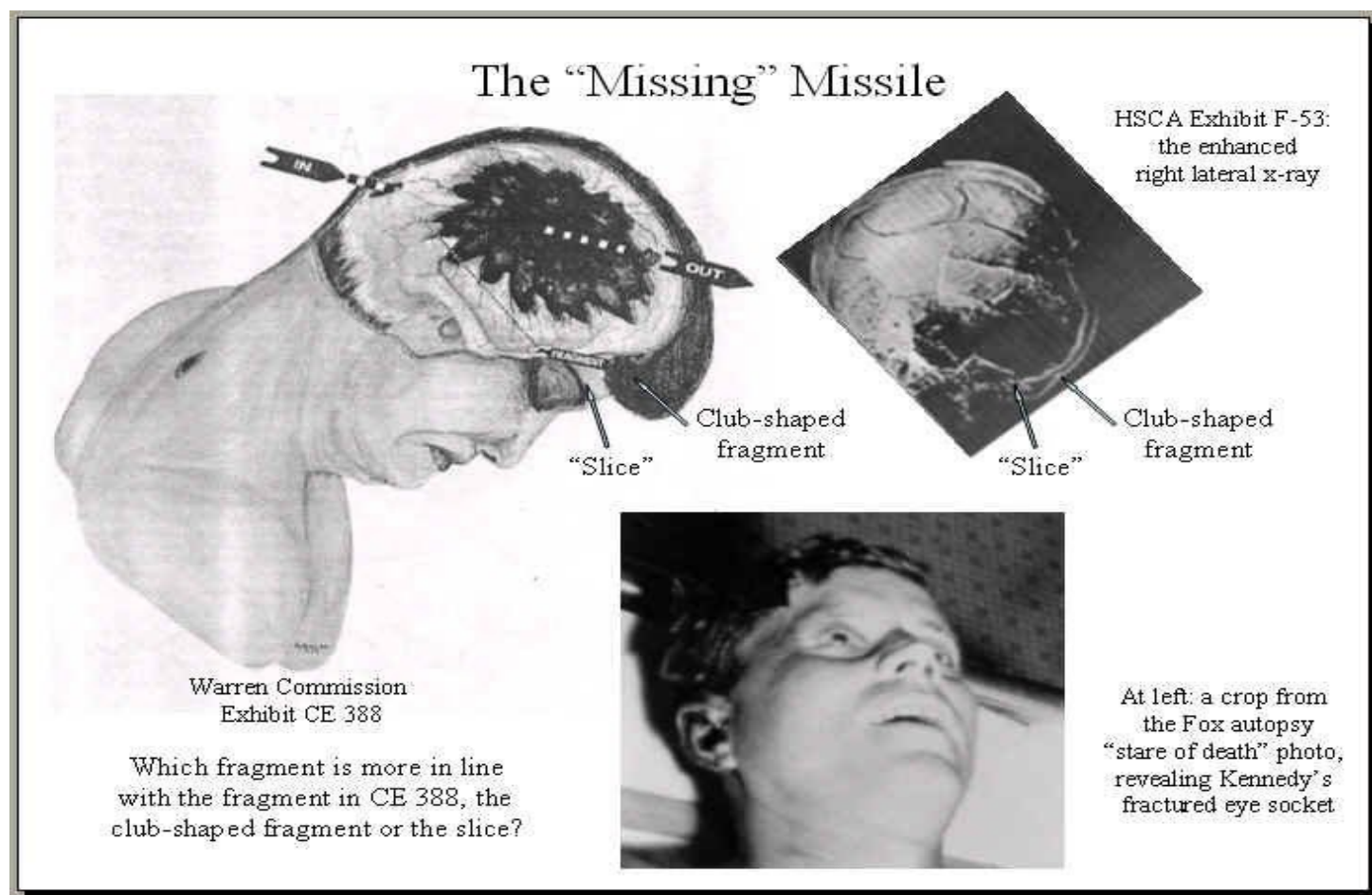
And so I did the next best thing. I studied dozens of skull x-rays online, to see if any of them had a white shape in the eye socket comparable to the one found in Kennedy's eye socket.

None of them did. Not even close. As a result, I came to feel quite sure that I had actually identified the true location of the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment on the lateral x-ray, and that it was in fact behind the eye.

This led me to reflect on everything I'd read about this fragment, how it was faked, how it was proof of forgery, how it was proof the head shot struck Kennedy in the cowlick. I thought of the HSCA's forensic pathology report and how it over-ruled the autopsy doctors on the head wounds. I thought

about some of the statements in the report, such as how when discussing the A-P x-ray they claimed the “missile fragment to be slightly to the right of the midline and in approximately the same vertical plane as in the above mentioned lateral view.” Approximately? They were given two years to solve the mysteries of Kennedy’s head wounds, and that’s the best they could do?”

I thought about this some more. And then I got mad.



The “Missing” Missile

I got mad on behalf of Dr. James J. Humes. Not only did he accurately depict the position of the large fragment in Warren Commission Exhibit CE 388, but he was right about its angle within the skull. And yet, even so, everyone believed the Clark Panel when they said the largest fragment on the x-rays was on the back of Kennedy’s skull. Why did they believe them? (Heck, for that matter, why did I for the longest time believe them?) Were we pre-disposed to disbelieve Humes because of his military background? Or was it his Warren Commission experience in particular that destroyed his credibility? Were the autopsy doctors the boy who cried wolf and the Clark Panel a wolf in sheep’s clothing?

I re-read every reference to the large fragment I could find. The autopsy report written by Dr. Humes states: *“There is edema and ecchymosis (bruising) diffusely over the right supra-orbital ridge (the eye socket) with abnormal mobility of the underlying bone”* and that *“roentgenograms (x-rays) of the skull reveal multiple minute fragments along a line corresponding with a line joining the above described small occipital wound and the right supra-orbital ridge... From the surface of the disrupted cerebral cortex two small irregularly shaped fragments of metal are recovered. These measure 7 x 2 mm and 3 x*

1 mm.” While these statements supported that the fragments were behind the eye, one might stretch them to support they were just behind the forehead as well. Perhaps then Humes' testimony was more specific.

Indeed, it was. Before the Warren Commission, Humes testified that while studying the x-rays taken at the beginning of the autopsy, he'd observed *"A rather sizable fragment visible by x-ray just above the right eye"* and that the majority of the fragments visible on the x-rays were *"dustlike...with the exception of this one I previously mentioned which was seen to be above and very slightly behind the right orbit."* After being shown Exhibit 388, on which this fragment was depicted behind the right eye, he then explained: *"We attempted to examine the brain, and seek specifically this fragment which was the one we felt to be of a size which would permit us to recover it."* Arlen Specter then asked: *"When you refer to this fragment, and you are pointing there, are you referring to the fragment depicted right above the President's eye?"* To which Humes replied: *"Yes, sir. Above and somewhat behind the President's eye."* He then continued: *"We directed carefully in this region and in fact located this small fragment, which was in a defect in the brain tissue in just precisely this location."*

Humes tried to get through to the HSCA as well. Dr Petty: *"the least distorted and least fuzzy portion of the radiopaque materials would be closest to the film, and we would assume then that this peculiar semilunar object with the sharp edges would be close to the film and therefore represent the piece that was seen in the lateral view"* Dr. Humes: *"Up by the eyebrow."* Dr. Petty: *"no up by the—in the back of the skull."* Petty returned to the topic later: *"we're trying to establish whether this particular sharp-edged radiopaque defect is close to the back of the skull or close to the front of the skull."* Dr. Humes: *"I can't be sure I see it in the lateral at all, do you? Do you see it?"* Dr. Petty evaded Humes' question and turned to Dr. Boswell: *"Were these fragments that were recovered at all?"* To which Boswell, obviously trusting Petty that the fragments were where he said they were, replied: *"No. They were not."*

When asked about the large fragment by the ARRB, Humes similarly relented: *"I don't remember retrieving anything of that size."* Later, however, when asked if he could spot any fragments on the lateral x-ray, he said: *"Well, you see, there's nothing in this projection that appears to be of the size of the one that appeared to be above and behind the right eye on the other one."* Wait. He claimed not to recognize the fragment, and yet he still knew exactly where it was—and it just so happened to be in the exact location where he'd found a fragment during the autopsy??? From this strange slip-up, one might assume Humes suspected all along that the Clark Panel's fragment on the back of the head was in reality the fragment he'd found near the forehead. By the end of his ARRB interview, in fact, he admitted as much, telling Jeremy Gunn that the large fragment *"that you saw in the first AP view of the skull could be the 7 by 2 millimeter one that we handed over to the FBI."*

Well, at least Humes tried to tell the truth. Unfortunately, no one believed him... that is, except Dr. Boswell, who shared his faith the fragment was the one removed at autopsy. In 1994, when asked about the largest fragment on the x-rays by Dr. Gary Aguilar, Dr. Boswell asserted *"The largest piece was up along the frontal sinus, right."* When shown the lateral x-ray by the ARRB, moreover, Dr. Boswell told Gunn *"I think we dug this piece out right here,"* and then explained *"right here"* as near the *"right eye...right supraorbital area."* He later told Gunn that the large semicircular fragment he'd initially had trouble identifying on the A-P x-ray might very well be *"the same as the one that appears to be in the frontal bone in the lateral."* Well, which part of the frontal bone? In any event, he was on the right track.

And he wasn't alone. While the radiologist at the autopsy, Dr. Ebersole, died years before he could be

called to testify before the ARRB, his two assistants at the autopsy, x-ray technicians Jerrol Custer and Edward Reed, who actually took the x-rays, were called to testify, and both confirmed that the large fragment on the x-rays was found behind the right eye. When asked in a series of questions if he could see the large fragment visible on the A-P x-ray on the lateral x-ray, Reed told Gunn, *"Yes, I can...In the frontal lobe...Right above the supraorbital ridge...Supraorbital rim. It is right impregnated in there."* Even more telling, when asked the same question a week later, Reed's boss on the night of the autopsy, Custer, testified that the large bullet fragment was located in the *"Right orbital ridge, superior."*

Their statements, moreover, echo what Secret Service Agent William Greer told the Warren Commission someone told him on the night of the autopsy. Greer testified: *"I looked at the X-rays when they were taken in the autopsy room, and the person who does that type work showed us the trace of it because there would be little specks of lead where the bullet had come from here and it came to the--they showed where it didn't come on through. It came to a sinus cavity or something they said, over the eye."* As Custer and Reed were but technicians, and not officially qualified to interpret the x-rays, we can only assume the "person" who claimed this was Ebersole.

So here we have the men most intimately involved with the skull x-rays ALL stating that the large fragment on the A-P x-ray was in the supraorbital ridge or that the trail of fragments came to an end behind the right eye. But can anyone else confirm this location? Perhaps someone who, unlike Custer and Reed, actually saw the large fragment removed?

Amazingly, yes. On the night of the autopsy, FBI agents James Sibert and Frank O'Neill took custody of this fragment. The receipt said: *"I hereby acknowledge receipt of a missile removed by Commander James J Humes."* These agents were therefore intimately involved in the recovery of this fragment. One might think then that they'd be sure to remember from where it had been recovered. While an 11-22-63 memo from their boss, Alan Belmont, written during the autopsy, claimed a bullet was *"lodged behind the president's ear,"* we can only assume this was a misunderstanding of what the agents had actually told their superiors over the phone. Sure enough, Sibert and O'Neill's 11-26 report on the autopsy asserts *"The largest section of this missile as portrayed by x-ray appeared to be behind the right frontal sinus."* As the right frontal sinus is just above the eyebrow and is an inch or so lower than the club-shaped fragment widely believed to have been the fragment recovered at the autopsy, this would put the bullet fragment, not an intact bullet as implied by Belmont's memo, behind the eye, and not the ear, as claimed in Belmont's memo. (The club-shaped fragment, it should be noted, was simply in the middle of the forehead, and not lodged behind anything, let alone another body part beginning with the letter "E".)

Lest that not be convincing, Sibert and O'Neill's subsequent statements further confirmed that the largest fragment recovered at autopsy was recovered from behind the eye, and not from the middle of the forehead. Although a 10-24-78 affidavit signed by Agent Sibert for the HSCA said merely that the fragments were recovered from the head, a report on an 8-25-77 interview with James Sibert notes *"Sibert believes that both fragments came from the head, probably from the frontal sinus region."* An HSCA Report on a 1-10-78 interview with his partner Frank O'Neill, moreover, confirmed that this fragment was recovered from just behind the eye. It states: *"O'Neill believes the doctors recovered a piece of the missile from just behind an eye and another one from further back."* On 11-8-78, O'Neill even put this in writing; his signed affidavit declares *"I saw the doctors remove a piece of the missile from just behind an eye and another one from further back in the head."* (P.S. It seems likely O'Neill thought the second fragment recovered was the second largest one noted on the x-rays. This is an understandable mistake. He noted two fragments in his report and the doctors recovered two fragments. Problem is they weren't the same two. The second fragment recovered by the doctors was found right

next to the frontal fragment while the second largest fragment observed on the x-rays was, according to O'Neill's own report on the autopsy, observed *"at the rear of the skull at the juncture of the skull bone."*)

And Sibert and O'Neil weren't the only autopsy attendees to recall the fragment's being removed from behind the eye. Roy Kellerman, the Secret Service agent in charge of Kennedy's detail in Dallas, also attended the autopsy, and was tasked with collecting the autopsy materials after its completion. In 1977, when discussing his role in the autopsy, he confirmed what Agent Greer had told the Warren Commission, and told the HSCA's investigators that the x-rays showed *"...a whole mass of stars, the only large piece being behind the eye, which was given to the FBI agents when it was removed."*

An Inconvenient Truth

So, why haven't researchers proposed that these men--the nine men most intimately involved with the taking of the skull x-rays and the collection of the bullet fragments--were correct, and that the largest bullet fragment was behind the right eye? Well, unfortunately it appears that in this instance we're at a rare cognitive confluence of single-assassin theorists and conspiracy theorists, where they both want the same thing, and claim the same thing is true, for entirely different reasons. Single-assassin theorists want to believe Dr. Morgan and the HSCA radiologists' claim the fragment was on the back of the head because it feeds their hope that the medical evidence is a closed book, with no more surprises. Conspiracy theorists, on the other hand, believe the claim because Dr. Mantik, among others, has long noted that the large fragment visible on the A-P x-ray is not visible on the back of the head in the lateral x-ray, and this suggests to them that the fragment was added later... which to them proves a conspiracy... (Ironically, this amounts to them wanting to believe it is there because they can then claim it's not there. Hmmm...)

Well, there are several problems with the thinking behind this "the fragment is fake so it's all a fraud" theory. One is that those adopting this position fail to adequately explore the possibility this fragment or white spot could have an innocent explanation. Limited Radiography (1999) provides a list of *"Common Problems"* in the *"Handling and Processing of X-Ray Film."* Among the common problems listed is the existence of *"white circular spots"* on the film. The cause of these spots? *"Fixer on film before development."* In all the discussion of the white spot on Kennedy's x-rays, I've yet to see anyone rule out that the spot could be a drop of fixer.

And two is that those pushing this position are overly in love with their theory, and prone to grossly exaggerating its merits...

By way of example, Doug Horne, in his 2009 opus Inside the Assassination Records Review Board, presents the ARRB testimony of Humes, Boswell, Reed, and Custer on this fragment, and interjects after each one that they were wrong about the location, without once noting that they were unanimous in their recollection. At one point, he explains: *"Everyone I know of who is qualified to interpret the A-P x-ray--the Clark Panel, the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, and Dr. David Mantik--agrees that the large, bright, 6.5 mm wide semi-circular fragment corresponds in location (if not in density and corresponding brightness) with a very small metallic fragment on the exterior surface of the rear of the skull about 100 mm above the external occipital protuberance."*

This is bizarre, to say the least. Horne can't claim Mantik, who insists the large fragment is not visible on the back of the head, as support for his supposition the Clark Panel and its colleagues on the HSCA

Panel, which both claimed it was visible on the back of the head, were indisputably correct in their conclusions, and that therefore Humes, Boswell, Reed, and Custer are wrong. Or, rather, he can, but not without coming across as someone with a blind spot as wide as Manhattan is tall.

This blind spot is brought further into focus by studying the appendices to Horne's book. Appendix 43, 44, and 45 are reports written by Horne on behalf of the ARRB, summarizing the findings of three outside consultants hired by the board to help them understand the medical evidence. Intriguingly, the substance of these reports was largely unknown to the public before Horne's book was published, some 13 years after the fact. While Forensic Anthropologist Douglas Ubelaker, after being shown the autopsy evidence, noted that the large fragment he saw in the *"vicinity of the orbit of the right eye"* on the A-P x-ray could not be located *"anywhere on the lateral x-rays of the head,"* and Forensic Pathologist Robert Kirschner speculated that the fragment *"near the right eye"* on the A-P x-ray *"might possibly be a plug of bone forced forward into the skull"*, thereby acknowledging that it could be somewhere other than on the back of the head in the x-ray, these men, in Horne's eyes, might not be qualified to interpret x-rays.

The third consultant, Dr. John J. Fitzpatrick, a Forensic Radiologist, however, most certainly was so qualified. According to Horne's own notes on his meeting with Fitzpatrick:

"No object directly or clearly corresponding to the bright 6.5 mm wide radio-opaque object in the A-P x-ray could be identified by the consultant on the lateral skull x-rays. Although there is a mere trace of some additional density near the fragment location at the vertex of the skull, the consultant did not feel this object was anywhere near the density/brightness required for it to correspond to the bright, radio-opaque density on the A-P x-ray. After briefly speculating that the small metallic density behind the right eye in the lateral x-rays might correspond to the bright radio-opaque density in the A-P x-ray, this idea was abandoned because neither the locations nor the density/brightness of the 2 objects are consistent."

Thus, contrary to Horne's assertion that *"Everyone I know of who is qualified to interpret the A-P x-ray...agrees that the large, bright, 6.5 mm wide semi-circular fragment corresponds in location (if not in density and corresponding brightness) with a very small metallic fragment on the exterior surface of the rear of the skull"*, the fact is that not one of the three consultants hired by the ARRB said as much, and that Dr. Fitzpatrick, a Forensic Radiologist, instead looked for this fragment behind the right eye--where he found a fragment previously not discussed in the medical literature--before deciding it didn't match up.

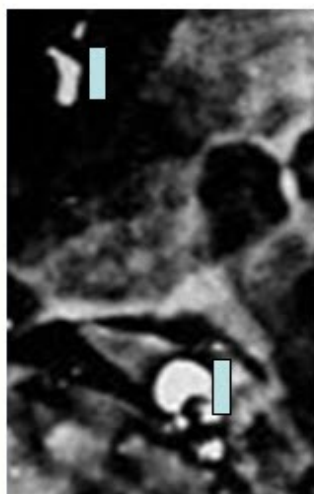
FWIW, I hope to contact Dr. Fitzpatrick in the future to see if the fragment he pointed out and rejected as the large fragment was the very fragment discussed on this slide. If it is, well, I suspect he is incorrect in his conclusion the location was incorrect. It bears repeating that I only came to notice this fragment after spending many hours time trying to match up the A-P and lateral x-rays. There is no evidence Fitzpatrick did this. It is incredibly ironic, moreover, that the fragment I'd observed is directly in line with the small fragment Mantik sees on the back of the head--suggesting the two overlap. Perhaps this overlap explains why the "density/brightness" of the fragment fails to match on the A-P and lateral x-rays.

On the other hand, there is no real reason to think the *"density/brightness"* of the fragment should match on the A-P and lateral x-rays. As pointed out by Jerrol Custer in his 1997 ARRB testimony, the lateral x-ray had *"much greater"* density than the A-P x-ray, and that, as a result, the fragment may have been *"burnt out"* of the x-ray by the increased exposure. Custer had, by 1997, been an x-ray tech for 28

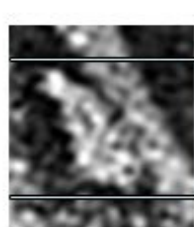
years. He was, furthermore, well familiar with Dr. Mantik's theories. And yet, despite the fact he'd helped push conspiracy theories for years, and had obviously been unconcerned his testimony would be used against him, he firmly rejected Mantik's theories--all of 'em--in his ARRB testimony.

This hasn't gone unnoticed, by the way. In his epic Inside the ARRB, Doug Horne chooses to ignore the elements of Custer's testimony at odds with Mantik's theories. Horne claimed he did this, moreover, because Custer had been inconsistent, and that those trying to understand his inconsistent statements should go by his earliest statements. But this is ludicrous upon its face... I mean, think of it, in Horne's analysis, the initial opinions of someone shown published photos of cropped and computer-enhanced x-rays are more reliable than the opinions of this person after studying the un-cropped originals. This is the very definition of foggy thinking.

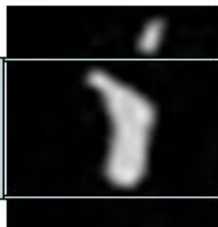
The 7 x 2 Confusion



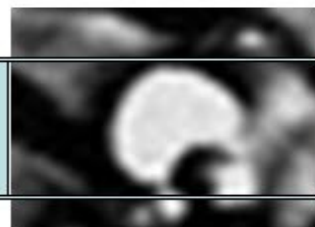
At left: a blow-up from HSCA Exhibit F-56, showing the relative size of the supposedly 7 x 2 mm fragment in the forehead, at top, and the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment supposedly on the back of Kennedy's head, below. If the bottom fragment is really 6.5 mm wide, then the top fragment gives the appearance of a fragment 7.5 mm long. As the forehead on the x-ray was magnified 20% in comparison to the back of the head, however, we can assume the supposedly 7 x 2 forehead fragment was actually 6 mm long, not 7.



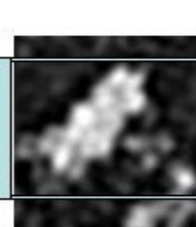
HSCA Exhibit
F-53, Lat. x-ray.



HSCA Exhibit
F-56, A-P x-ray.



HSCA Exhibit
F-56, A-P x-ray



HSCA Exhibit
F-53, Lat. x-ray

When one further compares the two fragments, one finds even better reasons to doubt the forehead fragment was the 7 x 2 fragment removed at autopsy. First of all, 7 x 2 is a two-dimensional measurement for what was undoubtedly a three dimensional object. This means one of the measurements is missing. When one looks at blow-ups of the forehead fragment on HSCA Exhibits F-53 and F-56, the second and third photos from left, it is obvious this fragment was of an unusual shape, more reminiscent of a piece of drift wood than something 7 x 2 (as depicted by the blue rectangles). When one looks at blow-ups of the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment, the 4th and 5th photos from left, moreover, one realizes that, while the fragment appeared crescent-shaped on the A-P view, it appeared roughly 7 x 2 on the lateral view. This suggests the possibility that the 7 x 2 measurement was meant to signify that the fragment was a crescent-shaped object roughly 7mm in diameter, and 2 mm thick. That this fragment can be seen behind the right eye—where the doctors claimed they'd retrieved the 7 x 2 mm fragment, moreover, seals the deal. The "6.5 mm" fragment is actually the "7 x 2" mm fragment!

The 7 x 2 Confusion

Horne's blindness when it comes to Mantik and the supposed fragment on the back of the head becomes even more clear when one realizes that, within Volume 2 of his book, he uses the consultants he ignores regarding the supposed fragment on the back of the head in the x-rays to help debunk that there was a bullet hole apparent on the back of the head in the x-rays. Well, one should ask, if these three consultants were "expert" enough for Horne to quote them regarding a lack of a bullet hole high on the back of the head in the x-rays (and thereby use them to contradict the conclusions of the Clark

Panel and HSCA Pathology Panel), why does he disregard their opinions when they fail to support that there is a fragment on the back of the head in this very same x-ray? I mean, how can he, after spending so much time discrediting the Clark Panel and HSCA Pathology Panel's conclusions, turn around and defer to their expertise regarding this fragment supposedly on the back of the head?

The answer, almost certainly, is that Horne couldn't care less what the Clark Panel and HSCA Pathology Panel had to say about anything, and was using their presumed expertise as a smokescreen to disguise that his belief there was a bullet fragment on the back of the head in the lateral x-ray stems solely from his trust in Dr. Mantik, and Mantik's near religious belief the fragment in the A-P x-ray has been added atop a much-smaller pre-existing fragment...

As stated, Horne needs it to be there, so he can say it isn't there...

As does the man he blindly trusts, Mantik... Despite Humes' repeatedly claiming that the bullet he removed was in the supra-orbital ridge behind the right eye, Mantik, in his articles discussing the fragment removed at autopsy, misrepresents the statements of those present at the autopsy, so that he can claim the fragment removed at autopsy was the fragment in the forehead. In *Assassination Science*, published 1998, he actually claims that the forehead fragment is seen on the A-P view above the 6.5 mm fragment and that *"The pathologists always refer to this one when asked about the largest fragment"* and that, furthermore, this fragment *"can also be seen on the lateral view where it does indeed lie just above the right frontal sinus--exactly where the pathologists described it."*

Well, this is quite a load. Having taken that route, however, Mantik follows it to the end. After misrepresenting what the doctors said, he correctly quotes the FBI report claiming the fragment was behind the right frontal sinus, but then interjects *"It should have said above."* He then uses his re-interpretation of the location of the fragment removed at autopsy as a broad description of this fragment, even reporting that when asked about the largest fragment recovered during the autopsy, Humes immediately *"referred to the fragment above the right frontal sinus."* This completely disguises that Humes' actual testimony was that it was *"up by the eyebrow."*

And this was no one-time thing, mind you. In his 2009 appearance at the JFK Lancer Conference in Dallas, Mantik presented a number of slides in which the forehead fragment was identified as the *"7 x 2 Fragment Removed by Humes,"* even though, as we've seen, 1) there was no mention of a forehead fragment in any of the reports on the autopsy, 2) Humes never claimed this was the fragment he'd recovered, and 3) Humes claimed instead that the fragment he'd recovered was found behind Kennedy's eye.

To be fair, it certainly seems possible Mantik's slipperiness on this issue is not a deliberate ploy to mislead his audience, but is instead a byproduct of his unwarranted acceptance that the 7 x 2 mm fragment removed at the autopsy is the 6 mm long club-shaped fragment visible on the forehead in the x-rays. Apparently, it never occurred to him that a three dimensional crescent-shaped object such as the purportedly 6.5 mm fragment might be described by the length across the crescent, approximately 7mm, by the thickness of the fragment, approximately 2mm, and that, accordingly, the 6.5 mm fragment "discovered" by the Clark Panel could be the 7 x 2 fragment removed at autopsy.

In this, he was far from alone. In fact, I may have been the first to make this observation...

But, apparently. it never occurred to him that the *"6.5 mm fragment"* could be elsewhere in the skull.

And...apparently, it also never occurred to him to look for this fragment where the autopsists actually said it was: behind Kennedy's right eye, where what Mantik now claims is *"probably a bone fragment"* is readily apparent...

This mistake is less understandable...particularly in that the autopsists had claimed to have recovered a 3 by 1 mm fragment from the same location as the 7 by 2 fragment recovered at autopsy, and there are no fragments anywhere near this size by the club-shaped forehead fragment Mantik claims was recovered at autopsy...

Yes. You got it. This inconvenient truth offers us a possible explanation for Mantik's utterly false claim I deny the existence of the small fragments beneath the large fragment on the A-P x-ray. As previously discussed, and demonstrated, these fragments are apparent on the lateral x-ray as well, right behind the eye. By claiming I deny their existence, and then claiming he (and he alone) has seen these fragments on the lateral x-ray, only by the back of the head, he hides from his readers that my location for the fragment recovered at autopsy--behind the right eye--is consistent with the autopsy report's description of a second fragment being found at this location, while his location (the middle of the forehead) is not.

And that's not all he seeks to hide. In his 2011 review of this website, Mantik not only refused to acknowledge his mistake regarding the location of the fragment recovered at the autopsy, (I mean, this was no surprise), he also failed to present the eyewitness support for my belief the fragment was really behind the eye. Instead, he insisted *"No expert has ever identified that site as a piece of metal...The discussion that follows from his misidentification should just be ignored--totally. The reader should simply ask himself a simple question: Who is likely to be correct--an amateur who has viewed only prints or zillions of experts, who have seen the x-rays? It is true that phrases (some by Humes, but others have contributed, too) have imprecisely located the 7 x 2 fragment...but the bottom line is simple: despite the semantic fog, there is really only one large metallic fragment under discussion--and it's not the 'slice' cited by Speer. His 'slice' is just a bone spicule, certainly not metal. It has nothing to do with the case, except that it might have resulted from trauma. The only authentic large fragment involved in the autopsy is the 7 x 2 mm one...which Humes removed."* (NOTE: whenever Mantik writes "7 x 2 fragment" he means the club-shaped fragment in the middle of the forehead.)

Well, this is horse droppings of the smelliest kind. By claiming that some *"phrases"* uttered by unnamed people have *"imprecisely located the 7 x 2 fragment"* Mantik hides from his readers that ALL the autopsy witnesses suggested that the large fragment was removed from where I claim it was and NONE of them suggested it was where he claims it was. This is particularly ironic in that Mantik has in both his study of the autopsy photos and Zapruder film upheld the recollections of the eyewitnesses over the filmed evidence. By pitting my observations against those of *"zillions of experts,"* moreover, he proves himself a total hypocrite, as these same "zillions" have failed to acknowledge the bulk of his own observations.

Oh, wait... What "zillions"? While one can not deny that some of those studying the x-rays have asserted the large bullet fragment I propose was behind the eye was really on the back of the head, the most recent experts to study the x-rays, including Mantik himself (if one wishes to consider him an expert), have not. This suggests that at least a few of these "experts" would be open-minded to my identification of the fragment, should they ever become aware of it. Even worse, and even more embarrassing to Mantik, none of the radiology experts noting the club-shaped fragment on the x-rays, beyond Mantik himself of course, have claimed it was the fragment recovered at autopsy.

Don't believe me? Well, then, let's go through them...

The Clark Panel, who "saw" much more than everyone else, made no mention of the forehead fragment. None of the Rockefeller Commission's experts mentioned it, either.

And the HSCA's consultants weren't much better. Dr. Angel mentioned a *"radiopaque mark"* near a bullet exit on the frontal bone--a bullet exit Mantik justifiably fails to acknowledge--but never claimed this "mark" represented the fragment recovered at autopsy. Dr. Chase mentioned a *"frontal fragment"* that was slightly higher than the largest fragment on the A-P view, and may have been discussing this in connection with its being recovered at autopsy, or not... Dr. William Seaman failed to note any bullet fragments. Dr. McDonnell noted a fragment above the sinus, but never claimed this was the fragment recovered at autopsy. Dr. David Davis never even once mentioned this fragment in his report. The report of the pathology panel, on the other hand, asserted that there were a number of missile fragments apparent on the x-rays, with a number of them between 2 and 6 mm, with the largest of these present *"beneath the skin in front."* That's right. They noted the fragment. But nevertheless failed to claim this was the fragment recovered at autopsy. As they claimed this fragment was but 6 mm, moreover, it seems possible that they'd doubted it was the 7 mm fragment recovered at autopsy. I mean, who knows? Certainly not Mantik.

The ARRB's three consultants, in closing, never mentioned this fragment.

So what was Mantik thinking about? While I at first was at a loss, I later realized that the first two independent examiners of the autopsy materials, Dr. John Lattimer and Dr. Cyril Wecht, discussed the forehead fragment in their articles on their examinations, and suggested this was the fragment recovered at autopsy.

Lattimer actually went further than that. In the May 1972 article on his examinations, he depicted a *"bullet fragment in front of brain"* and asserted *"The second largest fragment (7 mm x 3 mm, but crescentic) had come to rest in the front margin of the brain just above the top of the frontal sinus on the right."* As the largest fragment collected at autopsy was reportedly 7 x 2, and adjacent to the frontal sinus, this undoubtedly fed the suspicion that the largest fragment on the x-rays--the one Lattimer claimed was on the back of the head--was not the one collected at autopsy.

And Wecht built upon this suspicion. In the caption to Wecht's depiction of the lateral skull x-ray, published in the April 1974 issue of Forensic Science, he described a *"sizable fragment at the rear of the skull"* and then asserted *"Another sizable fragment is seen in the supraorbital region. A fragment from this location is reported to have been removed surgically and later subjected to spectrographic analysis."* As Wecht's report followed Lattimer's by almost two years, moreover, it seems reasonable to assume Wecht got this from Lattimer. Yep, irony of ironies, Dr. David Mantik has attacked me for not going along with what he claims to have been the conclusion of "zillions" of experts, when the actual provenance of this "conclusion" appears to have been the muddled mind of Dr. John Lattimer, not exactly a reliable "expert" on the Kennedy assassination medical evidence.

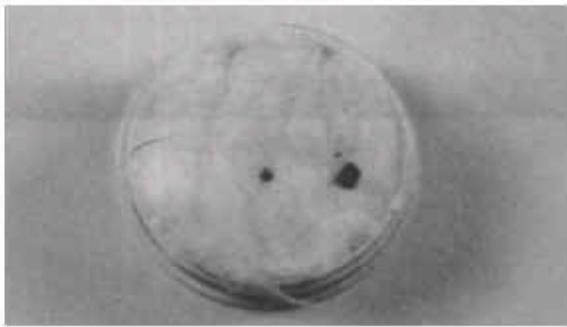
Well, what can I say? Although Mantik's writings on the x-rays undoubtedly provoked my interest in this aspect of the assassination, many of his claims have not stood the test of time, and I have found his attempts at sidestepping my conclusions pathetic and embarrassing. His assertion that Humes removed the club-shaped fragment, when Humes never said as much, and in fact suggested otherwise, is nonsense, pure and simple. And he should stop repeating this falsehood.

I mean, it's not as if I'm the first or only person to conclude the fragment placed in the archives--the one

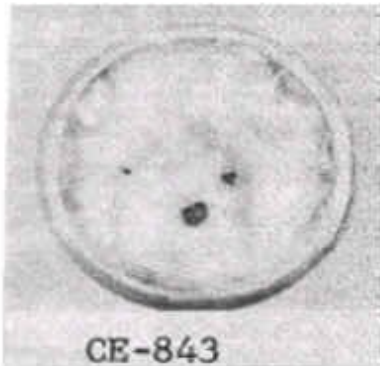
purportedly recovered at autopsy--is not the club-shaped fragment on the x-rays. The man who's visited the archives and viewed the x-rays more than any other has concluded that they, in fact, are not the same.

The name of this man? You guessed it. It's David Mantik...


The Fragment Fragment




Warren Commission Exhibit CE 843



CE-843

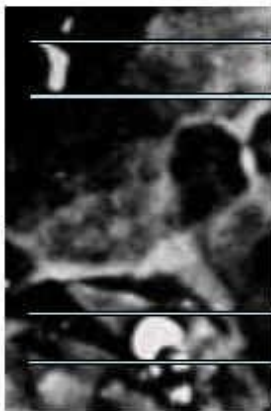


Across the top: three faces of CE-843.




Above: an FBI photo uncovered by John Hunt of the fragment that would eventually be designated CE-843. This is how it appeared before testing.

At right:
blow-ups
from F-53 and
F-56 detailing
the original
sizes and shapes
of two fragments.
Which one is
the fragment
at left?



Front view



Side view

The Fragment Fragment

Now, to be clear, on this particular point I concur with Dr. Mantik. He was apparently the first to notice it, he deserves credit for it, and he is absolutely correct--CE 843, the fragment Humes claimed he'd removed from behind Kennedy's eye, bears no resemblance to the club-shaped fragment so many assume he'd recovered from the forehead.

In his essay *20 Conclusions After Nine Visits*, Mantik writes that this is “*One of the most shocking contradictions in the entire case. The shape of the larger piece of metal is nothing like the supposedly identical piece seen on the x-rays. No measurements taken on this piece can explain its bizarre transformation in shape. Most likely, it is not the piece taken from the skull...I saw only two, not three, at NARA. The largest, however, bears no resemblance to the corresponding image on the x-rays. The larger piece shown here is pancake shaped and was 107 mg. On the other hand the x-rays show a club shaped object—on both x-ray views. The studies done by the FBI on this object—spectrographic analysis and neutron activation analysis, required only a tiny amount at most, about 1 mg, according to*

one of the FBI experts...No one has offered an explanation for this flagrant discrepancy in shape of the largest piece. Sampling of the material is not an explanation. The possibility of substitution of fragments, an issue actually raised by the neutron activation expert (Dr. Vincent Guinn), remains wide open."

While it might seem strange my quoting Mantik on this issue, seeing as I've repeatedly demonstrated his lack of credibility, it's not half as strange as Mantik's insisting the 7 by 2 fragment removed at autopsy is the fragment on the forehead on the x-rays, and then turning around and admitting that the fragment in the archives is not the fragment one sees on the forehead. Hmmm... I mean, before insinuating some sort of switcheroo had been performed, shouldn't it have occurred to him that maybe, just maybe, the fragment removed at autopsy was not the fragment on the forehead, but was a fragment removed from somewhere else? Hmmm... Perhaps even from where the doctors claimed it had been removed, from behind the right eye? I don't know. Just a thought...

In any event, Mantik was correct to mention Guinn. Guinn testified before the HSCA that the fragment he tested, and the fragment subsequently seen by Mantik, was much smaller than the original fragment. While the fragment entered into evidence by the FBI was 107 mg, the one tested by Guinn 15 years later was only 41.9 mg. Robert Frazier, the FBI ballistics expert, described the fragments to the Warren Commission as follows: *"These fragments consisted of two pieces of lead, one weighed 1.65 grains. (107 mg) The other weighed .15 grains. They were examined spectrographically so their present weight would be somewhat less since a very small amount would be needed for spectrographic analysis."*

HSCA Chief Counsel Robert Blakey, however, followed up on Guinn's comments and was able to find out that the size of the fragment used in the spectrographic tests was 32.045 mg, not as large as the original fragment, and not as large as the remaining fragment. This means the FBI broke up the fragment and destroyed or lost more than 60% of its mass! The reasons for this are not clear. Since these spectrographic tests were done before Frazier's testimony, moreover, this means the photographs of CE 843 entered into evidence during his testimony showed only the remaining fragment. This, then, explains the discrepancy noted by Mantik.

But not really. When one reflects back on Mantik's description of the fragment as *"pancake-shaped,"* and considers the size and shape of the fragment apparent in the forehead, it seems likely that the original-full-sized CE 843 looked nothing like the fragment apparent in the forehead, and is, if only by default, most likely the fragment seen behind the eye on the x-rays.

This feeds back into the possibility that the 7 by 2 measurement given for this fragment represented an irregular 7 mm pancake that was 2mm thick, and not a thin pole 7 mm long by 2 mm in diameter, as so many assume. Perhaps the rounded edge of this fragment, then, represents the rounded edge of the lead missing from CE 569, the hollow base of a bullet found beside the front seat of the limousine.

One finds support for this possibility, in fact, in the most surprising of places. In Larry Sturdivan's 2005 book *The JFK Myths*, he recounts his 2004 visit to the Archives to view the Kennedy autopsy materials. When discussing the supposed 6.5 mm fragment on the x-rays, which Sturdivan believes is an artifact, he offers *"The disk was not as nearly circular as it appears on the view printed in the HSCA report. The edges are irregular, with the 'bite' being merely the largest indentation in the irregular, jagged margin."* This irregularity of the edges would appear to be more consistent with the edges being lead from the inside of the bullet, than of their being the outer margin of a smooth copper jacket.

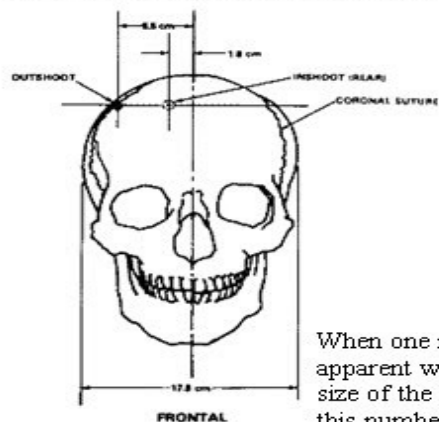
And we can see this for ourselves. At the 2003 assassination conference put on by Dr. Cyril Wecht,

researcher John Hunt displayed photos he'd recently uncovered at the National Archives, including photos taken by the FBI of the bullet fragments prior to testing. These photos revealed a much larger fragment than the one entered into evidence by Frazier, with a rounded edge on the far side of the fragment, and a bite out of the near side. Intriguingly, the shadow of this bite approximates the shape of the bite visible on the x-ray fragment. Intriguingly, when one rotates the fragment in one's mind, so that the bite appears in the 5 o'clock position of the bite apparent on the x-ray, a small shelf of lead is lifted towards the top of the fragment when seen from the side, precisely where such a shelf is visible on the lateral x-ray. When one looks at the fragment in the photo, and compares it to the shape of the forehead fragment apparent on the A-P x-ray, moreover, it's clear that the fragment in the photo is too thick to be the club-shaped fragment on the x-ray. As a result it seems almost certain that this fragment is the large fragment seen on the x-ray, and that it was found behind the right eye, exactly as claimed by Humes.

Not that Mantik will acknowledge this, of course. In his 2011 review of this website, Mantik asked himself *"Has Speer explained the discrepancy between the 7 x 2 mm fragment (seen on the x-rays) and the quite different fragment in evidence at NARA?"* He then responded by claiming that John Hunt has *"discovered that only 2 mg was actually taken for spectroscopy. This is only a tiny fraction of the original mass (106.92 mg) of the larger fragment."* Well, beyond his continuing to call the club-shaped fragment the 7 x 2 fragment, when this fragment was not in the location of the 7 x 2 fragment recovered at the autopsy, Mantik misled his readers on a crucial point. The fragment at NARA is not 104.92 mg, as suggested by Mantik, but 41.9 mg. The fragment used in the spectrographic tests was 32.05 mg. This suggests that the 106.92 mg fragment was broken into pieces. The break-up of this fragment, irregardless of the reason, offers us a reasonable explanation for why the bullet fragment in the archives photos fails to match its appearance on the x-rays.

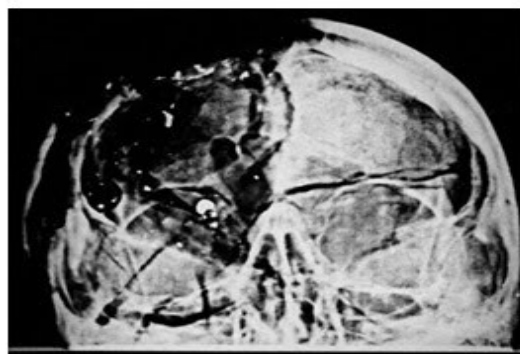
It's Only Make Believe

LOCATION OF HEAD WOUNDS IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY

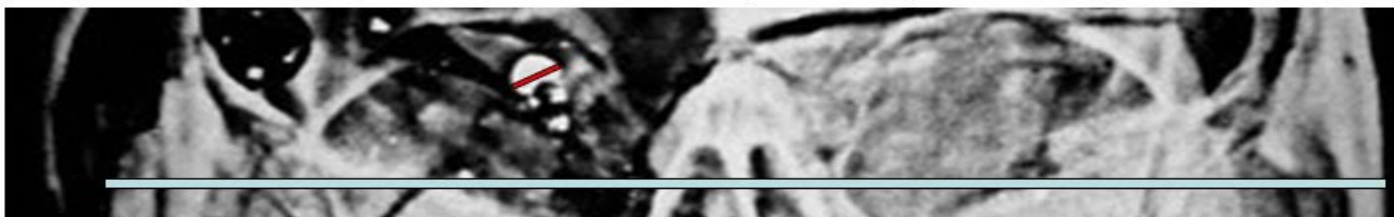


Below: a blow-up from Exhibit F-56, with red and blue lines added to demonstrate the relative widths of the bullet fragment and skull.

At left, HSCA Exhibit F-147, presenting the conclusion that Kennedy's skull was 17.5 cm wide. At right: HSCA Exhibit F-56, Kennedy's A-P x-ray, featuring a bullet fragment purported to be 6.5 mm in diameter.



When one measures the diameter of the fragment on the x-ray, and divides it by the apparent width of the skull on the x-ray, one receives a numerical expression of the size of the fragment in relation to the widest part of the skull. When one multiplies this number by 17.5, one finds this to be about 7.4 mm. If one accepts that this 17.5 measurement was the actual width of the skull, prior to the magnification of the x-ray, moreover, one finds that the fragment, should it actually have been on the back of Kennedy's head, would have to have been about 8.9 mm in diameter. In short, the 6.5 mm measurement was only make believe, no matter how you slice it.



It's Only Make Believe

It was not until 2010--years after I'd first concluded the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment on the back of the head was really the 7 by 2 fragment removed from behind the eye, that I finally realized the obviousness of it all. It was while looking through a presentation by, no surprise, Dr. David Mantik. In this presentation-- while arguing that the fragment had been added to the x-rays, Dr. Mantik had repeatedly argued that the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment must have been added on, as it made no sense for an actual fragment 6.5 mm in diameter to end up on the back of the head, and it made no sense for an accidental artifact to be precisely 6.5 mm, the width of the bullets fired in the rifle found in the book depository.

Well, I thought, how do we know it was precisely 6.5 mm? Ding. Ding. Ding. Alarm bells sound. Hmmm...

We don't! The Clark Panel, the same experts who incorrectly re-located the entrance on the back of Kennedy's head...and the same experts who misrepresented the level of Kennedy's back wound in comparison to his throat wound...and the same experts who claimed there were two left lateral x-rays in the archives, but no right lateral x-ray, said so. That is all.

While the report of the HSCA's forensic pathology panel also noted that the "*maximum diameter*" of the "*radiopaque shadow*" on the back of the head "*measures 0.65 centimeter*," it made no mention of where they got this measurement, and it seems clear they simply pulled this from the report of the Clark Panel.

To refresh, that report claimed: "*On one of the lateral films of the skull (#2), a hole measuring approximately 8 mm. in diameter on the outer surface of the skull and as much as 20 mm. on the internal surface can be seen in profile approximately 100 mm. above the external occipital protuberance. The bone of the lower edge of the hole is depressed. Also there is, embedded in the outer table of the skull close to the lower edge of the hole, a large metallic fragment which on the anteroposterior film (#1) lies 25 mm. to the right of the midline. This fragment as seen in the latter film is round and measures 6.5 mm in diameter immediately adjacent to the hole on the internal surface of the skull, there is localized elevation of the soft tissues. Small fragments of bone lie within portions of these tissues and within the hole itself. These changes are consistent with an entrance wound of the skull produced by a bullet similar to that of exhibit CE 399.*"

Well, as we've seen, these conclusions are far more precise and far more detailed than the conclusions of ANY expert or panel of experts to look at the x-rays, before or since...even AFTER the x-rays had been enhanced by a computer. NO other expert to study the x-rays, beyond those on the Clark Panel, ever gave an exact measurement for the large fragment, let alone claimed it was 6.5 mm in diameter, the exact diameter of a cross-section of the ammunition purportedly used in the shooting. It follows then, that, sure as snow in Minneapolis in January, the Clark Panel were blowing smoke. I mean, let's get real, they found a fragment on an x-ray and claimed the size of this fragment suggested the use of the presumed assassination weapon. The books on radiology I've studied have virtually all warned against this, and have claimed instead that you can not determine with precision the bullet caliber of a bullet on an x-ray...and are better off not even trying.

Should one doubt me on this, well, here's another passage by Dr.s James Messmer and B.G. Brogdon from chapter 18 of A Radiologic Atlas of Abuse, Torture, Terrorism, and Inflicted Trauma (2003):

"There is a great temptation, always to be resisted, to estimate the caliber of a bullet or size of a shot by eyeballing the projectile on a radiograph. Any missile contained within the body will be magnified to some degree upon radiography, and only a small degree of magnification destroys any hope of accuracy. The actual difference in dimension between the caliber of weapons commonly used in both military and nonmilitary weapons is really quite close together in size. Moreover, the common designations of caliber are not really precisely accurate."

Let's recall here that the Clark Panel studied the photos and x-rays over the course of two days... in secret. They did not talk to the x-ray techs who created the x-rays, nor to the radiologist and autopsy doctors who'd studied them. As a result, there's no reason to believe they'd acquired the information necessary to even approximate the actual size of the bullet fragment.

But we can give it a shot, if only just to see if they were even in the ballpark. In 1978, during the testimony of trajectory expert Thomas Canning, drawings of Kennedy were entered into evidence that included the claim Kennedy's head measured 17.5 cm at its widest point. When one measures the supposed 6.5 mm fragment, and divides it by the measurement of the widest point of the skull on the x-rays, however, and then multiplies this by 17.5, one discovers that the fragment would be about 7.4 cm wide...

Or so it would seem... Let's see if we can get to the bottom of this...

According to Joe Durnavich's article on the x-rays, published on the website of John McAdams, the face on Kennedy's A-P x-ray was magnified by 22% in comparison to the back of the head. This means that the widest point on the skull would not be above the ear, as one would normally expect, but at the side of the forehead. It follows then that, if the large fragment on the x-rays was behind the eye, as I propose, it was about 7.4 mm in its longest dimension.

If this fragment was on the back of the head, as purported by the Clark Panel, however, the fit is not so nice. You see, the fragment gives the appearance of being 7.4 mm wide when one assumes the fragment is at the widest part of the skull. For this fragment to appear so wide, when it is actually on the back of the head, then, it would have to be wider than 7.4 mm. By a rough guesstimate (feel free to conduct your own tests on this matter) what appeared to be the widest part of the skull was magnified around 20% over the back of Kennedy's head. If so, this means that the supposed 6.5 mm fragment, if it was on the back of the head as purported, was actually about 8.9 mm in diameter, and not precisely 6.5 mm, as so widely believed.

That's right. If the 17.5 cm measurement for Kennedy's skull provided by the HSCA is correct, the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment supposedly on the back of the head was not 6.5 mm wide.

So where did this measurement come from? Did the Clark Panel just make it up?

Maybe. On the other hand, as the 17.5 measurement provided by the HSCA is far larger than what one would expect for a human skull, and would seem to be the measurement of the skull on the x-ray, on which magnification is apparent, the Clark Panel may have simply thought that "Heck, the skull on the x-ray has been magnified about 20% over its actual size" and then adjusted their measurement of the fragment to account for this magnification. This would reduce the size of the fragment down to about 6.2 mm wide, which they may have considered close enough to 6.5 mm wide.

If they did this, of course, they were incorrect. There was no magnification at the back of the head, and

no adjustment was necessary.

Mantik Rides Again

On October 12, 2010, Dr. David Mantik, responding to my writings on this subject through Dr. James Fetzer, replied: *"The 6.5 mm object lay at the very rear of the skull, so it should have been very close to the film. That means magnification was minimal. For the actual size of the 6.5 mm object on the film, my OD graphs are best: measurements were to within 0.1 mm. Is that precise enough?"*

Now, at first I took this as a claim that Dr. Mantik's measurements showed the fragment to be within 1 mm of 6.5 mm wide, and that the fragment therefore was most logically 6.5 mm in diameter.

This led me to claim that, if this was true, then the skull on the x-ray was not 17.5 cm, as claimed by the HSCA. Because the proportions just aren't right. $6.5\text{mm} / 17.5\text{ cm} = .0371$, while the skull fragment on the x-ray represents .0422 the apparent width of the skull. For the fragment to be 6.5 mm on the x-ray, moreover, the skull would have to be 15.4 cm wide on the x-ray. Since the skull was magnified on this x-ray, by about 20%, this would mean the skull was about 12.8 cm in width before magnification--too small. Still, perhaps the magnification was not as great as I've been led to believe. But if the skull was actually 14-15 cm wide, and appeared to be 15.4 cm wide on the x-ray, then from where did the trajectory panel pull this 17.5 cm measurement? Hmmm... Either Mantik is incorrect or the HSCA trajectory panel pulled this measurement from its collective rump.

But then I re-read Mantik's words. He is clearly deferring to his OD graphs. These graphs were published in Assassination Science.

Here is his OD Graph for the A-P x-ray.

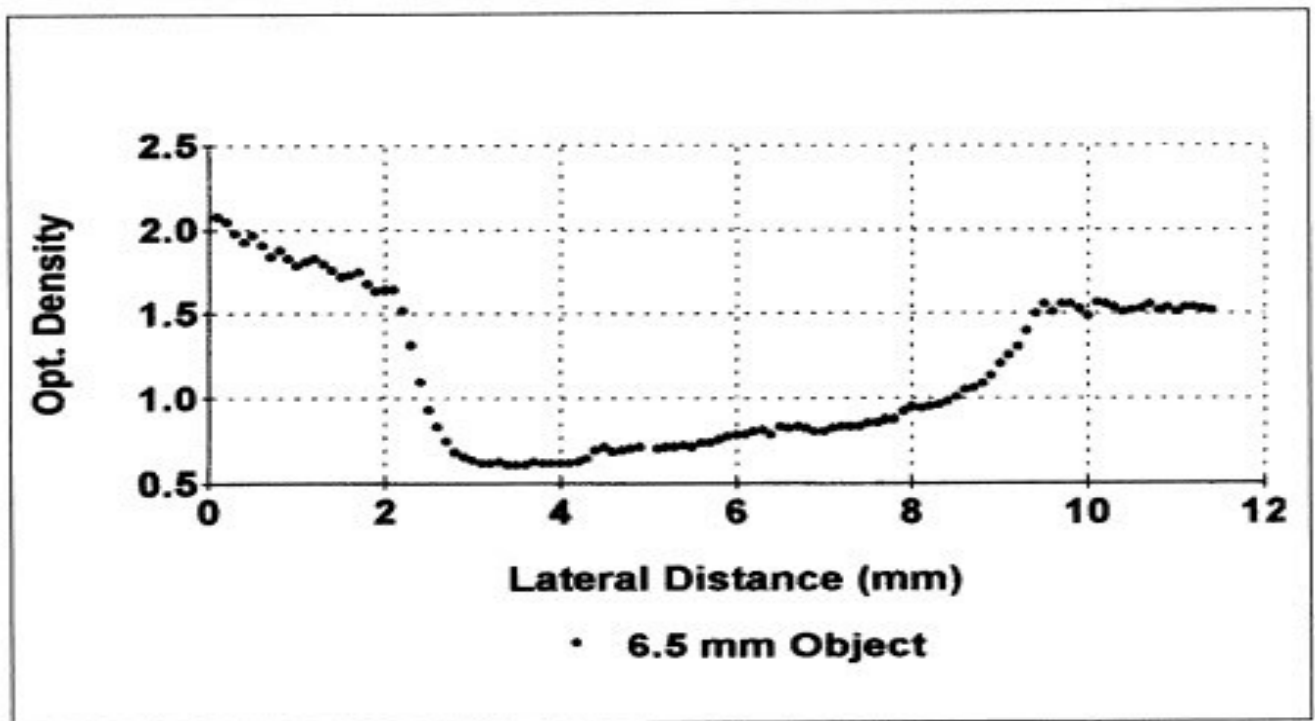


Figure 5. JFK AP skull X-ray: 6.5 mm object.
Horizontal scan: right to left.

Now, even by a conservative interpretation of the data, whereby the fragment starts around the 2 mm position and ends around the 9.5 mm position, the fragment is larger than 6.5 mm, and is about 7.5 mm. As Mantik believes the magnification of this fragment was minimal, moreover, it certainly appears that he is acknowledging that the supposedly 6.5 mm fragment was really not 6.5 mm, and is more in line with the 7.4 mm fragment I'd proposed.

Thank you, Dr. Mantik.

Or not. In June 2011, in the by-now much-mentioned article published on the CTKA website, Dr. Mantik responded to my many criticisms of his research and analysis. This article, sadly, was filled with a multitude of dubious boasts and claims, some of which we've already discussed. Among these claims was Mantik's strange assertion the fragment on the x-ray was really 6.5 mm even though his measurements showed it to be 7.4 or so. When asking himself if the 6.5 mm object was actually that size on the A-P x-ray, Dr. Mantik actually claimed *"of course it was. This size was cited by both the HSCA and the Clark Panel."* Well, I could stop right there. For Mantik to claim these panels as unimpeachable sources on anything was strange enough. But from there things only got stranger.

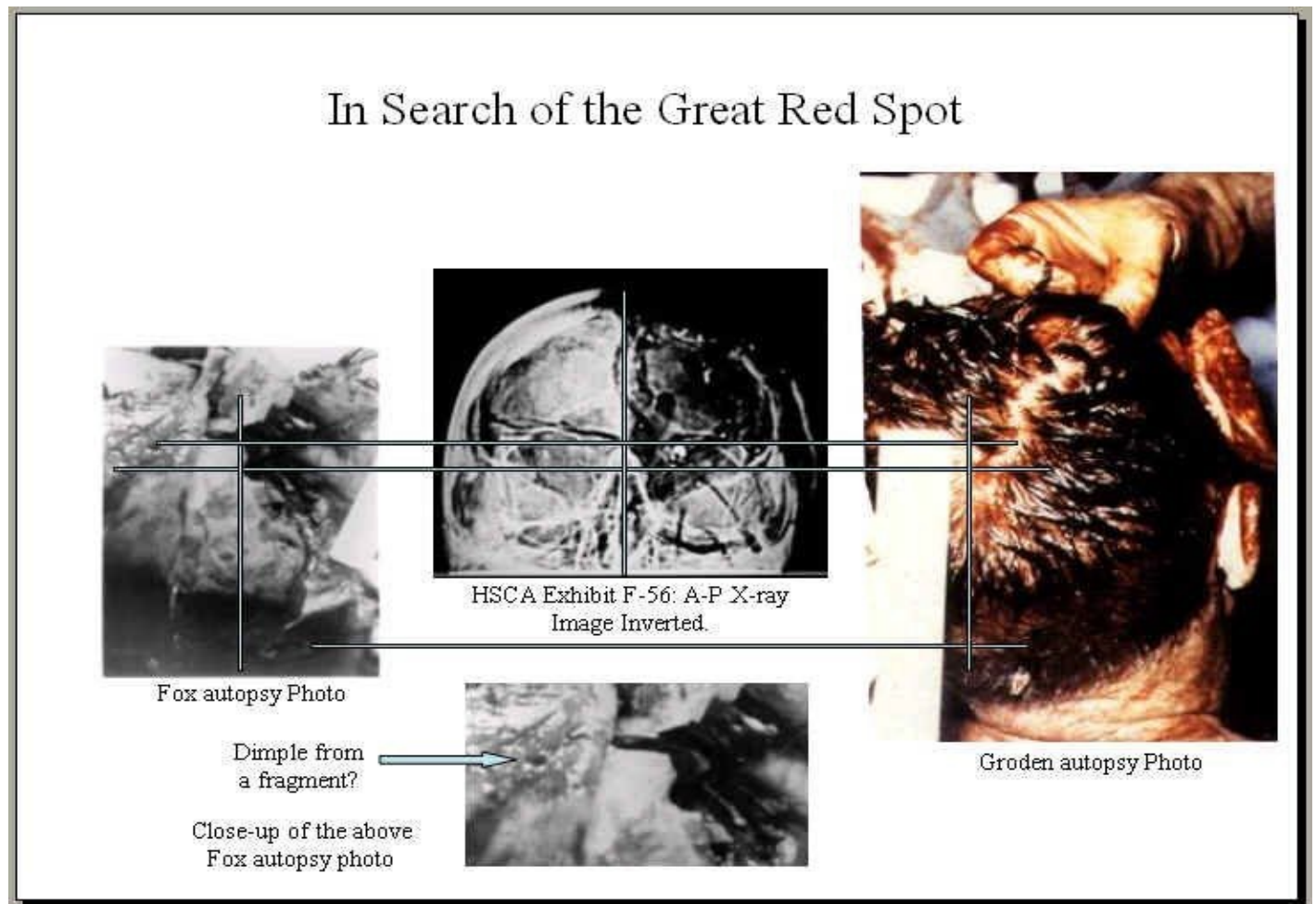
Yes, welcome to Strangeland. Although Mantik failed to dispute my 7.4 mm measurement for the shape on the OD graph above, he nevertheless insisted that my *"measurement technique"* was *"highly unorthodox"* and that *"Most scientists would measure from the halfway point (between minimum and maximum ODs) at either end of the curve."*

What silliness! If, for some reason, it was known that the object on the x-rays was flat and directly facing the x-ray, this might make sense. But since the object was believed to be a 3D fragment, whereby its edges would most likely be less thick than its center, and where its center would therefore have the greatest OD, measuring from the halfway point between minimum and maximum ODs would

only serve to under-report the true size of the fragment.

P.S. Since Dr. Mantik's measurements suggest that the fragment was roughly 7.4 mm wide on the x-ray, we can go ahead and assume the HSCA's 17.5 measurement was taken from the A-P x-ray, with its magnified skull. This means then, that, should the fragment be behind the right eye, as I presume, then the fragment would not be its apparent size of 7.4 mm, but be about 6.2 mm. Since the fragment behind the eye would, in my correlation, be angled away from the film, moreover, it follows that its actual size would be a bit more than 6.2 mm, and approximately that of the 7 mm fragment removed at autopsy.

Chapter 18b: More Fun with X-rays



In Search of the Great Red Spot

For the longest time, I suspected that the “slice” on the x-ray was embedded at the back of Kennedy’s head in the location of the red spot. With my discovery of the “slice” on the lateral x-ray, however, I avoided making such a sorry claim on this website presentation. (Only time will tell how many other sorry claims remain.) Anyhow, when you align the A-P x-ray with the back of the head and mystery photos, it becomes clear that the bullet “slice” was in fact, considerably to the right of the red spot. This is in keeping with the HSCA radiologists who said the fragment was to the right of the purported cowlick entrance.

So what was the red spot? For a brief period, I was tempted to conclude the red spot was merely the dried blood Dr. Humes suggested it was. But then I remembered that, when I matched up the neck lines in the back of the head photo with those in the mystery photo, the hairline wounds were suddenly

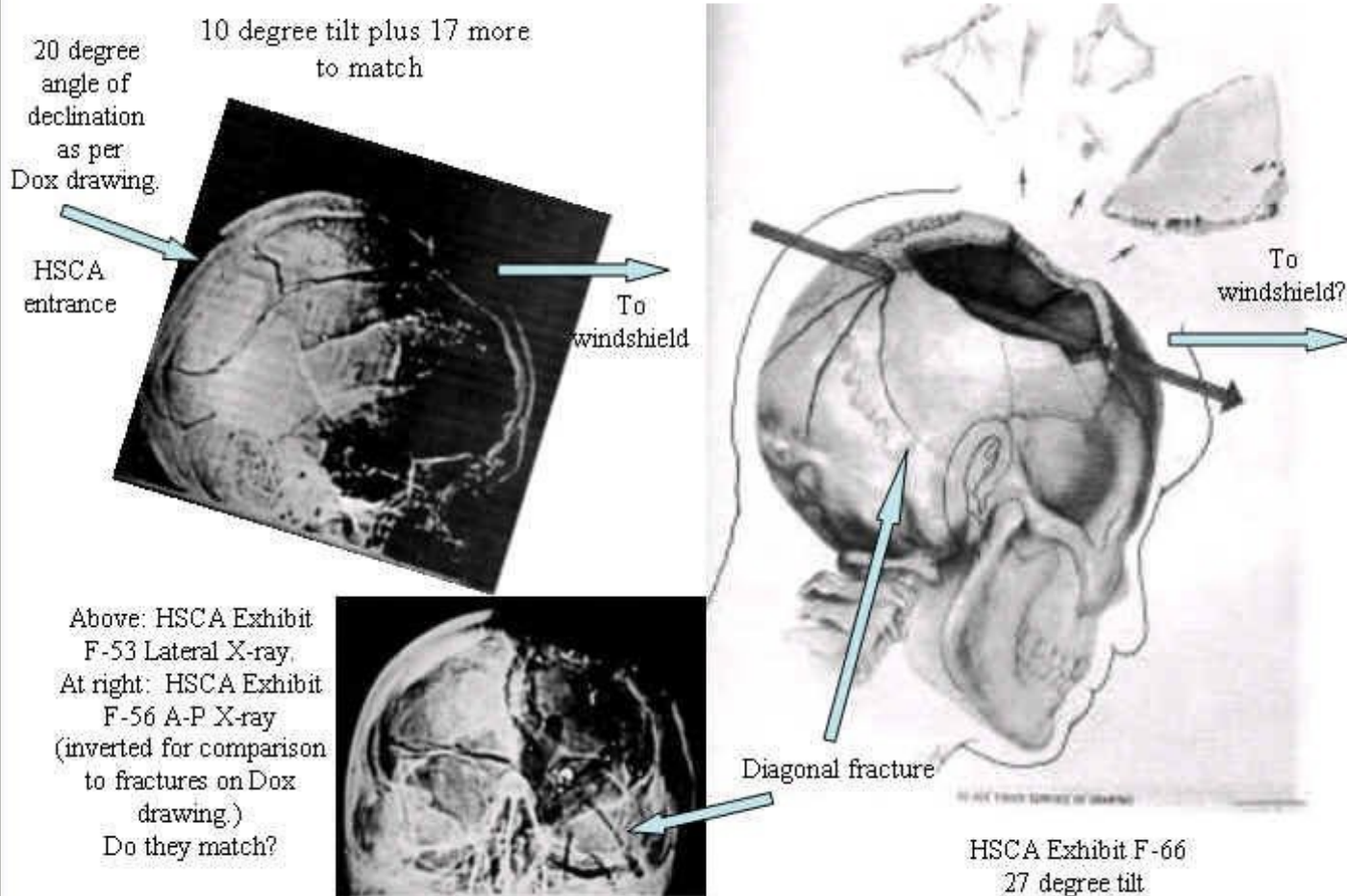
in the same position as the one measured at the autopsy, and the red spot suddenly aligned with the beveled exit on the mystery photo. This seemed way too much a coincidence. This led me to conclude the red spot represented an impact location on the inside of Kennedy's skull created by an exploding bullet fragment. Close-ups of the scalp reflected from the beveled bone in the mystery photo reveal a small dimple on the underside of the scalp, far too small to represent the exit of a full-sized bullet.

Ironically, the possibility exists that the fragment causing all this damage was the one found by Humes in Kennedy's frontal lobe. Perhaps it landed in the lobe only after ricocheting off the inside of the back of Kennedy's skull, leaving a line of macerated brain stretching from the far back of Kennedy's head to his eyebrow, perhaps shedding small fragments along its way. This would certainly help explain the purported "channel" of brain damage observed on the brain photos.

Should one think that this fragment would have been likely to break through the skin at the point of the red oval, one should be reminded that books on the human skull acknowledge that it takes 30% more energy to pierce a skull when it's covered with skin, and that skin is therefore much stronger than most believe. The bullet that killed Oswald, by curious example, cut through his entire body, including a number of organs, only to come to a sudden stop beneath the skin of his back.

Still, if the red spot overlay a hole in the skull caused by the large fragment removed at autopsy, it might appear that Humes lied to the HSCA. After all, when asked about the red spot in the cowlick, he answered: "I don't know what that is. Number one, I can assure you that as we reflected the scalp to get to this point, there was no defect corresponding to this in the skull..." It remains possible, though, that he wasn't lying. When he said "there was no defect corresponding" he may have been thinking in terms of the entrance he described to the Warren Commission, that is, a round hole completely surrounded by bone. Since so much of the skull collapsed as he reflected the scalp, and since he had such limited experience with gunshot wounds, it seems entirely reasonable that Humes would overlook what we now interpret as beveling, especially as it was some distance from what he'd determined to be the entrance and exit on the scalp.

X-ray/Ida Dox Drawing Comparison



X-ray/Ida Dox Drawing Comparison

When testifying before the HSCA, medical illustrator Ida Dox declared that the depiction of the skull fractures in the HSCA's medical exhibits was determined after "studying very carefully the x-rays...in close consultation with the medical panel, particularly Michael Baden." As noted elsewhere, Baden had pressured her to change her drawing of the back of the head to make the red smudge in the cowlick look more like a bullet entrance, and thus sell that the bullet entered near the top of Kennedy's head, at not near the bottom, as noted at autopsy. This alone should give us pause and make us double-check the accuracy of the fractures in these drawings.

Sure enough, when one compares the Dox illustration that details the skull fractures on Kennedy's head, Exhibit F-66, to Kennedy's x-rays, one can't help but notice another one of Baden's "improvements." While there is a diagonal fracture heading towards the right at the back of the head on the Dox drawing, this fracture doesn't appear on the x-ray. Although lateral x-rays are not expected to give clear images of fractures along the very back of the head, due to the density of the skull when looked at on edge, this fracture winds its way far enough to the side where it should be visible. So where is it? And, just as importantly, if it's not on the x-ray, why is it on the drawing?

And why are there fractures on the x-rays not depicted on the drawing? The large fractures originating near the President's temple and running towards the back of his head were apparently overlooked by

Dox and Baden. The intersection between the fracture originating near the purported in-shoot in the cowlick and the fracture coming from the wound near the temple, where it is made obvious that the temple wound pre-dates the cowlick wound, was also overlooked, apparently. But isn't it a bit ridiculous to think that they also overlooked the two fractures running horizontally across the lower back portion of the skull? (The occipital region).

That these last fractures are troublesome is made clear when one reads the Clark Panel and HSCA reports and realizes that these fractures are never explained and are barely even acknowledged. While the Clark Panel, for instance, made the dubious claim that there was a hole 100 mm above the EOP and that "Immediately adjacent to the hole on the internal surface of the skull, there is localized elevation of the soft tissues", they didn't once mention the obvious and easy-to-distinguish fractures running horizontally across the back of the skull.

These fractures were ignored by most everyone, in fact, until radiologist Randy Robertson attempted to write about them in Radiology Magazine. Editor Stanley Siegelman submitted Robertson's article for peer review to at least two doctors who'd staked their reputation on their belief that there was only one headshot. He then violated standard protocol and publicly rejected Robertsons's submission, stating that these fractures were concentric fractures from the in-shoot in the cowlick, as per an article by Smith et al in the September, 1987 Journal of Forensic Sciences. When one reads the referenced article, however, one finds that concentric fractures are created slightly after a bullet's impact as a result of increased intracranial pressure in the skull. This couldn't have happened in Kennedy's skull, however, because there were purportedly multiple exits created by its fragmenting bullet, which would immediately release the pressure. Similarly, the article demonstrates that concentric fractures have long spokes which are linked together by smaller fractures, as internal pressure builds and radiates outwards from the in-shoot. Accordingly, the smaller fractures connecting the spokes are not found at the end of the spokes, like a bicycle tire, but are lower in the spokes like a spider web. This is simply not the case with Kennedy's fractures, where the spokes coming from the bullet fragment appear to end at the transverse fracture in the occipital region. This indicates that the occipital fractures pre-date the fractures purportedly coming from the bullet slice.

Adding to the likelihood that the troublesome features on the x-rays were deliberately excluded from the Dox drawing is the fact that, on exhibit F-66, the bullet is depicted traveling straight through Kennedy's head, down towards the seat in front of him. This would be Connally's seat, where NO bullet fragments were found. This drawing also fails to depict how the nose of this bullet raced across the car at the level of Kennedy's head and struck the windshield, and how the tail of this bullet struck the windshield frame nearby. That this last deception was deliberate is borne out by the pathology panel's report, which states "in the experience of the members, the estimated size of the principal exit defect is consistent with the size of *a single exiting missile representing the mass of the two major fragments recovered outside the body*". Since the "two major fragments" were the nose and the tail of the bullet, and were missing large sections of the middle and were thus not able to comprise a "single exiting missile," the HSCA medical panel was as much as admitting that the large skull fractures by the supposed exit made no sense! Not surprisingly, F-66, created under Dr. Baden's supervision, fails to depict these fractures.

That the panel tried to hide the lack of logical support for their conclusions is further evidenced by their description of the bullet's path through the head. The report notes "The x-ray evidence indicates that the missile fragmented on impact, produced a number of outwardly radiating fractures, and proceeded in an essentially straight and forward path and to the right, paralleling the upper surface of the head. This type of missile fragmentation is consistent with a jacketed missile. *The main core mass probably existed in a single fragment that remained intact until striking the automobile, causing it to fragment into several pieces.*" This is one of the most preposterous passages in the whole report. First, how does

a bullet fragmenting upon impact with a skull remain intact until after exiting the skull, and then break up on a windshield or metal strut? It doesn't. Second, how does a "main core mass" entailing the nose and base of a bullet leave the contents of its middle in a skull, but exit intact? It doesn't. And third, since the largest recovered fragment was deformed and folded over on itself to a greater degree than one would expect from its merely striking a windshield, how does one conclude that this fragment "probably" exited the skull as part of a much larger fragment? One doesn't. Thus, the panel's conclusion regarding the fragments is absolute garbage, indicative of either the panel's own confusion, or its desire to confuse or mislead others.

As Dr. Baden himself, in his book *Unnatural Death*, repeats this nonsense about the bullet exiting intact and breaking up on the windshield frame, it seems likely he either actually believed or actively pushed this silliness. It seems mighty convenient for Dr. Baden and his contention of a cowlick entry that the exhibits created under his supervision not only failed to depict the occipital fractures on Kennedy's skull and the large fractures by the supposed exit, but the bullet's presumed exit trajectory to the windshield, which made little sense for the supposedly intact bullet needed to create the large exit fractures. It kinda makes one wonder whether Dr. Baden is a scientist or a salesman.

On the other hand, the errors and omissions might just be an honest mistake. For the life of me I can't figure out any reason the Dox drawing would show the bullet descending at 20 degrees when the reported degree of declination from the sniper's nest is 16 degrees. Maybe Baden and Dox were in way over their heads.

“Wing” Analysis



Above: crop of Z-323, displaying the shadow of the bony “wing”



At right, above and below: Groden autopsy photos.



Above: crop of z-337, displaying the dimensions of the scalp flap.

Bone



Scalp



“Wing” Analysis

Another aspect of the medical evidence which has convinced many of fakery or deception is the “wing” of bone visible in the autopsy photos. It seemed to move from photo to photo and change shape. After much thought, however, I believe I have an explanation for these changes.

When one looks at the Zapruder film, one can't help but notice the large opening on Kennedy's skull apparent in the frames after 313. This opening appears to begin just in front of his ear. When one looks at the right lateral autopsy photo one sees exposed bone behind his ear, however, and in a location where there was reportedly no missing bone or scalp. This is a clear indication that this bone was dislodged from someplace else. And yet it's still attached to scalp... Hmm...

After some consideration I realized that when the scalp exploded downwards, the skull bones that were attached to it began to peel away. One large fragment peeled all the way and crashed to the floor. (It can be seen flying down in the frames after 313.) A section of bone lower down on Kennedy's skull, however, possibly including his sphenoid bone, didn't finish peeling away from his scalp. It was, instead, left dangling by a thread of scalp by Kennedy's ear. (The shape of this bone can be seen in shadow in frame 323.) When Jackie Kennedy tried to close her husband's head wound, moreover, she failed to flip this “wing” of bone back around to match up with the scalp, and left this “wing” dangling inside out back behind Kennedy's ear. This is apparent in the right almost-lateral autopsy photo. Not

surprisingly, the shape of this wing matches the shape of the shadow in frame 323.

When one looks at the back of the head photo, obviously taken a few minutes later, as Kennedy is now lying on his side, however, one can see that the “wing” of bone has suddenly changed. It is now far forward of the ear and of different proportions. I believe this is because it’s no longer a “wing” of bone, but a “wing” of scalp, the stubborn scalp that held the wing in place for so long. The dimensions of this scalp flap can be seen in frame 337.


It seems likely, then, that the wing of bone had either fallen to the table or been removed when the scalp and skull were more closely examined. This is not pure speculation, for that matter, as Dr. Humes testified that, early in the autopsy, when he and Dr. Boswell "moved the scalp about" while looking for metal fragments within Kennedy's skull, bone "fragments of various sizes would fall to the table..."

This so-called "wing of bone" becomes important when interpreting the x-rays. If the x-rays are Kennedy's, and were taken before the photographs, as purported, then the wing should be readily visible.

So where is it?


Where is the “Wing”?

Does the location of the “wing” on the analysis below (between the red lines) match its location in the photo at right?



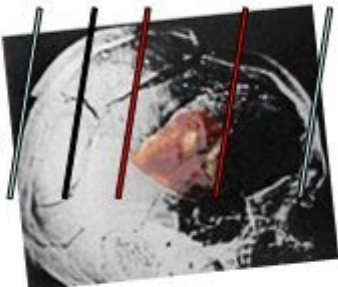
Groden Autopsy Photo

When one projects the location of the head rest in the autopsy photos (the black line) onto the x-rays, the answer is clearly a “NO.” The “wing” is much closer to the back of the head.



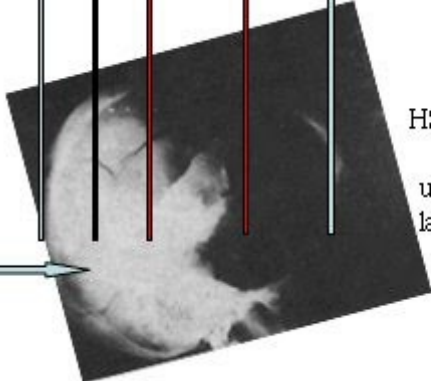
Fox autopsy photo: left profile, image inverted

The light blue lines represent the position of the back of the head and forehead on the x-rays.



At left: the “wing” analysis of Joe Durnavich, using the enhanced x-ray, with lines added.

Actual tip of “wing” →



HSCA Exhibit F-52, the un-enhanced lateral x-ray.

Top and bottom images matched by position of the ‘wing’.

Where is the "Wing"?

Before I began this project I knew virtually nothing about x-rays. After reading about some of the controversies involving the Kennedy assassination, I eventually decided it was time to get my feet wet and learn a thing or two. The first thing I read was an online article by Joe Durnavich entitled “Making Sense of the Head X-rays,” available on Professor John McAdams’ JFK site. I was extremely impressed with this article, particularly its identification of the “wing” of bone on the lateral x-ray. When I tried to use Durnavich’s location on a comparison between the x-ray and right lateral autopsy photo for this presentation, however, I learned something unexpected. Durnavich, and just about everybody else who’s written on the x-rays, was wrong.

When one matches the wing of bone in size and angle in Durnavich’s analysis with the wing of bone on the right lateral autopsy photo one is at first amazed. Holy smokes, that’s the bone alright. When one aligns the wings in the x-ray and photo vertically, however, it becomes apparent that the x-ray extends way behind the skull in the photo. Even though the photo is at a slight angle, when one turns the face in the photo to be in perfect profile in one’s mind one can see the back of the head does not align with the x-ray. A closer look and one realizes, moreover, that the wing on Durnavich’s analysis is in front and above the spongy-looking bone on the x-ray; this is the mastoid process and it signifies the location of the ear. The photo, on the other hand, demonstrates that the wing is above and *behind* the ear.

When one uses an inverted view of the left lateral photo and matches it with the un-enhanced x-ray this becomes even more apparent. When one finds the right tilt for the skull, and lines up the skull dimensions, and depicts the position of the wing on Durnavich’s analysis on Kennedy’s profile, one can see that Durnavich’s “wing” begins almost on Kennedy’s face, when the actual wing is at last an inch and a half back in his hair. When one looks at the un-enhanced x-ray, moreover, one finds that Durnavich’s wing is located over a considerable amount of black space. When one considers that the wing of bone overlay intact skull, and that this means the x-rays penetrating it would have to penetrate three skull walls instead of two, then it’s really hard to understand how the wing could show up as black.

When one looks on the x-ray where the wing is on the photo, however, it all becomes clear. For the location of the wing on the autopsy photo--draping down behind the ear almost to the table—is the very location of the mysterious white area we discussed on the optical density slide. The “wing” is the white area!! This makes perfect sense as it represents three walls as opposed to two. As Custer and Reed did not allow for this extra level of density in the skull—it’s doubtful they even discussed it since the doctors had not yet examined the body—they would have set the levels as if they were x-raying a skull with only two walls. The area with three walls would therefore go un-penetrated, and remain white. This unexpected overlay of bone, furthermore, distorted the relative density of the entire x-ray.

Ironically, Dr. David Mantik, who was to conclude that the white area “was almost certainly added in the dark room. Its purpose was to emphasize the resulting dark area in front, which suggested that a bullet had exited from the front,” was on the verge of figuring out this mystery before his suspicious nature got the best of him. In *Assassination Science*, he discussed the white area in less paranoid terms. He said: “On close inspection, this remarkable white area is distinctly wider on one lateral view than the other. *This implies that it was located closer to the right side of the skull.*” He was so close and yet so far. Apparently, he never realized that the range of optical density measurements he’d derived from normal skull x-rays bore little relation to the range one would expect on an x-ray of a badly damaged skull with over-lapping skull fragments.

Until it was too late, and he was wed to his mistake... On November 21, 2009, I saw the concluding question and answer session of Mantik’s presentation at the JFK Lancer conference in Dallas. As I struggled toward the back of the room, I was stunned to see half the audience turn to look at me. As I sat down and looked up, moreover, I saw that Mantik, too, was looking at me. As the questioner in the front row resumed his question, however, I realized why. Someone had asked Mantik if the overlapping

bone and missing bone on the x-ray could significantly alter the density range. He called it "Speer's theory." Mantik, however, refused to acknowledge that this would have much of an effect, and summarily dismissed "Speer's theory" with the claim I was a layman and didn't know what I was talking about, and that my theory was so unscientific that he felt testing the density range of a skull damaged as badly as Kennedy's to be a total waste of time.

But it wasn't the theory of a layman. Oh no, far from it. On 10-21-97, Edward Reed, one of the two x-ray techs to assist in the autopsy of President Kennedy, testified before the Assassination Records Review Board (ARRB). When examining the lateral x-rays, Reed noted *"The dark spot that I am pointing to right now is a less dense area. There's hardly any bone there. And there's only one side intact. Whereas here, posteriorly, where I'm pointing to now is--the white area--is where the bones overlap."*

Reed's words presented a serious challenge to Mantik's theory. Not only did they pre-date my development of "Speer's" theory by seven years or so, but they show that one of Mantik's biggest supporters, Doug Horne of the ARRB, knew of my argument against Mantik's theory before I'd even stumbled on it.

So how does Horne deal with this in his book? In Volume 2 of his five volume opus Inside the Assassination Records Review Board, Horne devotes 33 pages to a discussion of Reed's testimony. Curiously, however, while he skips right over Reed's common sense explanation for the "dark spot" and "white area" of the x-rays, he finds the space to point out repeatedly that Reed was just an x-ray tech, and not qualified to interpret any x-ray, let alone the x-ray of a gun shot victim. This overlooks that Mantik, to whom Horne frequently defers, is but a radiation oncologist, and has almost certainly never worked with x-rays like the ones made of Kennedy, let alone interpreted them.

It's actually worse than that. In September, 2010, I finally took a look at the Power Point presentation Mantik delivered in Dallas the year before. On one of his slides, The White Patch: Evidence of Its Absurdity, it is noted that "No such white patch was seen in 19 cases of death due to gunshot wounds to the head, in x-rays collected by Douglas DeSalles, MD from forensic files." If I'm reading this correctly, it means that the OD measurements Mantik boasts prove the lateral X-ray a forgery were established not through his own intensive study of hundreds of x-rays, as one might guess, but through the study of but 19 x-rays collected by Dr. Doug DeSalles, a fellow researcher. Well, were these x-rays taken with the same kind of portable x-ray machine used to make the x-rays of Kennedy? Did they depict high-velocity gunshot wounds to the head? Did they depict skulls with missing fragments, set side by side with overlapping skull? I'd bet the farm they did not.

And you should, too. On another one of his slides entitled The White Patch: Impossible to Explain via Overlapping Bone, Mantik further revealed his lack of credibility. He claimed "that the Dark Area contains two layers of skull bone, one from each side, yet this area is astonishingly dark. One more layer of bone will not turn the Dark Area into a white patch." Yikes. How could he have missed that Reed and myself had argued that the White Patch was three layers of bone, and that the Dark Area was one layer of bone, and that the White Patch had therefore represented 300% as much bone, and instead claim that we believe the White Patch was three layers, and the Dark Area two, and that the White Patch had therefore represented but 50% more bone?

While I'd prefer to believe Mantik was above blowing smoke, I must admit that if I'd discovered a single-assassin theorist misrepresenting my theory in such a manner I'd have stood up from the crowd and corrected him. Hmmm... Maybe this explains Mantik's nervousness when I approached him after his presentation. I don't know.

On October 12, 2010, however, Dr. Mantik responded to some of my claims, and gave me reason to believe that he just isn't in touch with the facts. In a post on the Education Forum, Dr. James Fetzer

related some comments from Mantik. One of these comments dealt with Mantik's "white patch," and my assertion it did not overlay the wound location proposed by most conspiracy theorists. To this, Dr. Mantik responded: *"The original lateral X-ray probably showed missing BRAIN in the current area of the WHITE PATCH. It was the missing brain, not missing skull, that likely led to the WHITE PATCH. This is one of my older points: on the lateral X-ray, it is missing brain that typically produces obvious dark areas, not missing bone!"*

Well, heck, there it is. Mantik thinks the dark areas on the x-ray reflect missing brain. He fails to appreciate the obvious--that the un-enhanced x-rays show skull fractures on the intact skull that have nothing to do with missing brain and everything to do with missing skull. He simply fails to understand that, should one of the skull fragments on the back of the head be absent, the dark lines designating the fractures on the skull would be expanded to fill the gap, and become a "dark area." I mean, this isn't exactly rocket science. If losing a layer of bone would not make the skull appear much darker on an x-ray, as Mantik claims, then the skull fractures we all see on the x-rays are some sort of illusion.

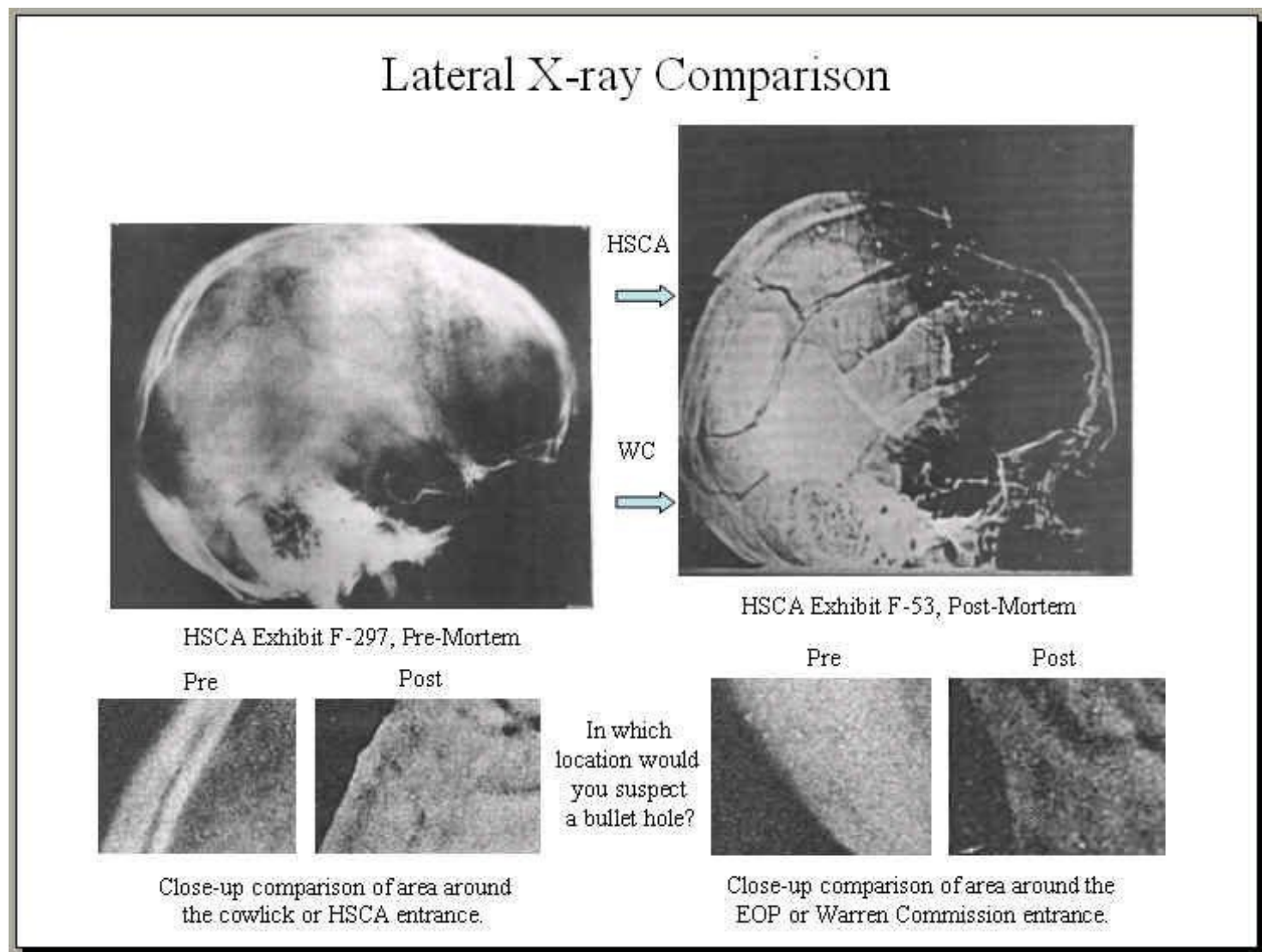
Manual of Roentgenological Technique (1947) obliterates Mantik's claim missing brain "typically produces dark areas" on x-rays, and "not missing bone!" On page 134, it informs: "The thickness of the skull varies in different localities and since the density of the bony structures is in large part the determining factor in the production of the roentgenogram, those variations in thickness cause a pronounced difference in the density of the shadow produced. Owing to this localized thinning of the bone, five normal dark areas are seen in the skull corresponding to the thinner parts." It then lists these five "normal dark areas": Number one on this list is the "frontal bone on its lateral aspect just anterior to the coronal suture." This is the location of the "dark area" on Kennedy's x-ray Mantik finds so puzzling.

But no matter. We'll discuss Mantik in more detail later. We were discussing the deleterious effect of Mantik's mistakes on Horne. Such an impact becomes clear when one reads Horne's book's appendices. Yep, once again, the reports Horne wrote on his 1996 meetings with the ARRB's three consultants on the medical evidence undermine his subsequent conclusions. Forensic Anthropologist Douglas Ubelaker, upon viewing the lateral x-rays, noted "overlapping bone fragments" in the "temporal-parietal region of the lateral x-rays." This is almost certainly a reference to the white area noted by Mantik. More specifically, however, Forensic Radiologist John J. Fitzpatrick, a man with far more expertise on these matters than Mantik, confirmed that "overlapping bone is clearly present in the lateral skull x-rays" and that "the red flap above the ear" in the autopsy photos "equates with the overlapping bone in the lateral skull x-rays." (Although Mantik summarized the findings of Ubelaker and Fitzpatrick in his presentation, he failed to report that they'd both foreshadowed and offered strong support for what he preferred to call "Speer's theory." It's hard to believe this was an oversight.)

And from there it only gets worse... Near its conclusion, Horne's report on Fitzpatrick admits: "after reviewing some brief summaries of the independent research efforts of...Dr. Mantik...He did not find the work...to be persuasive, and did not concur with (his) findings..." (While Mantik did report Fitzpatrick's lack of approval, he presented it to his audience as a mystery, and failed to discuss the reasonable probability that Fitzpatrick did not concur with his findings at least in part because he believes Mantik's White Patch to be overlapping bone... what Mantik prefers to call "Speer's theory.")

In any event, I'm not the first to make the observation that the wing of bone or red flap on the autopsy photos represents the white area on the x-rays. Fitzpatrick had done so in 1996 and Edward Reed had done so in 1997. When one goes back to 1978, in fact, one can see that HSCA radiology consultant William Seaman, working with the un-enhanced x-rays, had also noted "overlapping skull pieces," much as the ARRB's anthropology consultant Ubelaker. That only makes sense. But what does not make sense is Doug Horne's being told, as far back as 1996, of a common sense explanation for the white area on the lateral x-ray...and then failing to raise this issue with Mantik...

Oh, wait, it does make sense. Perfect sense. Sometimes even the best of us are so stuck on our theories -- or so enamored with our favorite expert or witness -- that we fail to look beyond them.



Lateral X-ray Comparison

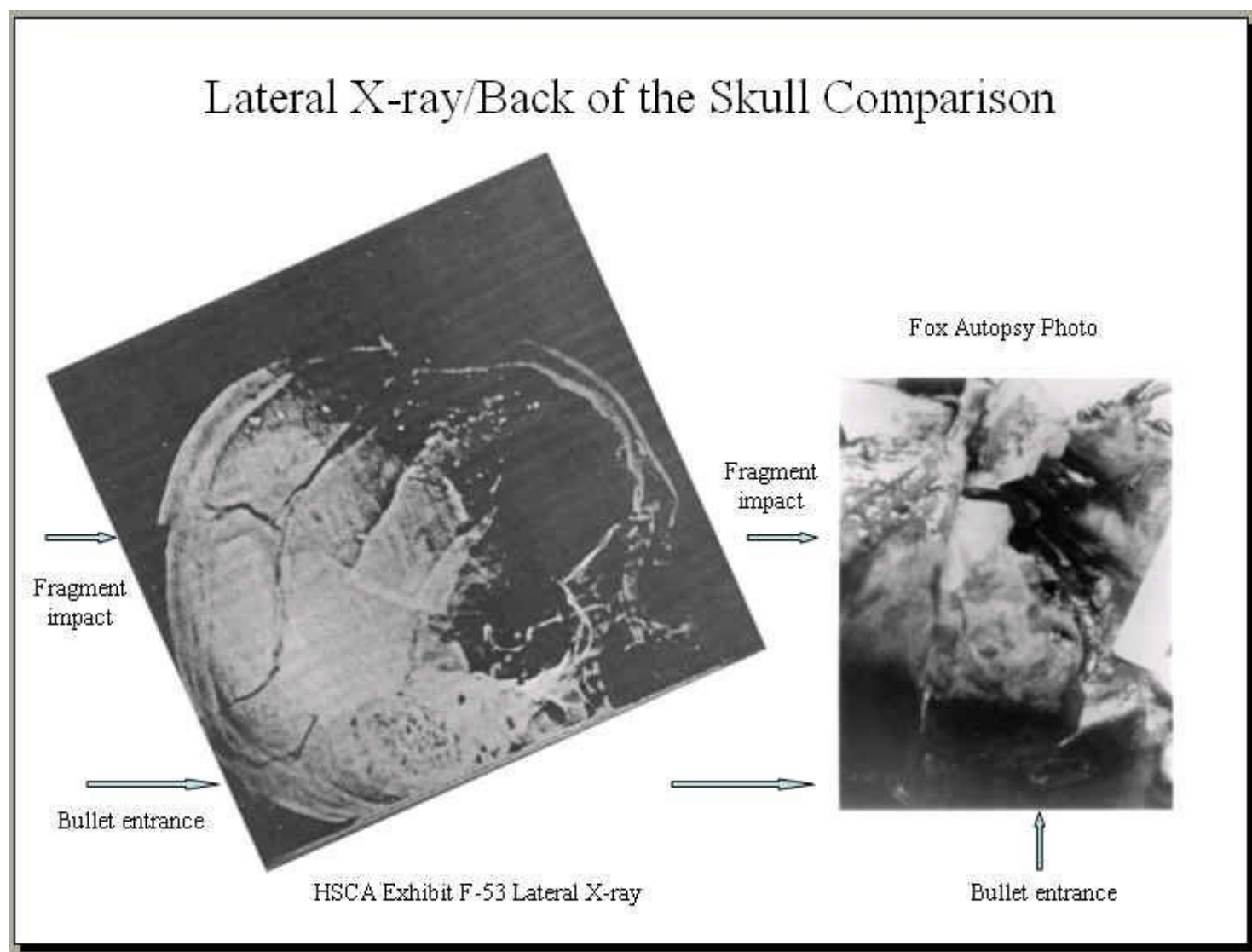
Newly armed with this information that the “white area” on the lateral x-ray was in fact the “wing” of bone, we can look at the lateral x-ray with a fresh perspective. One thing one notices immediately is that the lower occipital fracture leads directly into the white patch, and appears to re-emerge on the far side of the “wing.” This is a strong indication that these two fracture lines are really one, only with a short distance of its length blocked off by the “wing.” This, of course, means that Dr. Randy Robertson was wrong, and that the occipital fractures did not derive from an occipital entrance. Since much, much earlier we noticed that the lowest of these fractures seems to run right up to the entrance in the hairline, and then veer away, it seems clear that the EOP entrance pre-dated the huge fractures coming from the temple. This is in keeping with our analysis of the angle of entry.

When one compares the lateral x-ray to the pre-mortem x-ray of President Kennedy, moreover, one can find that some of the whiteness in the “white area” pre-dated the wing. In other words, the wing overlapped an area already demonstrating dense bone. This makes it difficult to isolate the exact shape of

the wing. One can also find through such a comparison the location of some of the sinuses—air pockets-- in the bones of Kennedy's skull. Since one of the pre-existing air pockets has a fracture running out of it on the autopsy x-ray, some might try to convince themselves this signifies the location of the EOP entrance. But they would be wrong, as this point is well above the EOP.

When one compares the location of the HSCA in-shoot to this same location on the pre-mortem x-ray, however, one can see a previously unseen dark shape on the bone, almost assuredly a result of a fragment's impact on the interior skull. This leads one to wonder what can be noticed at the EOP entrance location. Despite the HSCA's insistence that there were no signs of this entrance to be found, a dark shape almost certainly signifying this entrance, and one that is far more prominent than the shape in the cowlick, is precisely where Humes said it was! And no, it's not an artifact...

Should one be skeptical that an entrance wound in the occipital bone could create so few fractures, one should remember that the test skull submitted by Larry Sturdivan to the HSCA demonstrated just that.



Lateral X-ray/Back of the Skull Comparison

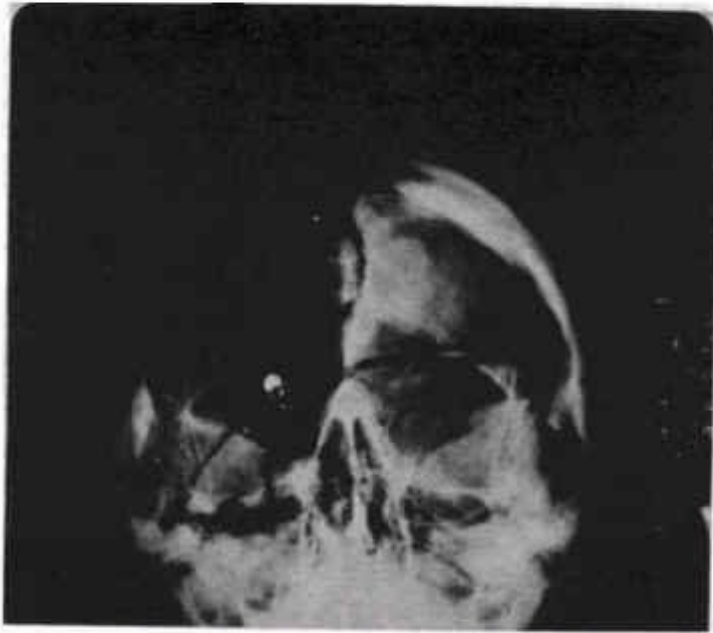
Since there are so many who believe the open-cranium photograph and the lateral x-ray are in complete disagreement, I decided to put them side by side and size them, to see if this was so. After careful study,

I have concluded they represent the same skull at different points of an autopsy. Apparently, the source of the confusion lies in Dr. Boswell's measurements of the head wound, which are quite large and stretch from the back of Kennedy's head to its front, and are in accordance with the photograph, but in disagreement with the x-ray and the other photographs with Kennedy's scalp intact. What people seem to miss is that Boswell's measurements were performed on the skull *after* the scalp was peeled back and the brain removed. This was some time after the lateral x-ray was taken, and before any incisions were performed on the body. That the wound changed shape when the scalp was peeled back is confirmed by Dr. Humes' testimony, both before the Warren Commission and afterwards, where he recounts how large chunks of skull fell to the table when he peeled back the scalp, and how he had to break off even more pieces of skull to remove the brain. When one compares the x-ray and photograph, one can even make out these large chunks of skull.

Should one believe that the measurements were taken before the scalp was peeled back, one should ask oneself how accurate measurements could have been taken with Kennedy's long blood and brain-matted hair in the way. That the hair was not shaved is confirmed by everyone present.

Especially remarkable when one makes this comparison is that the bullet hole visible on the autopsy photo appears to match up perfectly with the shadow apparent on the x-ray. This shadow almost certainly represents the small entrance in the occipital bone described by Humes. But is it apparent on the A-P?

A-P X-ray Comparison



Above: HSCA Exhibit F-55, before "enhancement"

Below: blow up of area "enhanced" into oblivion.

What did it show?



Above: HSCA Exhibit F-56, the "enhanced" x-ray, which is missing the bottom portion of F-55, the very area they were supposed to be inspecting.



A-P X-ray Comparison

According to the report of the HSCA radiology consultant Dr. G.M. McDonnell, he inspected the x-rays on March 7, 1978, and made suggestions to Aerospace Corporation, El Segundo, California, as to what portions should be digitized and enhanced for further analysis.

One of the reasons cited for this procedure was that "enhancement permitted analysis or elimination of artifacts on the images." (This makes me nervous already. Since so many of the mysteries of the x-rays have been interpreted as "artifacts", one can't help but wonder what "artifacts" were "eliminated" in this "enhancement," and whether any valuable information was lost in the process.)

His report goes on to say he re-examined and discussed the (now-enhanced) x-rays on April 6 and 7 with the photographic evidence panel and again on his own at the National Archives on June 2. What is suspicious about this whole sequence of events, however, is that when one compares the un-enhanced and enhanced x-rays it is startlingly obvious that the lower back of the head has disappeared from the enhanced x-ray! While one might say that McDonnell simply didn't find that area relevant, this would be akin to calling McDonnell a moron. The area in question is where the autopsy doctors said there was an entrance. The area in question was closely studied on the photographs. While the area on the x-rays may well have revealed nothing, the failure to enhance this area revealed all. To me it is a clear indication the HSCA's panelists and consultants had a pre-disposition to support the

conclusions of the Clark Panel and assert the president was killed by a shot entering near his cowlick. Even if this meant damaging the reputations of the autopsy doctors. Even if this meant ignoring the truth...

A-P/Lateral X-ray Comparison Comparison



HSCA Exhibit F-55, A-P x-ray



HSCA Exhibit F-52, right lateral x-ray



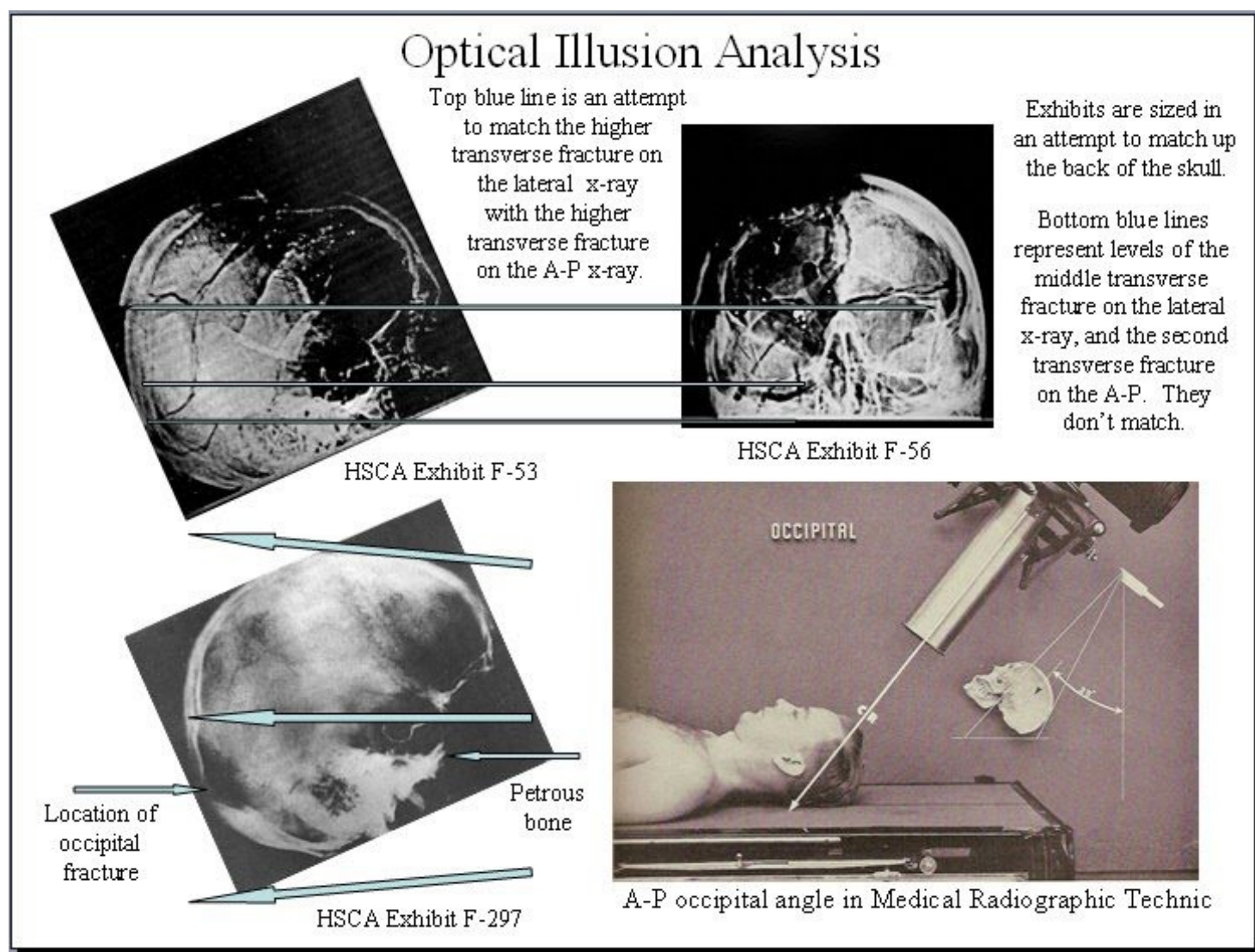
At left and right: A-P and lateral x-rays of an infant. Note that the fractures at the rear of the skull in the lateral view are unseen in the A-P view.



A-P/Lateral X-ray Comparison Comparison

It was while comparing the un-enhanced and enhanced A-P x-rays that I noticed something mighty peculiar. The transverse fracture line presumed to have been in the occipital bone was wider on the un-enhanced x-ray than on the enhanced x-ray. Since the fracture itself would have to be the same in both exhibits, I gathered from this that there was air surrounding the fracture, and that this air became less apparent in the enhanced version. This puzzled me a bit, in part because this fracture seemed like a very sharp line in the lateral x-ray, but even more so because I couldn't figure out what tissue was holding this air. I couldn't imagine the President's brain, as devastated as it was by the bullet striking him near his temple, to have the consistency necessary to contain the air by the occipital fracture. It was then that I realized the transverse fracture was significantly wider in the A-P view than in the lateral view. This made no sense, as a fracture at the back of Kennedy's head should, due to the substantial magnification of Kennedy's face in the A-P view, appear smaller than the lateral fractures when the skulls were made to match.

This led me to roam the internet for a night or two in search of lateral and A-P x-rays of fractures at the back of the head. And I found what I should have suspected all along--that fractures of the occipital region do not show up clearly on A-P x-rays. That is why there are different views of the skull. According to the chapter Skull Trauma, by Bergeron and Rumbaugh, in Radiology of the Skull and Brain, "Most radiologists obtain, at a minimum, right and left lateral views, anteroposterior and posteroanterior views in the Caldwell projection, and anteroposterior and posteroanterior Towne views." The view prescribed for identifying fractures on the occipital bone is the Towne view, which was not attempted with President Kennedy. The Skull Trauma chapter was also educational in that it included a number of A-P and lateral x-rays taken of the same skulls. As suspected, there wasn't one instance where a posterior fracture was larger in proportion on the A-P view than on the lateral view. In several instances, large fractures across the back of the skull could not even be seen on the A-P view. I probed further in order to verify my suspicions.



Optical Illusion Analysis

I looked through the old General Electric guidebook on x-rays I'd found to see if it described the use of A-P views to inspect the occipital bone. I found that yes indeed there was such a projection, but it entailed the patient tucking his chin while x-ray beams were sent through his skull at a 35 degree angle

from above. The portable machine used on Kennedy was not capable of such a maneuver. Neither was Kennedy.

Even so, the HSCA radiologists insisted the fractures visible on the A-P view were on the occipital bone. Dr. G.M. McDonnell stated that from the metal fragment he believed to be on the back of Kennedy's head "stellate type fractures "radiate" into both occipital bones, the right parietal bone and the right temporal bone." Since he was wrong about the fragment, perhaps he was wrong about the fractures as well. But he wasn't alone. Dr. David Davis told the HSCA: "There is a sharply defined linear fracture extending laterally from the metallic fragment into the left side of the calvarium, around the parietal bone to the lateral aspect of the skull." He continued: "two linear fractures extend inferolaterally from the metallic fragment, one into the occipital bone, about 3 cm from the midline, and this fracture crosses the lambdoid suture. The other one is more lateral, and extends down toward the lateral sinus, probably above the lambdoid suture."

The report of the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel agreed with their consultants on this point: "there is a sharp disruption of the normal smooth contour of the skull...with fracture lines radiating superiorly and inferiorly....at this point there is an irregular, radiopaque, sharply outlined bullet fragment...The location of the missile fragment and transverse fractures of the occipital region of the skull is also apparent in the anterior-posterior x-ray view of the skull...The defect in the skull and the inward beveling thereof provide definite evidence of an entrance wound of the head at a point corresponding to that noted by the panel in the upper back of the scalp."

I decided to match up the back of the head with the A-P view as best I could. Since I'd already matched up the forehead fragment (on the Believing is Seeing slide) and since Joe Durnavich had convinced me the forehead in the A-P x-ray was 20% larger than the back of Kennedy's head, due to magnification, I increased the comparative size of the A-P x-ray in that comparison by 1.2 in order to match up the occipital regions on the two x-rays. I then compared this larger skull to the lateral x-ray and I found what I was afraid I'd find. The transverse fracture in the A-P x-ray is not low enough on Kennedy's skull to be the transverse fracture in the occipital bone on the lateral x-ray. Even worse, when I projected the relevant angles onto Kennedy's pre-mortem lateral x-ray, I saw that the dense petrous bone by Kennedy's ear would be likely to obscure most of his occipital bone in the A-P projection. I concluded that the fractures apparent on the A-P view were almost certainly not in the occipital bone. This would explain why the fractures along the back of Kennedy's head in the A-P view were either invisible or in the wrong place on the lateral view.

The more I thought about it, the more I accepted this possibility. While the fracture in the lateral view disappears into a sinus at the back of Kennedy's head, this sinus is inexplicably invisible in the A-P view. Upon closer examination, the fracture heading into the left side of the skull also fails to match. Along with the other fractures supposedly radiating from the fragment in the A-P view, where are these fractures in the lateral view? The transverse fracture nearest the level of the depressed fracture seems to be on the right side, as it ends at a fracture coming from the large defect by the right temple. The angle that this fracture heads forward seems wrong as well. While it curves downwards in the lateral view it soars upwards in the A-P view. If one is to argue this fracture is not seen on the lateral, because it is on the far side of the skull, then one should explain why the occipital fracture would be so clear on the A-P view. Finally, as this fracture is reportedly a depressed fracture, shouldn't there be a white line reflecting the overlap of bone? According to Skull Trauma by Bergeron and Rumbaugh "the roentgenographic characteristic of the depressed fracture is the line or shadow of increased density caused by overlapping of bony margins or fragments." Keep in mind that when talking of x-rays, white areas are often called shadows. Black is white and white is black.

In February, 2006, I decided to take my findings on the x-rays to an online radiology forum. While my online presentation received hundreds of hits as a result, I received very few comments, positive or

negative. (I took this as a positive; if my findings had been totally off-base, I think these professional radiologists would have told me about it, or at least recommended a book I should read so I could learn what the heck I'm talking about.) Anyhow, I did receive a confirmation for one of my claims—that Kennedy's A-P view would not show his occipital fractures. This confirmation came from a medical radiation technologist. He/she agreed with the official interpretation that Kennedy's head was tilted back considerably in the A-P view but responded to my prodding by stating: "I don't think that a modified Waters view would help with a view of the occiput. You would probably throw the jaw and the teeth over the structures in the occipital region. The cervical spine would also be superimposed on top of the midline of the occiput. The best view would have been the angled down Towne's view...as shown in your photograph. That would toss the face below the level of the occiput and showed the entire bone. In clinical radiography that view is almost always taken. In forensic or autopsy radiography, usually only two views are done--the AP and lateral." I received an e-mail response from a radiologist which offered additional insight. He said "much of the theory about how to shoot AP or PA plain films of the skull and facial bones is designed to get the dense petrous pyramids out of the way... The occipital view for example is designed to throw the petrous pyramids below the foramen magnum."

Years later, when re-reading Harrison Livingstone's book *Killing the Truth*, moreover, I realized that Livingstone had been in contact with Dr. Donald Siple, Chief Radiologist at Maryland General Hospital, and that Siple had told him much the same thing. In an April 16, 1993 letter, reprinted in the book, Siple told Livingstone that a large defect visible on an A-P view would have to be in front, as occipital defects "did not shine through."

This is further confirmed by *Manual of Roentgenological Technique* (1947), which, while listing the prominent features to be studied on an A-P x-ray, listed only features of the front of the skull, such as the orbits (aka the eye sockets), the frontal sinus, and the frontal bone; it failed to even mention the occipital region.

So there you have it. There are good reasons to believe the fracture line low on the A-P view is not on the occipital bone.

Fractured Orbit Analysis

Blow-out fracture of left orbit.



X-ray depicting a blow-out fracture of left orbit.



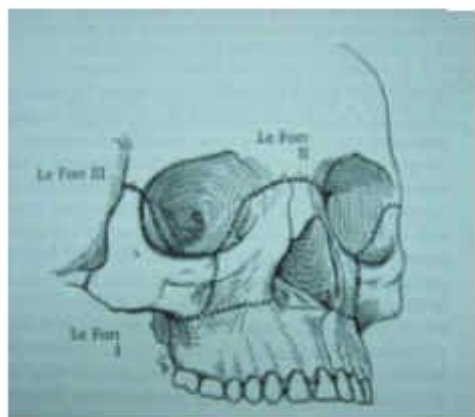
HSCA Exhibit F-55, A-P x-ray



Above: Fox autopsy photo.



At left: CT scan of Le Fort fracture.



Across bottom: three illustrations of Le Fort fractures found on the internet.

Fractured Orbit Analysis

So where were the fractures in Kennedy's eye socket on the A-P view actually located? Well, since they appear to be in his eye socket, I thought I'd start by checking there. Once started, I decided to look no further.

Let's recall the words of the doctors in the autopsy protocol (I'll do my best to translate): "There is edema and ecchymosis of the inner canthus region of the left eyelid measuring approximately 1.5 cm in greatest diameter. There is edema and ecchymosis diffusely over the right supra-orbital ridge with abnormal mobility of the underlying bone." (There is swelling and bruising on the inner part of the left eyelid. There is swelling and bruising and a noticeable bone fracture above the right eye socket.) Let's recall that Boswell's drawing of Kennedy's skull on the back of the face sheet, entered into evidence as part of HSCA exhibit F-44, depicts a shattered eye socket with the notes "Globe rt. Eye" and "fracture through floor." (A globe fracture is a structural collapse of the eye.) These are indications that the President's eye sockets were fractured. When asked by the ARRB to explain his notes on the skull drawing, Boswell stated: the "fracture through the bone extended from the frontal bone and through the floor of the orbit." Case closed. Kennedy had fractured orbits (eye sockets).

So why didn't the HSCA's chief radiology consultant, Dr. G. M. McDonnell, mention any fracture lines visible in the orbits on the A-P view? After all, the A-P view portrayed the face 20% larger than the

back of the head and the fractures should have been readily apparent.

They were certainly apparent to others. In a March 1993 defense of the single-assassin theory published in the Journal of the American Medical Association, Dr. Robert Artwohl, while trying to refute those believing the X-rays showed the right side of Kennedy's face to be missing, claimed "The swollen and ecchymotic right orbit seen in the autopsy pictures and Humes' description of the instability of the face in this area correspond precisely to the extensive right orbital fracture and frontal bone fractures seen on the available roentgenograms." He later expanded on these comments in a September 11, 1994 e-mail to a JFK assassination newsgroup, reporting that "The right orbit is fractured in *several* places." Similarly, a 1977 HSCA contact report with one of their consultants, Dr. Norman Chase, entered into evidence as Exhibit F-34, claims that when shown the x-rays, Dr. Chase "noted fracture of the right orbit." Chase's appraisal, moreover, supported the analysis of the other radiologist contacted by the HSCA in 1977, Dr. William Seaman, who told them that "Fractures were evident through the upper part of the right eye, including the top and bottom of the right orbit," and that, in addition, "The bottom of the frontal sinus was fractured." Even further back, Dr. Fred Hodges, in his 1975 report to the Rockefeller Commission, observed "multiple extensive fractures involving the cranial vault and orbits" and then specified that fracture lines "reached" into the left orbit, implying that these fractures started elsewhere, like the right orbit.

These statements led me to wonder if what McDonnell thought was a transverse fracture on the occipital bone in the A-P view could instead be the fractured right eye socket noted at autopsy, and then subsequently noted by Dr.s Hodges, Chase, Seaman, and Artwohl.

My wondering came to an end with the discovery of an x-ray depicting a blow out fracture of a man's left orbit. This fracture created the wide air-filled shape apparent in Kennedy's original A-P x-ray in the exact same place on the skull. The Merck Index defines a blow-out fracture as: "fracture of the orbital floor caused by a sudden increase of intraorbital pressure due to traumatic force; the orbital contents herniated into the maxillary sinus so that the inferior rectus or inferior oblique muscle may become incarcerated in the fracture site, producing diplopia on looking up." That air had filled the maxillary sinus (a sinus—cavity—below the eye socket) would seem to explain the air surrounding the supposed occipital fracture apparent when one compares the un-enhanced x-ray to the enhanced x-ray. That air was in this sinus, and that this proved the orbit was damaged, and this "fracture" on the face, was not just my opinion, moreover, as the head radiology tech at the autopsy, Jerrol Custer, claimed as much in his ARRB testimony.

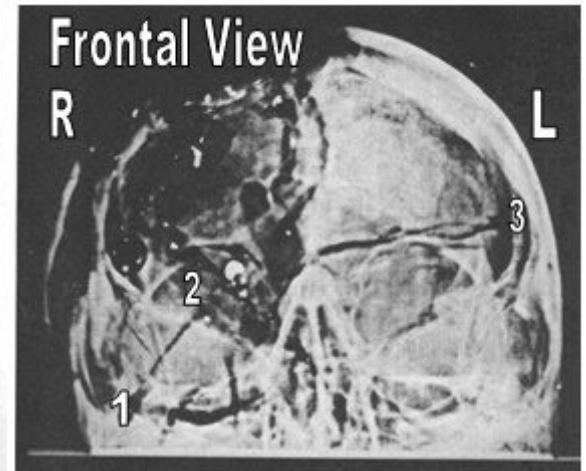
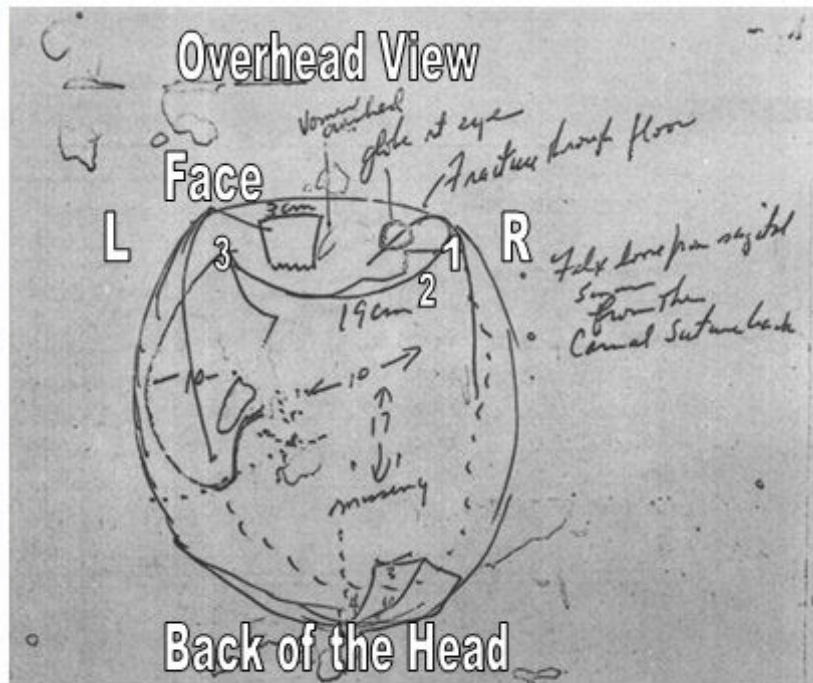
But what of the other fracture lines apparent in the A-P view? While reading about blow-out fractures, I found a number of drawings depicting what are known as Le Fort fractures. These fractures appeared similar but not identical to Kennedy's fractures. An online article by the Skull Base Institute entitled Craniofacial and Skull Base Trauma states: "forceful impact to the skull can cause a fracture along the weak points of the orbit....Le Fort III fractures....progress laterally along the entire orbital floor and extend to disrupt the zygomaticofrontal suture...Le Fort III fractures result in complete craniofacial dysjunction because the facial bones and structures of the middle third of the face become totally separated from the cranium...Since most facial trauma consists of blows from the side or slightly off center, ideal, symmetric Le Fort I, I, or III patterns are rarely followed. Most Maxillary fractures are more comminuted on one side than the other. Thus Le Fort fractures may be seen in any combination." I took from this article that a Le Fort fracture would help explain the "abnormal mobility of the underlying bone" discussed in the autopsy report. It also convinced me that Kennedy's fractures need not look exactly like the drawings of Le Fort fractures, and, in fact, shouldn't look exactly like these drawings, due to the fact his fractures came from behind and were created in part by an actual impact of a missile on the orbital rim. But I needed a second opinion.

Another online article, Orbit Fractures, by Antonio Pascotto on the eMedicine website, discussed Le

Fort III fractures in a similar manner: “This fracture rarely results in a single segment of bone; more commonly, the break is comminuted, with varying combinations of zygomatic, nasoethmoid, and orbital fractures. (Translation: fractures involving the cheek bone, nose, and eye sockets.) The fractures may not be symmetric on both sides, and minimal mobility may be present... Orbital emphysema, when detected on plain images, is frequently from a blow fracture of the medial wall...an air-fluid level in the maxillary antrum suggests an orbital floor injury...Unilateral base opacification of the ethmoid air cells would suggest a medial wall fracture.” While I still haven’t figured out exactly how to detect “unilateral base opacification of the ethmoid air cells” the line about orbital emphysema intrigued me, as both of Kennedy’s eye sockets appear to be darkened in the A-P view. In *Radiology of the Skull and Brain* I found an x-ray depicting such emphysema (air) in the eye sockets and found that, as on Kennedy’s x-rays, the air collects at the top of the eye socket.

Another eMedicine article entitled *Facial Trauma, Maxillary and Le Fort Fractures* by David W Kim confirmed much of what I’d already read: “In reality, the Le Fort classification is an oversimplification of maxillary fractures. In most instances maxillary fractures are a combination of the various Le Fort types. Fracture lines often diverge from the described pathways and may result in mixed type fractures, unilateral fractures, or other atypical fractures. In addition, in very high energy blows, maxillary fractures may be associated with fractures to the mandible, cranium, or both.” (Maxillary fractures are, by the way, fractures involving the Maxilla, the bone stretching from the upper jaw to the lower eye socket.) In Kim’s discussion of Le Fort III fractures I noticed something new, however: “Intanasally, a branch of the fracture extends through the perpendicular plate of the ethmoid, through the vomer, and through the interface of the pterygoid plates to the base of the sphenoid.” What I noticed was this reference to the Vomer bone, a small bone underlying the nose. Included in Dr. Boswell’s notes on the back of the face sheet are two words that have always intrigued me: “Vomer *crushed*.”

Crash Go the Consultants



A comparison of Dr. Boswell's drawing of JFK's skull on the autopsy protocol (CE 397, at left) and President Kennedy's enhanced X-ray (HSCA Exhibit F-56, at right), confirms that the only fracture line starting low on the right side and crossing over to the left side began in the fractured floor of his right eye socket, at the top of the drawing. (For ease of comparison, three points along this fracture line have been added.)

Did any of the radiologists subsequently consulted even consult Boswell's drawing? Were they even aware of its existence?

Crash Go the Consultants

A look at Dr. Boswell's drawing of Kennedy's skull further supports that the supposedly occipital fractures on the A-P x-ray were actually fractures of the right orbit. In the forehead area of this drawing, created during the autopsy, there is a notation reading "19cm." When asked in his ARRB testimony if this notation referred to the length of a scalp laceration, Boswell replied "there was an incised wound up there that extended into the right eye socket and then back across his temporal and frontal bone" and then explained further "The bone was all fragmented for that distance, 19 centimeters across the frontal bone." When one follows the line from the fractured floor of the eye socket on the drawing, furthermore, one can see that it rises up and curls over to the left side of the skull. This mirrors the fractures on the x-ray supposedly radiating from an entrance wound on the back of the skull. That the fractures purported to be on the back of Kennedy's head were in fact in his eye sockets is further supported by the not surprising fact that, in Boswell's drawing, there are NO fractures starting low on the back of the skull and curling over to the left side.

Let's recall here the precise words of chief HSCA radiology consultant Dr. G. M. McDonnell. He concluded there was: "A metallic fragment on the outer table of the right occipital bone 9.6 cm above the mid-portion of the External Occipital Protuberance (EOP). 1 cm above the metallic fragment is a depressed fracture from which stellate type fractures "radiate" into both occipital bones, the right

parietal bone and the right temporal bone. *These are vividly and convincingly displayed in the enhanced images, specifically the "anteroposterior" (AP) projection of the skull.*" From this it seems clear his incorrect belief the fragment was on the back of the head fed into his belief these fractures were on the back of the head. He'd compounded his mistake by twisting the evidence to support it.

Or maybe he was just covering up. In any event, he was not alone. The other HSCA radiology consultant shown the enhanced x-rays, Dr. David O. Davis, also came to the conclusion there was a bullet fragment on the back of the head and that fractures radiated outwards from this fragment. While McDonnell had noted "fracture lines through the anterior and posterior aspects of the right frontal sinus," moreover, Davis noted that the right orbit was fractured in the roof, right side and inferior rim. One can only wonder then which fractures on the A-P x-ray they'd connected with the occipital fracture and which ones with the sinus and orbital fractures. Still, it seems likely Davis associated the fracture lines around the outside of the orbit with fractures of its roof, right side and rim, and the fractures cutting across the orbit and heading to the left side of the skull with fractures in the occiput. If so, then one can only wonder if he'd ever been shown the drawing made by Boswell at the autopsy, which clearly depicts the fracture just below point 2 on the slide above in the eye socket, and the fracture line connecting point 2 with point 3 on the left front of Kennedy's head, and no fractures radiating from the cowlick area.

And, should one continue to doubt that the HSCA's radiology consultants were pressured or deceived into concluding that the large fragment and transverse fractures on the A-P x-ray were on the back of Kennedy's head, when they were really behind Kennedy's eye, one need only read the ARRB reports on their meetings with their own consultants. Dr. Douglas Ubelaker, their forensic anthropology consultant, could not find an entrance on the back of the skull on either the A-P or lateral x-rays, and noted no fracture lines on the A-P x-ray, but nevertheless related that "the orbit of the right eye appears displaced on the A-P x-ray." Dr. John J. Fitzpatrick, their forensic radiology consultant, also saw no entrance on any of the x-rays, and also failed to note fractures on the back of the head in the A-P x-ray, and similarly noted that "the orbit of the right eye is cracked and displaced." And, finally, Dr. Robert Kirschner, their forensic pathology consultant, completed the trifecta--he noted no entrance wound on any of the x-rays, noted no fractures in the A-P x-ray, and related instead that "The rear of the right orbit was observed to be missing."

That's three for three. Three consultants, all of whom failed to note fractures on the back of the head in the A-P x-ray, and all of whom offered that the damage visible in the A-P x-ray was in the orbit.

And oh, by the way, on this point, I am not at odds with Dr. Mantik. In an unpublished manuscript written before he was allowed to view the x-rays, and measure their optical density, Dr. Mantik discussed other aspects of the x-rays which he considered of interest. This manuscript was excerpted in Harrison Livingstone's 1993 book *Killing the Truth*. Even so, in 2011, while looking back through the book, I was astounded to find that Mantik had observed, long before I, that the fracture lines the HSCA's panel thought derived from the cowlick entrance did not actually come from that location, and that "On the contrary, based on the radiographs and on Boswell's diagram, several of these obvious fracture lines may lie in the inferior orbital rim and not on the posterior skull at all." He then proceeded to quote Dr. Seaman in support of this analysis.

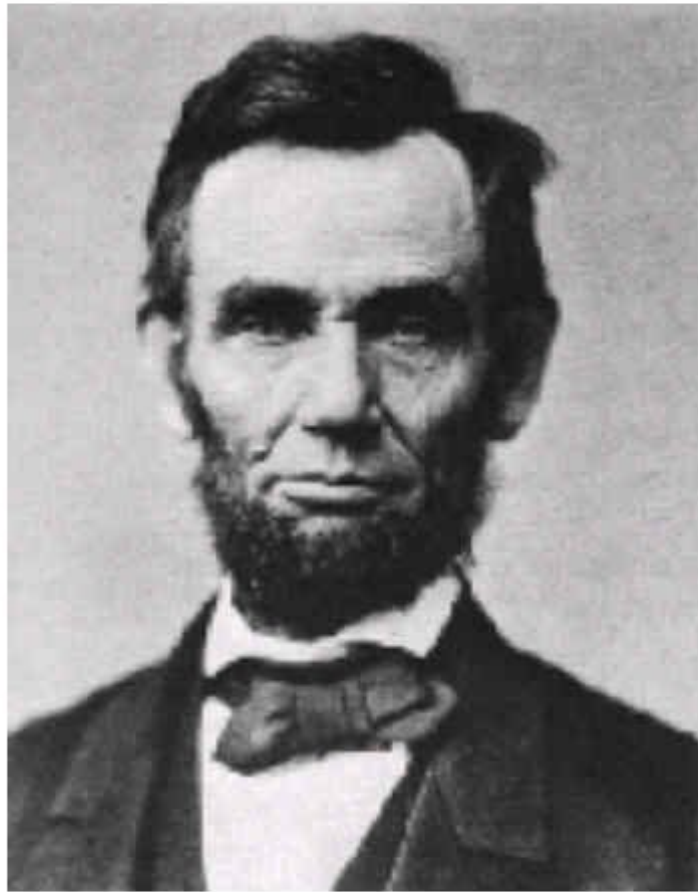
And so, yes, surprisingly, on this point, Dr. Artwohl, Dr. Mantik, and myself, agree. As do the far more qualified and presumably impartial consultants hired by the ARRB...

Anyone out there still convinced these fractures were on the back of the head, and not in the orbit, should feel free to chime in... But you're wrong.

Lincoln/Kennedy Comparison



Abraham Lincoln,
The 16th President.



Lincoln/Kennedy Comparison

When one compares the deaths of President Lincoln and President Kennedy, there are many striking similarities. Some of these similarities involve the wounds themselves. In both cases there were controversies about the direction that the bullet passed through the skull. Dr. Joseph Woodward performed Lincoln's autopsy and reported that the round bullet lodged above Lincoln's left eye. Surgeon General Joseph Barnes reported that it lodged above the right eye. Lincoln's family physician Robert King Stone took notes at the autopsy; these notes were published almost a hundred years later; they largely backed up Woodward.

Another similarity is that, as a result of the bullet's impact, both men suffered fractures of both of their eye sockets. This is a frequent occurrence in severe head wounds. The bones at the back of the eye sockets are particularly thin and prone to collapse from increased intra-cranial pressure. Dr. Vincent J.M. Di Maio writes "The production of secondary fractures of the skull in gunshot wounds of the head is dependent on two factors: the range at the time of discharge and the kinetic energy possessed by the bullet. The most common sites for secondary skull fractures are the paper-thin orbital plates. These are extremely sensitive to a sudden increase in intra-cranial pressure such as that produced by a bullet entering the cranial cavity." Let's compare... The bullet striking Lincoln in the back of his head and causing his eye socket fractures weighed approximately 6.7 grams or 103 grains and was traveling at

approximately 400 fps. The bullet purportedly striking Kennedy at the back of his head weighed approximately 10.4 grams or 160 grains and was traveling at approximately 1800 fps. Since the basic formula for estimating energy release in tissue is mass x speed x speed, this means that Kennedy's skull was subjected to an impact over 30 times as great as Lincoln's. (While the actual amount of energy released into Kennedy's skull would be substantially less than this amount, as pieces of the fatal bullet exited the skull before depositing all their energy, it remains clear that the amount of energy deposited in Kennedy's skull was substantially larger than the amount of energy deposited in Lincoln's.)

So where are these orbital fractures on Kennedy's x-rays? Until these fractures or lack thereof are adequately explained, there is no reason to believe that the fractures on the A-P x-ray supposedly on the back of Kennedy's head are anywhere but his eye sockets.

While some might say "case closed", the fact is that, for me, the case will remain open. I have created this webpage, in part, to encourage a more open and intelligent discussion of the medical evidence related to the assassination of President Kennedy. I don't pretend to be an "expert" on any of the topics discussed in these chapters. And yet it seems I've uncovered many issues not addressed by the so-called experts. I await the response and criticisms of those more familiar with this subject matter than myself, and will update this webpage accordingly.

Chapter 18c: Reason to Doubt

Why I can't buy what so many others are selling

Who to Believe?



William Newman (above)?
William Newman (below)?



Malcolm Kilduff?



Abraham Zapruder?

At right: Zapruder film frames
Z-317, Z-323, and Z-335.



Or a bunch of other people?



Above: a drawing attributed
to Dr. Robert McClelland.



Who to Believe?

When I first started presenting my evidence for a new perspective on the President's wounds in 2004, I expected there to be a tremendous amount of resistance from single-assassin theorists, and a moderate amount of acceptance from conspiracy theorists. Boy, was I wrong. The single-assassin theorists I've encountered refuse to deal with the evidence beyond repeating what they've read in books by the Warren Commission, Lattimer, Posner, and Bugliosi, or the website of John McAdams. Anything outside of that they pretty much tell you you are lying, and ignore. No, the most resistance I've received has not been from those opposed to my conclusion more than one shooter fired on Kennedy on 11-22-63, but from those who agree with that conclusion.

You see, many conspiracy theorists are, in the words of Bono, "stuck in a moment and they can't get out of it." That moment, to be clear, is the one in which they first realized the majority of those observing Kennedy's wounds at Parkland Hospital claimed to see an open wound on the back of Kennedy's head. Such a wound, of course, is not shown in the autopsy photos, nor reported in the autopsy report, which details a number of significant scalp lacerations, but none on the back of the head. My suspicion is then that the majority of those experiencing this moment,--an epiphany as Doug Horne calls it--have come to believe either that the autopsy photos showing no wound on the back of the head are fake, and the autopsy a lie, or that someone altered Kennedy's body between Dallas and the beginning of the official

autopsy at Bethesda.

Many doing so claim the autopsy face sheet supports their conclusion, and note that Dr. Boswell's description of a 17 by 10 cm wound encompassing the majority of the right side of the President's head is far larger than the wound observed in Dallas, and suggests the wound as seen at Bethesda included the back of the head wound seen at Parkland. Those doing so, however, are engaged in self-deception. As stated, no large scalp lacerations in the occipital region of the skull were noted at autopsy. The autopsy protocol signed by Boswell, moreover, explains: *"Upon reflecting the scalp multiple complete fracture lines are seen to radiate from both the large defect at the vertex and the smaller wound at the occiput. These vary greatly in length and direction, the longest measuring approximately 19 centimeters. These result in the production of numerous fragments which vary in size from a few millimeters to 10 centimeters in greatest diameter."*

Note that the large defect is at the vertex--the top of the head. Note also that the *"multiple complete fractures lines...result in the production of numerous fragments."* In other words, the right side of Kennedy's head was smashed to pieces. The 17 by 10 measurement is therefore most obviously the measurement of the large head wound after the scalp was reflected, and numerous bone fragments stripped from the skull. The inability of so many to grasp something so obvious is a bit maddening, to say the least.

In any event, while still others believe the autopsy photos of the back of the head are not fake, but reflect instead the appearance of the body at the end of the autopsy and not the beginning, the fact is that all of these theories--which are collectively held by the vast majority of conspiracy theorists--are built around a core belief: the Parkland witnesses COULD NOT be mistaken. This belief is, in my opinion, a mistaken one.

To best explain my lack of faith in the accuracy of the Parkland witnesses, we need to go back to the beginning...

At approximately 12:45 P.M., within 15 minutes of Kennedy's being shot, assassination witness **William Newman**, who was less than 30 feet to the side of Kennedy when the fatal bullet struck, was interviewed live on television station WFAA. This was 45 minutes before the announcement of Kennedy's death. Newman told Jay Watson: *"And then as the car got directly in front of us, well, a gun shot apparently from behind us hit the President in the side, the side of the temple."* As he said this, he pointed to his left temple, with his only free hand. (This image is reversed on the slide above.)

At 1:17, about a half hour later, Watson interviewed **Gayle Newman**, who'd been standing right beside her husband and had had an equally close look at the President's wound. She reported: *"And then another one—it was just awful fast. And President Kennedy reached up and grabbed--it looked like he grabbed--his ear and blood just started gushing out."* (As she said this she motioned to her right temple with both of her hands. In 1969, while testifying at the trial of Clay Shaw, Mrs. Newman would make the implications of this even more clear, and specify that Kennedy *"was shot in the head right at his ear or right above his ear..."*)

Okay so that's two for two. Two witnesses, BOTH of whom saw the bullet impact by Kennedy's ear. But they only saw Kennedy for a second. Maybe they were mistaken. If they were correct, certainly someone seeing Kennedy at Parkland Hospital would have noticed the wound they describe by Kennedy's temple, and have mentioned it on 11-22-63.

Someone did. At 1:33 p.m. on November 22, 1963, Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff announced President Kennedy's death from Parkland Hospital. He told the country: *"President John F. Kennedy died at approximately one o'clock Central Standard Time today here in Dallas. He died of a gunshot wound in the brain...Dr. Burkley [Kennedy's personal physician] told me it is a simple*

matter...of a bullet right through the head. (At this time, as shown on the slide above, he pointed to his right temple) . . . *It is my understanding that it entered in the temple, the right temple.*” As Dr. Burkley had seen Kennedy in the Dallas emergency room and was later to tell the HSCA that Kennedy’s wounds didn’t change between Dallas and Bethesda, the site of the autopsy, Kilduff’s statements are a clear indication that the large head wound depicted in the autopsy photos is in the same location as the large head wound seen at Parkland Hospital. That no one at the time of Kilduff’s statement had noted a separate bullet entrance anywhere on Kennedy’s head, moreover, suggests that Burkley had seen but one wound, a wound by the temple, exactly where Newman and his wife had seen a wound.

But wait, there’s more... Less than forty minutes after the announcement of Kennedy’s death, eyewitness **Abraham Zapruder** took his turn before the cameras on WFAA, and confirmed the observations of Burkley and the Newmans. Describing the shooting, Zapruder told Jay Watson: *“Then I heard another shot or two, I couldn’t say it was one or two, and I saw his head practically open up, all blood and everything* (at this time, and as shown on the slide above, Zapruder grabbed his right temple), *and I kept on shooting. That’s about all, I’m just sick, I can’t...”*

This means that there were four witnesses to comment on the location of Kennedy’s head wound prior to the approximately 2:16 press conference at Parkland Hospital, in which Dr. William Kemp Clark claimed the wound was on the "back of his head," and all of them had specified the wound to have been on the side of Kennedy’s head, where it was later shown to be in the autopsy photos and Zapruder film. Now ain’t that a humdinger!

Now, I know what some of you are thinking. You’re thinking, "but Pat you’re cherry-picking witnesses to support your silly notion that the Parkland witnesses were wrong and that the bullet striking Kennedy at frame 313 did not exit the back of his head." Well, first of all, I don’t believe my noting that the earliest witnesses all said that a bullet hit Kennedy by the temple is silly, particularly in that three participants to Kennedy’s autopsy--radiologist Dr. John Ebersole, radiology technician Jerrol Custer, and autopsy assistant James Curtis Jenkins--all left the autopsy with a similar impression a bullet struck Kennedy by the temple. And second of all... Well, have it your way. Let’s go through the statements of the best witnesses to the shooting.

By Way of Illustration



When one studies the photos of the tattoo at far right it becomes clear that the line of missing skull on Groden autopsy photos 1 and 2, are also consistent with photo 3. The line of missing skull aligns with the top of Kennedy's ear. The photos of the tattoo demonstrate that this line would be just out of sight in autopsy photo 3, just where Dr. Boswell's bloody thumb has hooked the opening in the skull.



Above and below: photos found online of a tattoo taken from above and behind.



By Way of Illustration

But first, a confession. I was once one of you... Yes, that's right. When I first began my personal investigation of the evidence, I suspected much of the medical and photographic evidence had been altered. But this passed with time. It just didn't make any sense to me that if the Zapruder film, the autopsy photos and the x-rays were faked, that they would so clearly demonstrate that Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy. I mean, if the conspirators were slick enough to kill Kennedy and get away with it, wouldn't they be slick enough to create autopsy photos that show a brain with damage consistent with an entrance by the EOP? Wouldn't the doctored x-rays show the trail of fragments where Dr. Humes said it was, corresponding with a line joining the entrance by the EOP and the right supra-orbital ridge? I mean, wouldn't they?...Then why didn't they?

This led me to take a much closer look at the back of the head photo, the one photo I felt positive had been faked. Not only did this photo not jive with the Parkland doctors' description of Kennedy's head wounds, it didn't appear to jive with the other photos. It was then that I realized this photo was taken after the establishing shots of Kennedy on the table, and after the wing of bone had been pulled from the scalp flap by his temple, and after the blood had been rinsed from his hair. I still suspected that the large defect in the photo was in a different location than the other photos, however. I tried to think of ways to compare the large head wound's location with its location in the other photos. I ended up looking at photos of tattoos on the top of the head when taken from different angles, to see if a wound above the ear would even be seen in a photo taken from the angle of the back of the head photo.

In time, I concluded the large defect in the back of the head photo was in the same location as in the other photos.

I still had questions, though. Big ones. Why didn't this photo show the large head wound on the back of the head described by the Parkland witnesses?

Were ALL the photos faked to show the large head wound described by the doctors at a point higher up

on the skull? And, if so, why did the very first witnesses to describe the wound place it where it is on the autopsy photos, in front of and above Kennedy's right ear? Were these witnesses lying?

The Invisible Hole

Below: a crop from a photograph taken by Mary Moorman about 1/10 of a second after the right side of Kennedy's head exploded. At right: a crop from frame 317 of the Zapruder film, taken about 1/10 of a second after the Moorman photo was taken.



At right: the "back of the head" autopsy photo, presumably of Kennedy, in which the large hole missing scalp and bone described by Kennedy's emergency room doctors fails to make an appearance at its purported location on the back of his head. As this hole failed to appear in this location on any of the photos of the shooting itself, moreover, it seems reasonable to assume that the hole was not in this location, but where the photos show it to be, above and in front of Kennedy's right ear. This possibility is further supported by the strange coincidence that none of the doctors noting a wound on the back of the head saw one in front of the ear.



Of course, some refuse to accept that these doctors could be so mistaken, and instead choose to believe that the entire photographic record has been faked. They overlook, however, that the statements of those witnessing the shooting support the accuracy of the photos, and not the doctors.

The Invisible Hole

I think not. Not only did the earliest witnesses to describe the location of the large wound on Kennedy's head seem to believe it was on the side of his head, the vast majority of the witnesses seeing the bullet's impact would continue to claim it struck Kennedy on the side of his head, and fail to note any explosion whatsoever from the back of his head.

As we've seen, the Newmans and Zapruder, standing on Kennedy's right side, all thought the bullet struck Kennedy on the right side of his head, by his right temple. But they weren't the only witnesses on the right side of Kennedy to note an impact on the side of his head.

Dealey Plaza groundskeeper **Emmett Hudson**, who was standing on the steps to the right and front of Kennedy at the moment of the fatal head shot, also discussed its impact. In his testimony before the Warren Commission, Hudson asserted: *"it looked like it hit him somewhere along a little bit behind the ear and a little bit above the ear."* While this is a few inches back of the location described by the Newmans and Zapruder, it is more significantly not a description of a bullet exit on the far back of

Kennedy's head, where most conspiracy theorists have long held the large head wound was located.

"Well, wait a second"--I'm sure some of you are thinking--"maybe Hudson, along with the other witnesses, saw the bullet's entrance, and missed seeing the exit of this bullet from the back of Kennedy's head due to their being slightly in front of Kennedy." Well, no, that doesn't work, either.

In 1966, **Marilyn Sitzman**, Abraham Zapruder's secretary, who'd stood beside him on 11-22-63, confirmed his observation of the wound location. To writer Josiah Thompson, she related: *"And the next thing that I remembered correct ... clearly was the shot that hit him directly in front of us, or almost directly in front of us, that hit him on the side of his face ..."* When asked then by Thompson to specify just where she saw the large head wound, she continued: *"I would say it'd be above the ear and to the front...Between the eye and the ear...And we could see his brains come out, you know, his head opening. It must have been a terrible shot because it exploded his head, more or less"*. Hmmm... Sitzman, as Zapruder, was almost directly to the right of the President at the moment of the fatal bullet's impact. This put them in perfect position to note an explosion from the back of Kennedy's head. And yet neither of them saw such an explosion.

Even worse, at the moment of the fatal bullet's impact, the Newmans were approximately 6-8 feet behind the President, and about 20 feet to his right. Kennedy, at this time, was turned slightly left. This means the Newmans were looking directly at the back of Kennedy's head at the moment of the fatal bullet's impact... And yet both of them noted that this impact was by his ear!

Still, that's just four witnesses in a strong position to note whether the bullet exploded from the side or back of Kennedy's skull, all of whom said "side." What about the closest witnesses in the motorcade behind Kennedy? Didn't any of them see an explosion from the back of his head?

Uhhh...nope. Motorcycle officer **James Chaney**, riding just a few yards off Kennedy's right shoulder, was interviewed by WFAA on the night of the shooting. He reported: *"We heard the first shot. I thought it was a motorcycle backfiring and uh I looked back over to my left and also President Kennedy looked back over his left shoulder. Then, the, uh, second shot came, well, then I looked back just in time to see the President struck in the face by the second bullet."* Wait... What? Struck in the face? Apparently, Chaney, as Sitzman, considered the space between the eye and the ear the side of the face. While some might wish to believe Chaney was describing the impact of a bullet entering Kennedy's face and exiting from the back of his head, this in fact makes little sense, as Chaney said in this same interview that he thought the shot had come from *"back over my right shoulder."* We should also consider that WFAA's interview of Chaney took place on the night of the assassination...in the hall of the Dallas Police Station as Oswald was being questioned. By that time, Chaney had to have been told a rifle had been found in the depository behind Kennedy's position at the time of the shooting. If Chaney believed Oswald had fired the shots, as one would suspect since he thought the shots came from behind, and had seen an explosion of any kind from the back of Kennedy's head--entrance or exit--wouldn't he have said so?

And shouldn't the motorcycle officer riding directly to his right, **Douglas Jackson**, also have reported such an explosion? Jackson's notes, written on the night of the assassination and published in 1979, relate: *"I looked back toward Mr. Kennedy and saw him hit in the head; he appeared to have been hit just above the right ear. The top of his head flew off away from me."*

Well then, what about the officers riding on the other side, unable to see the right side of the President's face? If there had been an explosion from the back of Kennedy's head, entrance or exit, they would not have been distracted by an entrance or exit by Kennedy's ear. So what did they see?

While the motorcycle officer on the far left of the limo, B.J. Martin, said he did not even see the head shot, the officer to his right, **Bobby Hargis**, riding off Mrs. Kennedy's left shoulder, was not so lucky. In an 11-24-63 eyewitness account published in the New York Sunday News, he wrote: *"As the*

President straightened back up, Mrs. Kennedy turned toward him, and that was when he got hit in the side of the head, spinning it around. I was splattered by blood." In 1968, in an interview with Jim Garrison's investigators, Hargis would later confirm: *"If he'd got hit in the rear, I'd have been able to see it. All I saw was just a splash come out on the other side."*

Okay, now, that's eight witnesses, all of whom said the kill shot impacted on the side of the President's head, and none of whom noted an explosion or wound on the back of his head.

We now move to the witnesses directly behind Kennedy, in perfect position to note an explosion from the back of his head. These witnesses rode in the Secret Service back-up car, trailing the limousine by just a few yards. **Sam Kinney**, the driver of this car, wrote a report on the night of the assassination which asserted *"At this time, the second shot was fired and I observed hair flying from the right side of his head..."* Sitting next to Kinney was **Emory Roberts**, sitting directly behind Kennedy. If a bullet hit Kennedy on the back of the head, or erupted from the back of his head, he would have been the one to notice. Instead, in an 11-29-63 report, he wrote *"I saw what appeared to be a small explosion on the right side of the President's head, saw blood, at which time the President fell further to his left."*

On the left running board of the back-up car were two agents, neither of whom commented on the bullet's impact or wound location in their initial reports.

One of the agents on the right side of the limo, **Paul Landis**, however, described the impact in a graphic manner. In a report written 11-29-63, he noted *"I heard a second report and saw the President's head split open and pieces of flesh and blood flying through the air."* While vague, this might indeed suggest a bullet's exploding from the back of Kennedy's head.

But between the agents on the left and right sides of the limo sat four more witnesses, two on the jump seat, and two on the rear seat. While Kennedy's close aide **Kenneth O'Donnell** failed to describe the impact of the fatal bullet or head wound location in his Warren Commission testimony, he and the man sitting next to him on the jump seat, **Dave Powers**, would in 1970 publish a book on Kennedy, which described: *"While we both stared at the President, the third shot took the side of his head off. We saw pieces of bone and brain tissue and bits of his reddish hair flying through the air..."* These were Kennedy's friends, both of whom felt one or more shots came from the front, and yet neither of them claimed to see an explosion from the back of Kennedy's head. Years earlier, in fact, Powers had provided a statement to the Warren Commission, which described: *"there was a third shot which took off the top of the President's head..."* Thus, O'Donnell and Powers felt the explosion was on the top and side of the President's head--and not on the far back of his head, where so many conspiracy theorists fervently believe the wound was located.

Their impression was shared by **George Hickey**, one of the two Secret Service agents on the rear seat of the back-up car. On the night of the assassination, he wrote a report on what transpired in Dallas, and noted: *"it seemed as if the right side of his head was hit and his hair flew forward."* Next to Hickey sat **Glen Bennett**, who noted, in a handwritten 11-22-63 report, that the fatal bullet *"hit the right rear high of the President's head."* While some might take Bennett's statement to indicate he saw the entrance of a bullet near Kennedy's cowlick, the entrance location later "discovered" by the Clark Panel, a more logical assessment would be that he saw an explosion of brain and blood from the right side of Kennedy's skull, to the rear of his head, as in not on his face, and high, as in the highest part of his head visible from behind. This, not coincidentally, would be the top of Kennedy's head above his ear, the location of the impact shown in the Zapruder film. (Should one not agree with this assessment one should feel free to explain how Bennett could have seen an impact at the small red shape seen in the autopsy photos, and fail to note the massive explosion from the gaping hole on the right side of Kennedy's head seen in the Zapruder film, especially when no blood can be seen exploding from the back of Kennedy's head in the film.)

In sum, then, none of the closest witnesses to the side or back of the President saw a bullet impact on or explode from the back of his head. So why is it, again, that so many believe there was a wound on the back of his head? Oh, that's right. ALL those who saw Kennedy at Parkland Hospital said the wound they saw was on the back of his head.

Well, not all... As we've seen, Dr. Burkley, long before the Dallas doctors convened their press conference and told the world the large head wound was on the back of Kennedy's head, had already explained to press secretary Malcolm Kilduff that the wound was in fact by the temple.

And he wasn't the only one at Parkland to make this assessment. **Hurchel Jacks**, the driver of Vice-President Johnson's car in the motorcade, arrived at the hospital just moments after the limousine, and witnessed the removal of the President's body from the limo. On 11-28-63, less than a week after the assassination, he filed a report (18H801) and noted: *"Before the President's body was covered it appeared that the bullet had struck him above the right ear or near the temple."*

And Smith wasn't the only one viewing the President at this time. While I've yet to find a direct description of Kennedy's head wound from **Senator Ralph Yarborough**, a passenger in the car driven by Jacks to Parkland Hospital, reporter Charles Roberts, who arrived just a few minutes after Jacks and Yarborough, was later to describe Yarborough's response to his questions about the nature of Kennedy's head wound. In his 1967 book *The Truth About the Assassination*, Roberts recalled that as a horrified Yarborough responded *"I can't tell you,"* he unconsciously held *"his hand to the right side of his head, where he had seen blood streaming from the President."*

And, should one wish to write-off Roberts' reporting on Yarborough as unreliable, seeing as he was by 1967 a vocal defender of the Warren Commission, one should take into account that **Merriman Smith**, who won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on the assassination, actually saw Kennedy outside Parkland, and had a similar appreciation of his wound. Now, to be clear, he never saw the wound, and his initial reporting that *"President Kennedy was shot in the right temple"* undoubtedly came from Kilduff. But his early reports--sent across the wires before he arrived at Air Force One about 2:30--nevertheless made clear where the wound was not. In papers such as the *Milton Evening Standard*, Smith reported that as he approached the limousine outside Parkland *"The President was slumped over in the backseat of the car face down. Connally lay on the floor of the rear seat. It was impossible to tell at once where Kennedy was hit, but bullet wounds in Connally's chest were plainly visible, indicating the gunfire might possibly have come from an automatic weapon."* If the President was lying face down, and there was a gaping wound on the back of his head, as so many have come to believe, well then why didn't Smith see it, and report it? That Smith was just reciting an official lie he'd been told doesn't hold water. He had, within this same paragraph, after all, suggested that Connally had been wounded by someone firing an automatic weapon. That someone, it follows, could not have been Oswald.


And Smith wasn't alone when he observed the President's wounds. Standing near him, if not beside him, was his competitor, **Jack Bell** of the Associated Press. So how did Bell describe the wound? Much as Smith, he didn't. Not directly. Instead, the AP's earliest articles on the assassination, such as that found in the 11-23-63 *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, reflect that *"At the hospital emergency entrance, AP reporter Jack Bell saw the President stretched out, face down at full length, motionless on the back seat of the car. His suit still looked neat--but there was blood on the floor."* Well, if he was willing to conjure up the gruesome image of blood pooling up on the floor, wouldn't he have been willing to say he saw a hole on the back of Kennedy's head, should he actually have seen one? The article also reports: *"As the shots reverberated, blood sprang from the President's face."* Hmm... By claiming blood sprang from Kennedy's face, and then indicating there was no wound apparent on the back of Kennedy's head, Bell and the AP had clearly suggested that the fatal bullet had entered from in front of Kennedy, and had failed to exit. Well, would they have done that if they were part of some grand conspiracy to hide that Kennedy had a large wound on the back of his head? I suspect not.

And then there's the driver. When testifying before the Warren Commission on 3-9-64 (2H112-132), **William Greer**, the driver of Kennedy's limousine, also claimed to have seen Kennedy's head wound upon arrival at the hospital. He even pointed out its location. Since this gesture would not show up on the record, however, counsel Arlen Specter asked *"Indicating the top and right rear side of the head?"* To which Greer responded *"Yes, sir; it looked like that was all blown off."* They later discussed the wounds observed at the autopsy. There, Greer reiterated that the wound was on the *"upper right side"* of the head and that the skull in this location was *"completely gone."* The wound proposed by many if not most conspiracy theorists is, of course, not even partially on the upper right side of the head, but entirely on the far back of the head below the top of the ear.

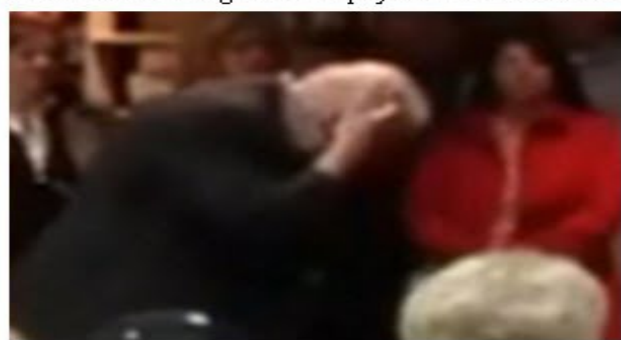
There is still another witness confirming the impressions of Jacks, Yarborough, and Greer. As we've seen, the 11-22-63 diary entry of motorcycle officer Douglas Jackson reflects that he saw Kennedy hit in the head above the right ear. Well, he also saw Kennedy's body as it was removed from the limo at Parkland Hospital. He wrote *"I got off my motor, stepped over to the presidential limousine. An agent opened the car door and started to get Mrs. Kennedy out but Mrs. Kennedy said no. It's no need she said and raised up from over Mr. Kennedy. I could see the **top** of his head was gone, his left eye was bulged out of socket. The agent said 'Oh no!' and started crying, pulled his coat off and placed it over Mr. Kennedy's head."*

Well, then, what gives? Didn't *any* of the closest witnesses to the shooting or Kennedy's body before it entered the hospital say *anything* suggesting they saw a large wound on the far back of Kennedy's head?

The Fog of War

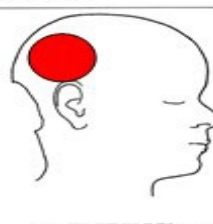
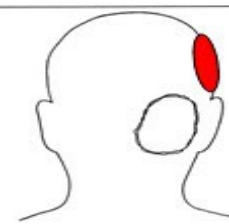


When asked about the head wound in a 12-3-10 appearance at Warwick's bookstore, moreover, he once again depicted it above the right ear (as seen below), and NOT on the far back of the head at the level of the right ear, where many conspiracy theorists--including Parkland physician Charles Crenshaw--have long placed the wound



At left: two stills taken from an 11-20-10 Book TV appearance by Clint Hill. While Hill's depiction of Kennedy's large head wound location varied slightly between his two attempts (performed approximately 30 seconds apart) he was consistent on one key point: the head wound was ABOVE Kennedy's right ear.

So WHY do some conspiracy theorists continue to claim Hill as a "back of the head" witness, whose statements are consistent with Dr. Crenshaw's? (The red ovals at right--representing Hill's recollections--have been added to a 1993 drawing depicting Crenshaw's recollections.)

Drawing found in Assassination Science, 1998.

The Fog of War

Yeah...one did... **Clint Hill**, the Secret Service agent riding to the hospital on the back of the limo, while making no initial comment on the impact location of the fatal bullet, would later describe the

appearance of Kennedy's head wound both en route to the hospital in Dallas, and then later, after the autopsy in Bethesda. An 11-30-63 report written by Hill relates: *"As I lay over the top of the back seat I noticed a portion of the President's head on the right rear side was missing and he was bleeding profusely. Part of his brain was gone. I saw a part of his skull with hair on it lying in the seat."* Hill returned to this later. When describing the aftermath to Kennedy's autopsy in his report, Hill relates *"At approximately 2:45 A.M., November 23, I was requested by ASAC to come to the morgue to once again view the body. When I arrived the autopsy had been completed and ASAC Kellerman, SA Greer, General McHugh and I viewed the wounds. I observed a wound about six inches down from the neckline on the back just to the right of the spinal column. I observed another wound on the right rear portion of the skull."* Well, this once again, is vague. A wound, whether on the "right rear side" of the head, or simply in "the right rear portion of the skull," could be most anywhere in back of the face, including the area above the ear.

So what about Hill's testimony, you might ask? Did he clear this matter up when testifying before the Warren Commission? Some would say so. In testimony taken nearly four months after the shooting, Hill told the Warren Commission: *"The right rear portion of his head was missing. It was lying in the rear seat of the car. His brain was exposed. There was blood and bits of brain all over the entire rear portion of the car. Mrs. Kennedy was completely covered with blood. There was so much blood you could not tell if there had been any other wound or not, except for the one large gaping wound in the right rear portion of the head."* Hill's testimony, then, first reflects that the wound was not on A portion of the right rear side, or merely ON a right rear portion of the skull, but instead covered THE entire right rear portion. It then reverses course, and reflects merely that it was IN the right rear portion, which could, of course, be anywhere in back of the face.

So, despite the widespread claims that Hill's testimony is proof the wound was on the back of Kennedy's head, it is, in reality, a confusing mess. With his statements and testimony, Hill had made four references to Kennedy's head wound--three that were unduly vague, and one that was overly expansive, as not even the looniest of conspiracy theorists believes the entire right rear portion of Kennedy's skull was missing. Perhaps Hill, then, when claiming *"THE right rear portion"* was missing, meant simply to repeat his earlier statement that *"A portion of the right rear side was missing,"* and mis-spoke. While this may be stretching, it explains Hill's subsequent claim, in a 2004 television interview, that, when he first looked down on the President, he saw *"the back of his head, And there was a gaping hole above his right ear about the size of my palm"* better than that he had forgotten what he had seen, or that he had suddenly, for the first time, more than forty years after his original testimony, decided to start lying about what he saw.

(In 2010, while promoting *The Kennedy Detail*, a book written by his fellow agent Jerry Blaine, Hill would repeat many more times that the wound was above Kennedy's right ear. Sometimes he would add-in that it was *"to the rear."* In the book, it said it was *"fist-sized."* Well, this was all some conspiracy theorists, including James Fetzer, needed. In January 2011 Fetzer started pretending that Hill's comments supported not only that the Zapruder film and autopsy photos are fake, but that Hill's description supported the wound as described and depicted by Dr. Charles Crenshaw in Fetzer's 1998 book *Assassination Science*. Apparently, it never registered with Fetzer that Hill had also pointed out exactly where he meant when he said the wound was above the ear to the rear, and that, as shown on the slide above, the location pointed out by Hill was much closer to the wound depicted in the autopsy photos than the wound on Crenshaw's drawings...)

"But the men behind Kennedy were all government employees!", some might claim. "What about the witnesses in back of Kennedy on the south side of the street? Certainly, they saw an explosion from the back of his head..." No, no such luck. There were three witnesses behind Kennedy on his left who would have been in a position to see an explosion from the back of his head, should a shot from the

grassy knoll truly have exploded from the back of his head, as so many believe. **Mary Moorman**, whose photo of Kennedy taken just after the shot's impact shows no evidence for such a wound, was interviewed numerous times on the day of the shooting, and would say only that she saw Kennedy grab his chest and slump down in the car. Her friend, **Jean Hill**, moreover, the woman in red in the Zapruder film, said much the same thing on the day of the shooting. Four months later, however, after much more spectacular reports had been printed, Hill claimed to have seen *"the hair on the back of President Kennedy's head fly up."* Note that she still was not claiming to have seen an explosion from the back of his head. No, she didn't even claim such a thing when tracked down and interviewed decades later by conspiracy writer Jim Marrs. Instead, she told Marrs simply that *"a bullet hit his head and took the top off."* "Top." Not "back." Ms. Hill, in fact, made no claims of seeing the explosion from the back of Kennedy's head so many conspiracy theorists assume she saw until her book *The Last Dissenting Witness* appeared in 1992. It related *"The whole back of his head appeared to explode and a cloud of blood-red mist filled the air."* That this was "poetic license" inserted by her co-writer, Bill Sloan, should be readily apparent. If not, one should take into account that by 1992 Ms. Hill was still so confused by what she saw that she told interviewer James Earl Jones and a national television audience that, as *"shots rang out"*, Kennedy *"grabbed his throat, and that was the horrible head shot."* Kennedy, of course, grabbed his throat long before the head shot.

Well, what of the third witness, then? Well, in his earliest interviews, **Charles Brehm** claimed to see Kennedy really get blasted and get knocked down in the car. No mention of an explosion from the back of his head. A few days later, however, newspaper accounts of the shooting quoting Brehm claimed he saw *"the President's hair fly up."* In 1966, when interviewed by Mark Lane, moreover, he filled in the details, and claimed *"When the second bullet hit, there was—the hair seemed to go flying. It was very definite then that he was struck in the head with the second bullet...I saw a piece fly over in the area of the curb...it seemed to have come left and back."* While some might wish to take the flight of this one piece of skull as an indication the fatal shot came from the front, they really shouldn't rush to such a judgment. You see, not only did Brehm long claim he thought the shots came from behind, but he paused before he told Lane *"the hair seemed to go flying."* During this pause, in an obvious indication of where he recalled seeing a wound, he motioned not to the back of his head but to...his right ear.

Well, were there any other known witnesses to the shooting to report on this wound? Yes. Railroad worker **James Simmons**, who'd watched the shooting from the railroad bridge on the west side of the plaza, testified during the the 1969 trial of Clay Shaw that it looked *"like the top of his head blew off and went up in the air."* Top. Well, then what about from further back? **Marilyn Willis**, standing quite some distance behind Kennedy, told the FBI in June, 64 that she saw the *"top"* of Kennedy's head blown off, only to turn around and tell a TV audience in 1988 that she saw brain matter blown out the *"back of his head,"* only to turn around yet again and tell Robert Groden in 1993 that the wound she saw was on *"this side,"* while grabbing the right side of her head above her ear.

But no matter how one takes her statements, one should recall that Mrs. Willis was about 50 yards behind Kennedy when he received his fatal bullet, and that should she have actually seen his head wound it was but for a second. This makes her seeing blood and brain blown out the back of his head, when no credible witness closer to him saw any such thing, quite unlikely. In fact, when one considers the numerous eyewitness statements claiming the bullet impacted on the right side or top of Kennedy's head, the Zapruder film's confirmation of a wound in this location, and the autopsy photos' additional confirmation of a wound in this location, one might rightly conclude that the only thing solid about the Kennedy assassination medical evidence is that there was a large wound above and in front of Kennedy's right ear.

But, should one think as one should, ironically, one would be wrong. The initial statements and reports of the doctors attending Kennedy at Parkland reflected an almost universal belief the large head wound

was rearward of Kennedy's right ear. In 1967, Josiah Thompson published his book *Six Seconds* in Dallas. This featured an artist's impression of Parkland doctor Robert McClelland's description of Kennedy's large head wound. As shown on the "Who to Believe?" slide above, the wound in this drawing was on the far back of the right side of Kennedy's head. Such a wound is, of course, thoroughly incompatible with the autopsy photos showing the back of Kennedy's head.

In 1979, the HSCA Authenticity Report attempted to smooth this over by declaring: "*In disagreement with the observations of the Parkland doctors are the 26 people present at the autopsy. All of those interviewed who attended the autopsy corroborated the general location of the wound as depicted in the photographs; none had differing accounts.*" But this declaration proved too little too late. David Lifton would shortly thereafter publish *Best Evidence*, a book holding that the descriptions of the Parkland witnesses differed from those of the Bethesda witnesses because the President's body had been altered while en route to the autopsy. Others, such as Harrison Livingstone and Robert Groden, (the latter of whom had worked as a photo analyst for the HSCA), then responded to Lifton's book with theories of their own. No, they claimed, in books showing the autopsy photos illicitly obtained by both Lifton and Groden, it's not that the body had been altered, a la Lifton, it's that the autopsy doctors had lied and that the back of the head photos had been faked.

Then thunder struck. In the late 1990's, after a number of new "back of the head" witnesses came forward, and a number of previously withheld HSCA interviews were ordered released by the ARRB, it was learned that many of these Bethesda witnesses had actually told the HSCA's investigators they'd seen a large wound on the back of Kennedy's head, and that a still unnamed person had *lied* about this in the HSCA Authenticity Report.

With that, all faith in the photographic evidence was shattered. Many, if not most, researchers, came to accept Groden's proposition that it was the photos that had been altered and not Kennedy's body. Some, however, came to reject Groden's proposition that the Zapruder film showed the occipital wound described by the Parkland witnesses, and embraced instead Lifton's suspicion that the Zapruder film--which had led many to suspect a conspiracy in the first place--had in fact been altered to, among other things, move the hole on the back of JFK's head to a more acceptable location in front of his right ear.

This led still others, such as ARRB analyst Doug Horne, to come up with their own unique hybrid theories. In his 5 volume work, *Inside the ARRB*, Horne explains that, in his view, the body, autopsy photos, x-rays, and Zapruder film were all altered in one way or another. He explains, furthermore, that the body alteration Lifton believed was performed BEFORE the body arrived at Bethesda was in fact performed at Bethesda by Dr. Humes, and that the Bethesda witnesses seeing a large wound primarily on the back of JFK's head saw this wound BEFORE Dr. Humes had altered the wound, and expanded it to include the wound on the top of Kennedy's head more consistent with an assassin's having shot him from behind. In still further opposition to Lifton, Horne holds that the wound on the back of the head was not reconstructed for the autopsy photographs. In opposition to Groden, however, Horne holds that the back of the head autopsy photos were not actually altered, but taken after the FBI had left, with the scalp stretched to hide the true dimensions of the hole. He holds, furthermore, that the x-rays were altered to hide this same hole.

So, in Horne's theory, the autopsy physicians were not deceived, as in Lifton's theory, but were instead prime deceivers.



Fetzer's Folly

Now, to give Horne credit, he developed his theory, and published his books, and then stepped back and let others figure out whether he was right or not. This left it to his #1 cheerleader, Dr. James Fetzer, to push his theory online, and bully his fellow conspiracy theorists into seeing the one true light. Well, Fetzer, no surprise, added some of his own bits to Horne's theory, and began pushing that those altering the Zapruder film screwed up and failed to remove the purported blow-out wound on the back of Kennedy's head from frame 374 of the Zapruder film. Fetzer held, furthermore, that the "cashew-nut-like shape" apparent on this frame "corresponds very closely to "Area P" (for "patched") in Mantik's analysis." Area P is, of course, the "white patch" identified by Dr. Mantik on the x-rays.

Well, as shown above, this is total nonsense. The "white patch" (which is really the wing of bone shown on the autopsy photos) and "cashew nut-like shape" (which is presumably the reflection of the sun on Kennedy's hair) are in fact inches apart. Now, I'm tempted to make a joke about this--something like "Fetzer's clearly nuts when he talks about the cashew nut-like shape," or "Fetzer's got nuts not only on his brain, but Kennedy's"-- but such a joke would be in poor taste.

Wouldn't it?

Views on the Views



Above: JFK's arrival in Texas. Note how the hair on the back of his head is easily displaced by wind.



Above: a crop from Zapruder frame 337, showing the defect above JFK's ear shown in the autopsy photos, as well as a "volcano-shape" on the back of his head.



View 2: photos 5-6, 26-28

While many conspiracy theorists think autopsy photo views 4 and 6 have been altered to hide a wound on the back of JFK's head, and that this wound is shown in Zapruder frame 337, others think the Zapruder film shows no such thing, and has also been faked. I suspect, however, that both sides are wrong, and that the so-called "volcano-shape" in frame 337 is just JFK's hair.



View 5: photos 13-14, 40-41



View 6: photos 15-16, 42-43.



View 4: photos 11-12, 38-39



View 3: photos 7-10, 32-37



View 1: photos 1-4, 29-31



View 7: photos 17-18, 44-45

Views on the Views

And yet, in light of the fact that none of the closest witnesses saw an explosion from the back of Kennedy's head, Horne's and Fetzer's belief the autopsy team conspired to hide such a wound is indeed a bit nutty. (Sorry, Doug.) If the Newmans, Burkley, Zapruder, Sitzman, Hill, et al were all lying about what they saw on November 22nd, they wouldn't have described the wound near the right ear as an entrance, now would have they? They saw one large wound and assumed it to be an entrance. Later, Dr.

Humes found a small entrance on the back of Kennedy's head and decided the large head wound was an exit. It was logical, and almost correct. What isn't logical is to accept that the body was changed between Dallas and Bethesda, or that the statements of the Parkland witnesses prove the autopsy photos a fraud. To trust the words of so many at Parkland Hospital that the only large head wound was on the far back of Kennedy's head, after all, would mean (if one is to be consistent and trust the earliest witnesses, e.g. Newman and Zapruder) that the wound was first altered en route to the hospital, only to be changed back a few hours later on Air Force One en route to Washington.

Bunkum. Let's remember the words of Mrs. Kennedy. While many have used her statement *"from the front there was nothing"* as evidence the bullet erupted from the back of her husband's skull, they largely ignore the context of her statements. When describing the fatal shot, she told the Warren Commission *"just as I turned to look at him, I could see a piece of his skull, sort of wedge-shaped like that, and I remember it was flesh colored."* (The words "sort of wedge-shaped like that" were in the court reporter's transcript but never published. They are presumably a reference to the bone flap visible in the right lateral autopsy photos.) She then described cradling her husband in her arms, and getting a closer look at the wound. She said: *"from the front there was nothing. I suppose there must have been. But from the back you could see, you know, you were trying to hold his hair on, and his skull on."* Her words do not describe the wound's exact location, and suggest merely that the gaping wound on President Kennedy's head did not extend as far as his face. They do not detail an exit on the back of his head, as mistakenly purported by Dr. James Fetzer in his January 12, 2010 radio interview of Doug Horne, in which he claimed she had testified that *"she had a terrible time holding the back of his head and skull together,"* an assertion, by the way, to which Horne readily agreed. Still, one might wonder about the exact location of this wound.

Fortunately, only a week after the assassination, in a conversation with historian Theodore White, Mrs. Kennedy was far more descriptive. According to White's notes, released to the public in May 1995 and subsequently published in the September 1995 Kennedy Assassination Chronicles, she said: *"I could see a piece of his skull coming off...this perfectly clean piece detaching itself from his head; then he slumped in my lap."* Now, this would seem to be a reference to the detachment of skull seen in frame 314 of the Zapruder film, and can be taken as an indication of the film's legitimacy.

But that's not all she had to say. According to White's notes, she also said: *"All the ride to the hospital, I kept bending over him saying, 'Jack, Jack, can you hear me, I love you, Jack.' I kept holding the top of his head down trying to keep the..."* White's notes then detail that when discussing her husband's condition at the hospital, Mrs. Kennedy said *"From here down"*--and here she made a gesture indicating her husband's forehead--*"his head was so beautiful. I'd tried to hold the top of his head down, maybe I could keep it in...I knew he was dead."* Thus, according to White, she said the wound was at the "top" of her husband's head--not once but twice...

And that wasn't the last time she described the wound in such a manner. In her interview with White Mrs. Kennedy worried that the history of her husband's Presidency would be written by the likes of AP correspondent *"Merriman Smith, that bitter man,"* who, irony of all ironies, would soon thereafter win a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on the assassination. This no doubt contributed to her subsequent decision to hire an historian of her own, William Manchester, to write an authorized book on the assassination. She was interviewed by Manchester on 4-7-64, 5-4-64, 5-7-64, 5-8-64, and 7-20-64. While Manchester's notes on these interviews have never been released, it's clear she told him, as White, that the fatal wound was at the top of Kennedy's head. In late 1966, she had a falling out with Manchester over his use of these interviews. His book could not be released without her approval. This, then, led to her reading a draft of his book, *The Death of a President*, and giving it her personal approval. Here is how the final draft described her husband's death: *"The First Lady, in her last act as First Lady, leaned solicitously toward the President. His face was quizzical. She had seen that*

expression so often, when he was puzzling over a difficult press conference question. Now, in a gesture of infinite grace, he raised his right hand, as though to brush back his tousled chestnut hair. But the motion faltered. The hand fell back empty. He had been reaching for the top of his head. But it wasn't there any more."

Now this can't be any more clear. Mrs. Kennedy had told Manchester that the fatal wound she saw was at the top of her husband's head.

That the descriptions of Kennedy's head wound by the First Lady and the earliest descriptions of the wound and/or impact location by Newman and Zapruder and so many others match the wound seen in the Zapruder film, autopsy photos, and X-rays leads me to suspect that the large head wound observed at Parkland was on the top of Kennedy's skull in front of his ear, and not on the back of his head as suggested by the Parkland witnesses.

We get letters...

Here are two responses to my mere suggestion that the Parkland witnesses could be wrong...and that the autopsy photos and x-rays of Kennedy are unaltered...

From a January 16, 2006 e-mail from David Lifton:

Pat,

A professor friend of mine attended this past year's Lancer conference and was highly critical of your presentation. He was incredulous that people would pay money to fly to Dallas and stay in a hotel—being there because they wanted information about the conspiracy that took JFK's life--and then be presented with a lecturer who tells them that the body had not been altered, when, in this case, the alteration of the body is the key to the case. I had never heard of you before, but followed a link he sent. Either in your presentation or at your website, you stated something to the effect that "I think too much is made of the Dallas doctors' observations."... From my brief reading of your material, your entire analysis is based on these wrong-headed and mistaken notions; e.g., the notion that the Dallas observations can be dismissed. In addition, there are any number of other mis-statements that are made and follow from that false premise, or foundation. Of course, it's a free country and anyone is free to assert whatever they wish about anything... My history professor friend was astounded that Lancer would present this sort of thing as a "serious" analysis of the medical evidence. I'm sure you won't be happy with these comments, but that's my opinion.

You say your background is in music. Were you to attend law school, and take a course in evidence, you would immediately see that you cannot approach the medical data as you do--you might still not agree with my analysis, but I don't think you would ever publicly present this sort of reasoning as the basis for a medical analysis in this case. In fact, contrary to your assertions, the primacy and importance of the Dallas doctors observations cannot be overemphasized.

DSL

From an online discussion on The Education Forum:

QUOTE(James H. Fetzer @ Jan 17 2006, 04:19 AM)

I had heard you were arrogant but hadn't noticed myself until now. You are suggesting that you have the competence and the expertise to interpret X-rays; in particular, that your competence and expertise is even greater than that of David W. Mantik, M.D., Ph.D.? I am astounded. Let me ask: How many trips into the National Archives have you made? How extensively have you tested the "original" X-rays using optical densitometry? Have you ever even studied David's chapters on the X-rays in ASSASSINATION SCIENCE? And is your vast competence supposed to extend to issues of alteration of

the Zapruder film as well? You must be some kind of mental giant! Why don't you explain to us how optical densitometry works and how David was able to ascertain empirically that the X-rays were altered? I would like to see a demonstration of your expertise. Believe it or not, I actually asked him to come to this forum and review claims that have been made about the X-rays. He has scanned many posts but has yet to find something that merits comment. So why don't you make a condensed case for your own views and I will share them with him, right after you show us the extent of your own competence to render these findings. Are you aware that David is Board Certified in Radiation Oncology? Are you Board Certified in Radiation Oncology? Frankly, I think all these issues are far beyond your competence, that you are completely out of your depth, but that some fantastic egoistic motivation drives you to pretend that you know things you don't and possess skills you never had. That is simply stupifying. And are you implying that you can understand the alteration issues with regard to the film WITHOUT studying Costella's work, which is visually displayed on my web site? You are truly an amazing guy! You appear to be ignorant of the most basic issues.

From reading the comments of Lifton and Fetzer, not to mention the 20 or so equally nasty emails and comments I've received in the years since for--gasp--daring to suspect that the observations of some doctors who didn't even take notes could be wrong, and that the Zapruder film, autopsy photos, and x-rays could be legitimate, one might assume I've violated some unwritten code among conspiracy theorists.

And indeed I have. By proposing that one can't simply cherry-pick one group of witnesses and say they are right, while ignoring both the first witnesses (the Dealey Plaza witnesses, the Zapruder film) and the best witnesses (the autopsy doctors, the autopsy report, autopsy photographs, and x-rays), I have shat upon the altar before which many conspiracy theorists genuflect. To conspiracy theorists of a particular bent, this is every bit as sacrilegious as my suggestion Dale Myers' animation is a fraud is to single-assassin theorists.

I mean, let's be consistent. If there is an incident--let's say a fatal car accident--in which both the statements of those witnessing the event and the statements of the tow truck drivers removing the wreckage confirm that the event occurred at the location depicted in the police photographs, you assume the location in the photographs to have been correct, even if the paramedics and first police responders, when asked about it later, some many years later, recall the accident as happening half way down the block.

So how is this any different?

Well, according to David Lifton, it's very different...

From a 1-27-11 post on the Education Forum (The atypical mis-spellings on this message are Lifton's, and are preserved for the sake of accuracy. Apparently he was falling asleep or in a hurry...or in a hurry to fall asleep.)

Pat: I do not have time to examine and critically analyze the full "chapter sized" postings you made, but just consider what you have written above. It is, in my opinion, easily refutable. Turn to Chapter 13 of BEST EVIDENCE, and just consider my December, 1966 interview with Dr. Paul Peters. "Dr. Peters emphasized that the head wound was at the back, that it was actually necessary to get to the back of the head to get a good view of it." Then, some pages later, and in the section under the breaker "What was visible through the wound," I dealt with all the testimony about the cerebellum, and here's what Dr. Peters had to say on that point, and I QUOTE:

"Dr. Peters gave me a most vivid description. . . . trying to impress upon me the locaton of the wound he saw, Dr. Peters said: "I'd be willing to swear that the wound was in the occiput, you know. I could see the the occipital lobes clearly, AND SO I KNOW IT WAS THAT FAR BACK, ON THE SKULL. I

could look inside the skull, and I thought it looked like the cerebellum was injured, or missing, because the occipital lobes seemed to rest almost on the foramen magnum. . . [it] looked like the occipital lobes were resting on the foramen magnum." (For readers of this thread who may not be all that familiar with anatomic terminology, the "foramen magnum" is the hole in the base of the skull, in that part of the occipital bone that wraps around and forms the base of the skull, through which the spinal cord enters and then connects to the brain.). It was as if something underneath them, [something] that usually kept them up from that a little ways, namely, the cerebellum and brainstem, might have been injured or missing." There can be no doubt about what part of the head Dr. Peters looked at, or how far down the back of the head the fatal wound he saw was located. Dr. Peters statement that he saw the occipital lobes resting on the foramen magnum was not the description of a casual observer."

Dr. Peters corroborated five Dallas doctors' testimony in the Warren Commission records that cerebellar tissue was visible in the skull wound. These observations clearly indicated where the Dallas wound was located.

UNQUOTE

Pat: I do not understand how, with such vivid testimony spelled out in plain English, you can possibly deny the clear evidence of where the head wound was located--at the bottom of the back of the head. And then join that mis-conception, or misunderstanding (or mistake--however one wishes to characterize the manner of your analysis) --and then join that to the controversy re the Harper fragment, and state: " [it] is the height of hypocrisy to turn around and claim the Harper fragment was occipital bone. For the Harper fragment to be occipital bone, there would have to have been a hole LOW on the back of JFK's head. NONE of the eyewitnesses to the shooting saw a hole there. . "

(Of course, do keep in mind that Dr. Jack Harper, who actually examined the bone, said it was occipital bone--and said so (as I recollect) on November 25, 1963, per the FBI interview.) The problem with your analysis--and I now remember that I ran into this when I first emailed with you years ago--was your statement that you thought that entirely too much weight was given to the Parkland records, or some such thing. Immediately I understood then--and from your postings here I see that things have not changed all that much in the years since--that you simply do not understand or appreciate the legal and historical importance of statements made AT THE TIME (first of all); and secondly, you continually will equate, in importance, "the Parkland witnesses" with "the eyewitnesses to the shooting."

There is no comparison between an "eyewitness to the shooting"--who may have had a fleeting glimpse of the President (and his wounding), a glimpse lasting a few seconds, and the observations of someone like Dr. Peters, who was in the Emergency Room, and had a chance to observe the wounds at close hand (just inches away), and with the experience of a trained physician.

Yet you continually invoke the "Dealey Plaza witnesses to the shooting" as if their observations should (or do) carry the legal weight comparable to those of the doctors and nurses in the Emergency Room. That's just plain wrong. Its apples and oranges. You should not be doing that, yet you continually do so.

The proper and legitimate comparison should be between observations made in the Parkland Emergency Room (or even in the Parkland Hospital parking lot, if someone got a good look at JFK's wounds there) and the reports from Bethesda. That is reasonable and legitimate. But to start by creating (and then invoking, as you do) a data base consisting of "eyewitnesses-to-the-shooting"

observations, and comparing them to those of the doctors actually in the emergency room, is not just of dubious value; its completely wrong, and represents a very serious analytic error. No wonder your conclusions are so completely off the mark, if they are based on "reasoning" like that. I appreciate all the pretty graphics (obviously, you are talented in that regard) but its the reasoning that counts, and I find this kind of reasoning deeply flawed.

When I have more time, I'll try to critique the lengthy posting you have made (and addressed to me), but again and again, I find you traveling down this same false path, mixing apples and oranges, and drawing all kinds of unjustifiable inferences, based on this flawed methodology. That pervades your entire analysis of the medical evidence, and results in a mistaken view of what the President's body actually looked like, after the shooting; what wounds it contained; a flawed view of Dealey Plaza, and--perhaps most important of all--an inability to discern whether "the medical evidence" has been altered.

And that is really the key: because if your methodology is so flawed as to not be able to perceive the evidence that the wounds on the body were altered between Parkland and Bethesda, then you have lost sight of THE major issue in this case.

DSL

1/27/11; 11:50 AM PST

Los Angeles, CA

PS: Also remember what Dr. Charles Baxter (I think it was he) who said that the President's brain was "lying on the table." What veteran JFK researcher Wallace Milam concluded--decades ago (and I agreed with him)--was that this was Baxter's less than optimal way of describing the brain at the back of JFK's head (when JFK was lying face up) protruding through the wound, and touching the surface of the hospital cart. Again, more evidence as to the rearward location of the wound.

I share Lifton's posting in total so the reader can see what I'm up against. In five years, I've made absolutely no head-way with him. He still claims the recollections of the Parkland witnesses are consistent and of prime importance and pretty much all that matters. He now adds, however, that the recollections of the eyewitnesses to the shooting--who, from Lifton's perspective, uniformly noted a wound on the right side of Kennedy's head before it even existed--are of no importance and can be dismissed with the wave of a hand.

Well, this is pretty silly, wouldn't you say? The recollections of a patient's wounds made by emergency room personnel days, months, and even decades after observing the patient are of infinitely more value than the descriptions of the patient's wounds given by eyewitnesses to his shooting only minutes or hours afterward? Says who? Pathologists are the doctors normally used in a court of law to establish the extent and location of a wound, not emergency room doctors and nurses, most of whose job it is to react, and not inspect...and who don't even take notes.

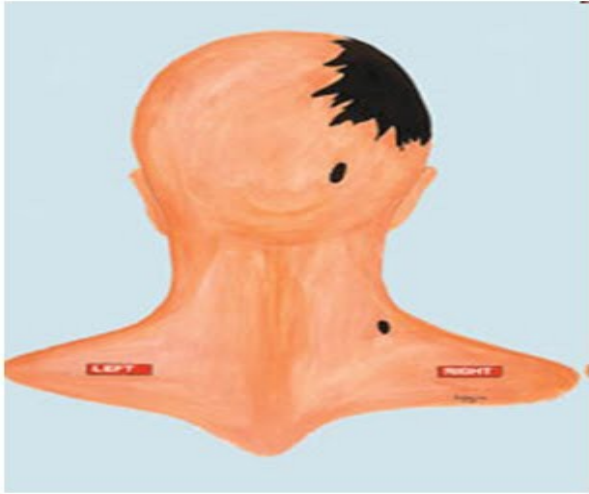
Now, IF the Parkland witnesses all claimed to get a good look at the wound, and all claimed to see a wound in the same location, and had all been willing to swear on a stack of Bibles that their recollections were correct and that the autopsy photographs were fake, I'd be tempted to change my mind.

But they didn't. And those telling you they did are as mistaken as those calling the single-bullet theory a "fact."


But I can't expect you to trust me on this. Not after mountains of malarkey have been dumped upon our heads for forty years...

So let's go through the statements of some of those considered key "back of the head" witnesses. Starting with Dr. Boswell...

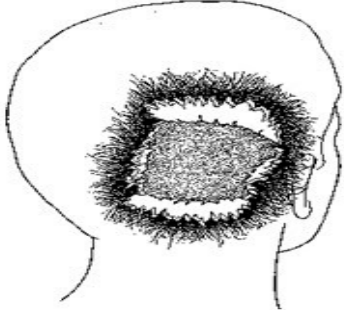
Boswell and Johnson



Above: Warren Commission Exhibit CE 386, a drawing created By Skip Rydberg in 1964 under the guidance of Dr. Boswell, depicting the small entrance and large exit on the back of Kennedy's head as seen at autopsy.



Above: a skull marked by Dr. Boswell for the ARRB in 1996. The outside lines depict the margins of the skull defect he saw when the scalp was peeled back. The middle line depicts a supposed scalp laceration. (Photo courtesy John Hunt.)



Above: a drawing created by Phillip Johnson, in an attempt to depict Dr. McClelland's recollection of the large head wound observed at Parkland Hospital. Note the relationship of the hole to the ear.

While some have tried to spin Dr. Boswell's recollection of the head wounds as told the ARRB as support for the back of the head wound recalled by Dr. McClelland, their recollections are at odds. Boswell saw a hole above the ear and a vertical laceration on the back of the head. McClelland noted neither of these, and instead saw a large hole where Boswell saw intact scalp and a small entrance on the bone.

Boswell and Johnson

Now, to be clear, Lifton never claimed Boswell as a "back of the head" witness...

Lifton holds, to this day, that the hole on the back of Kennedy's head observed at Parkland had somehow been repaired by the time Dr. Boswell saw his head at Bethesda, and that a wound in front of Kennedy's ear had been added.

In postings found online, in fact, he's made it more than clear he has little respect for researchers, such as Robert Groden and Dr. Gary Aguilar, who cite a number of Bethesda "back of the head" witnesses as evidence the wounds were unaltered between Parkland and Bethesda.

And he actually has good reason to be angry. As we shall see, the descriptions of the Parkland "back of the head" witnesses differ from those of the Bethesda "back of the head" witnesses on a number of key points.

But that's getting ahead of ourselves... For now, we need only realize that the use of Dr. Boswell as a "back of the head" witness is a bit bizarre on its face, seeing as he signed off on the autopsy report in which no scalp lacerations on the back of the head were noted, and seeing as he never ever said anything indicating he'd seen an entrance wound on the front of the head.

But when one looks at his statements to the ARRB--the statements usually quoted by those claiming him as a "back of the head" witness--it becomes even more bizarre.

Here is one of the key statements used by back-of-the-head wound theorists to sell Boswell as a "back of the head" witness:

BOSWELL: There was a big wound sort of transverse up like this from left posterior to right anterior. The scalp was separated, but it was folded over, and you could fold the scalp over and almost hide the

wound. When you lifted the scalp up, you could really lay it back posteriorally, and there was a lot of bone still attached to the scalp but detached from the remainder of the skull. And I think these parts back here probably reflect that.

And here is Boswell's response to a follow-up question by Jeremy Gunn:

GUNN: When you say the left posterior, what do you mean?

BOSWELL: The left occipital area, and that wound extends to the right frontal area. And what I meant was that the wound in the scalp could be closed from side to side so that it didn't appear that there was any scalp actually--scalp missing.

Yep. That's right. Those pushing Boswell as a witness for the wound described by the Parkland witnesses--a gaping EXIT wound of both scalp and skull on the RIGHT back of the head--are using Boswell's recollection of a scalp LACERATION on the LEFT side of the head, (a scalp laceration that could be closed from side to side so that one could not tell any scalp was missing, mind you), as evidence.

Now, even if one were to accept the ridiculous notion that his statements support there was a gaping wound missing both scalp and skull on the right back side of the head, how reliable are Boswell's recollections?

Not remotely, as it turns out.

More from his ARRB deposition with Gunn:

GUNN: Do you recall whether there were tears or lacerations in the scalp?

BOSWELL: Right across here and--

GUNN: Approximately across the midline?

BOSWELL: What I previously described, post-occipital, and on the left, across the top, and then down to the right frontal area, and then the laceration extended into the right eye.

GUNN: Okay. Could you make another drawing--and we'll put Line No. 2 on this--to show the approximate direction of the large laceration that you just referred to?

BOSWELL: Well, it's not a--I can't say what direction, but--and then this came on down like so, and--actually, I think it came right into here.

GUNN: Okay. I'm going to put a 2 in a circle right next to that line, and the 2 will signify the approximate direction and shape of the large laceration. Would that be fair?

BOSWELL: Mm-hmm.

GUNN: Just so I'm clear--and we'll be looking at the photographs in a few minutes, and you can maybe clarify it there. But at least with some of the photographs, is it your testimony that the scalp was pulled in a way different from how it was when you first saw it in order to better illustrate either wound of entry or exit?

BOSWELL: Yes. The scalp was essentially loose. In the usual autopsy, you have to cut underneath the scalp in order to reflect it. In this case, the scalp was mobile so that you could pull it forward to obscure the wound or pull it back to make the wound completely lucid.

GUNN: Okay. Was the hair cleaned in any way for purposes of the photographs?

BOSWELL: No, I don't think so. There was not a lot of blood, as I remember, and I think he had been pretty well cleaned up in the operating--in the emergency room. And I don't think we had to do much in the way of cleansing before we took photographs.

Well, wait right there. Boswell spoke to the ARRB in 1996. When asked the preceding questions by Jeremy Gunn he had not been shown the autopsy photos since 1977, and had not been shown the establishing shots taken at the autopsy--the photos showing Kennedy lying on the table before an inspection of his wounds had begun--since 1967. Clearly, he had forgotten that these first shots show

the President's hair to be matted with blood and brain. His response then shows that he lacked a clear recollection of Kennedy's original appearance when interviewed by the ARRB. He was in his seventies, after all, discussing something he'd seen more than 30 years before. So why should we believe his latter-day recollections are accurate?

We shouldn't. The scalp laceration stretching to the left occipital region suddenly recalled by Boswell 33 years after performing the autopsy was not only not mentioned in the autopsy protocol, it was specifically ruled out by Boswell in his 9-16-77 interview with the HSCA pathology panel.

When asked about the red spot the HSCA panel presumed to be the bullet entrance, and which Dr. Humes presumed was dried blood, Boswell replied:

"It's the posterior-inferior margin of the lacerated scalp." When one of the HSCA panel, Dr. Petty, expressed doubt about this, Boswell then repeated: "It tore right down to that point. And then we just folded that back and this back and an anterior flap forward and this exposed almost the entire--I guess we did have to dissect a little bit to get to."

If, in Boswell's mind, the scalp laceration ended at the red spot, high on the back of the head on the parietal bone, in 1977, there was no way it could possibly have stretched all the way to the occipital bone 19 years later. It seems clear, then, that Dr. Boswell was seriously confused.

But those pushing Boswell as a back of the head witness will never admit this.

Let's take, for example, Doug Horne. Horne had fed Gunn questions during the ARRB's questioning of Boswell. On page 111 of his opus, *Inside the ARRB*, Horne, who by his own admission had pursued a job with the ARRB in hopes of proving fraud in the medical evidence, quotes Boswell's response after being asked if his 17 by 10 measurement for the large skull defect reflected missing bone or fractured skull. Boswell responded: *"Most of that space, the bone was missing. There were a lot of small skull fragments attached to the scalp as it was reflected, but most of that space, the bone was missing, some of which--I think two of which we subsequently retrieved."*

Now look what Horne writes but four pages later, when discussing Dr. Boswell's approximation of the borders of this defect on a skull model: *"The 3-D skull drawing by Boswell was critical, because his autopsy sketch of the top of the skull had by its very nature not shown the condition of the rear of the head. Boswell's 3-D skull diagram completed the rest of the picture. And he wasn't depicting fragmentation or areas of broken bone, he was depicting areas of the skull denuded of bone. It was electrifying."*

What? Where does Horne get that Boswell wasn't depicting fragmentation? Boswell had just told him that part of the area depicted was where small skull fragments remained attached to the scalp. He had previously told him that upon the reflection of the scalp *"there was a lot of bone still attached to the scalp but detached from the remainder of the skull."* He had told writer Harrison Livingstone on 9-1-91, furthermore, that *"a pretty good size piece of the frontal and right occipital portion of the skull had separated and were stuck to the under-surface of the scalp. So when that was reflected, then it was true; there was a big bony defect in the right side of the skull."* Why does Horne ignore this?

Here's why:

GUNN: Just one last point that I would like to just clarify in my one mind is: On the piece for the markings for the 10 by 17 centimeters that were missing, would it be fair to say that when you first examined the body prior to any arrival of fragments from Dallas, the skull was missing from approximately those dimensions of 10 by 17?

BOSWELL: Yes.

Well, the word "approximately" is, in this instance, tragically vague. It allowed Horne to presume the back of Kennedy's skull was missing--as in gone--when the bulk of Boswell's statements over the years make clear it was badly fragmented and attached to the underside of the scalp. It bears repeating that NONE of the other back of the head witnesses described so much skull missing. Clearly Boswell had no idea how big the hole on the skull was before the scalp was peeled back. Clearly he measured the skull defect after the scalp had been pulled back and skull had fallen to the table. Clearly, the best indicator of the size of the hole on the back of the head, then, would be the x-rays, which fail to depict a large hole on the back of the head where Horne and others presume there was a hole...where the Parkland witnesses told them there was a hole...

But, wait, some of those believing Boswell to be a back of the head witness have found a novel way to undermine the credibility of the x-rays...provided, not surprisingly, by Gunn's questioning of Boswell:

GUNN: Were any skull fragments put back into place before photographs or before X-rays?

BOSWELL: I think before we took the--the ones that came from Dallas were never put back in except to try and approximate them to the ones that were present. But I think all the others were left intact.

GUNN: So, for example, was there a fragment that had fallen out at any point that you then put back into its place before a photograph or X-ray was taken?

BOSWELL: Yes.

GUNN: What size fragments and where did you place them at the--

BOSWELL: Well, the one that's in the diagram on Exhibit 1, that 10-centimeter piece I'm sure was out at one time or another. And I think maybe some of these smaller fragments down at the base of that diagram also were out at one time or another. But those were all put back.

So, from leading the clearly elderly and confused Boswell through a series of strange questions designed to support or refute the body alteration theory of David Lifton, Gunn got Horne the answer some conspiracy theorists were looking for...that bone was put back in the skull BEFORE an x-ray or photograph was taken. Never mind that Boswell at first specified that the large pieces of missing bone were not put back in the skull, and only said so after being asked the same question a second time. Never mind that the bone Boswell thinks they are talking about did not arrive until near the end of the autopsy, and that NOT ONE witness to the autopsy--let alone, x-ray tech or radiologist--recalled a skull x-ray being taken after the beginning of the autopsy.

And never mind that Horne himself dismisses this possibility... That's right, in Volume 2 of his 5 volume opus Inside the ARRB, Horne concludes that by the time the skull was reconstructed, the only men able to operate the portable x-ray machine had been sent home, and that no x-rays were taken during or after the re-construction of Kennedy's skull.

Even worse for those trying to twist Boswell's ARRB testimony into something it was not...Horne also concludes the skull x-rays were taken as a series at the beginning of the autopsy.

And it's no wonder. In The Assassinations, an anthology published in 2003, Dr. Cyril Wecht and Dr. David Mantik jointly confirmed that the brain, although badly damaged, is nevertheless apparent on the x-rays. This means the x-rays were taken at the beginning of the autopsy, not the end.

Dr. Mantik, to whom many, including Doug Horne, defer on all matters x-ray, has also concluded in his many papers and articles that the bone at the back of JFK's head in his post-mortem x-rays is consistent with the bone at the back of his head in his pre-mortem x-rays.

As a result, one can not reasonably propose, a la some of the wilder conspiracy theorists, that Boswell's confused testimony suggests that the 10cm fragment recovered from the floor of the limousine was placed back into Kennedy's skull to hide a hole on the back of his head on the x-rays and autopsy photographs. The presumed hole was, after all, in the occipital region. The 10cm fragment was, on the

other hand, parietal bone (according to the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel), or frontal bone (according to Dr.s Angel and Mantik).

So why play with Boswell's words to suggest such a thing?

Let's be clear. Mantik has concluded that the skull in the lateral x-ray is JFK's, but that a white patch has been super-imposed on the right side of the skull on the x-rays. Horne accepts this conclusion. Horne also accepts that the back of the head photos are unaltered, and that the hole he believes should be shown in the photos was obscured through some clever manipulation of the scalp by the autopsy doctors. Neither Mantik nor Horne, then, believe, nor indicate in any of their writings, that a hole on the back of the head was disguised through the insertion of a piece of recovered bone, nor that doing so would create the white patch apparent on the x-rays.

So why do some theorists, purportedly impressed with Mantik's research, Horne's analysis, and Wecht's credentials, suggest that the intact skull on the back of the head on the x-rays and back of the head photos reflects not that the back of the head was intact, or even made to look intact via manipulation of the scalp, but that the x-rays and back of the head photos were taken towards the end of the autopsy, after the recovered bone fragments provided by the Secret Service were stuffed back into the skull?

I mean, that's not only silly, it's in opposition to the findings of the most prominent members of the "hole-in-the-back-of-the-head" gang. It is, in other words, too silly for men not remotely scared of looking silly.

But there's a reason for this silliness. And that's that Boswell himself provided the fodder for this silliness. In his 1977 interview with the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, Dr. Boswell revealed that he now remembered the story told the Warren Commission of the doctors' pairing up the internal beveling on the small wound on the back of the head with the external beveling on the largest fragment found in the limousine to conclude the bullet traveled from back to front, as them matching up a beveled semi-circle of entrance on the largest fragment with beveling on the intact skull. While discussing the back of Kennedy's head and the bone fragments brought in during the autopsy, he said: *"this bone was all gone and actually the smaller fragment fit this piece down here--there was a hole here, only half of which was present in the bone that was intact. and this small piece then fit right on there and the beveling on those was on the interior surface."*

In 1994, when asked by Dr. Gary Aguilar if Rydberg drawing CE-388 shows the largest of the late-arriving fragments (the one with the beveling) placed back on the skull, moreover, he said: *"Yeah, the eh -- that fragment -- the defect -- the wound of entrance was at the base of that defect and, eh, the shelving on the inner surface of the bone was half on the intact portion of the skull and half on that fragment that we received from Dallas and replaced."*

Well, heck. Boswell had thereby confirmed that the source of much of his (and subsequently *our*) confusion: in his old age he'd come to believe the beveling on the largest fragment was entrance beveling--which was at odds with the autopsy report he swears by--and this, in turn, led him to think the largest fragment x-rayed at autopsy--which even CTs like Mantik agree derived from the front of the head--derived from the back of the head. There is no corresponding blow-out on the back of the head on the x-rays, of course. And this, in turn, led Boswell to muse that the x-rays were taken with the largest skull fragment flown in from Dallas placed back into the head.

By the end of his 1996 ARRB testimony, for that matter, Boswell had confirmed this explanation for his confusion.

GUNN: In your answer to a previous question, you made reference to the exit wound in the skull. Did you ever see any evidence of any beveling in the skull at the point where you determined there was an exit wound?

BOSWELL: At the time of autopsy we didn't. But then when we reviewed the photographs, some of that beveling in the skull is equivocal, and obviously we weren't able to tell.

GUNN: So would it be fair, then, to say that you determined during the course of the autopsy where the beveling was at the entrance wound, but you could not determine any beveling at the exit wound?

BOSWELL: That's true.

So there you have it. Over time, Boswell had come to remember the beveling discovered on the late-arriving fragment as entrance beveling, not exit beveling. And this was refuted by the autopsy protocol both signed by Boswell and upheld by Boswell as the only document related to the medical evidence worth spit.

If ONLY someone had stepped in and reminded Boswell that the beveling on this largest fragment was, according to both the autopsy report he swears by, and his colleagues, EXIT beveling, not entrance beveling, a lot of confusion could have been avoided. But, alas, most interviewers see their job as recording the recollections of aged observers, and not correcting them (or giving them the chance to correct themselves) when they've strayed far far from the well-worn path.

Still, Boswell is not the only purported back of the head witness whose muddy recollections have been further muddled up and then spun into conspiracy gold.

The Two Johns

He wasn't even the only member of the autopsy team to have his words cherry-picked in such a manner. On March 8, 1978, radiologist John Ebersole was interviewed by Gil Dulaney of the *Intelligencer Journal of Lancaster* (Pa.). He was quoted as saying *"It was the back of the head that was blown off."* And this wasn't a one-time slip-up. According to writer David Lifton, who was shown a transcript to this conversation by Dulaney, Ebersole further described the wound as *"a very obvious horrible gaping wound at the back of the head."* Well, that's all it took for some to claim Ebersole as a back of the head witness. Never mind that he, as Boswell, had signed off on the authenticity of the autopsy photos and x-rays in 1966. Never mind that the full context of Ebersole's statements to Dulaney ran counter to the narrative pushed by those claiming a bullet entered from the front and blew out the back of Kennedy's head. According to the March 9, 1978 AP article (found in the *Gadsden Times*) on Dulaney's interview of Ebersole, Ebersole claimed *"I would say unequivocally the bullet came from the side or back. The front of the body, except for a very slight bruise above the right eye on the forehead, was absolutely intact. It was the back of the head that was blown off. There is no way that I can see on the basis of the x-rays that the bullet came from anywhere in the 180-degree angle to the front, assuming Kennedy was facing forward. It looked to me like an almost right to left shot from the rear."* And never mind that Ebersole repeated these claims in his 3-11-78 testimony before the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel. When discussing Kennedy's wounds on 11-22-63, he offered that *"The back of the head was missing..."* After being shown Kennedy's x-rays and asked if he could identify an entrance location for a bullet, however, he asserted: *"In my opinion it would have come from the side on the basis of the films. I guess that is all that can be said about the films at this time... I would say on the basis of those x rays and x rays only one might say one would have to estimate there that the wound of entrance was somewhere to the side or to the posterior quadrant."* When then shown an autopsy photo and asked if the head wound depicted correlated with his recollections, he answered *"You know, my recollection is more of a gaping occipital wound than this but I can certainly not state that this is (not) the way it looked. Again we are relying on a 15 year old recollection. But had you asked me without seeing these or seeing the pictures, you know, I would have put the gaping wound here rather than more forward."* When then shown another photo and asked to compare the location of the wound in the photo to his recollections, he replied that the wound in the photo was *"More lateral. Much more lateral and superior than I*

remembered."

Note that he was consistent in claiming there was no entrance wound on the front of the head. Note as well that he had said nothing about an entrance wound by the EOP. Ebersole had recalled one wound, and he had recalled it as residing further back on the head than it was shown to be on the x-rays and autopsy photos, to which he deferred.

An article in the 7-22-78 issue of *The Continuing Inquiry* provides further illumination. Built around an interview with Art Smith on 3-28-78, 3 weeks after Ebersole had spoken to Dulaney, the article relates that Ebersole was by then claiming that when he told Dulaney *"It was the back of the head that was blown off,"* he *"really meant the side of the head."* According to Smith, Dr. Ebersole stated further *"that the wound was located on the side of the head above the ear, approximately 2 x 3 inches in diameter"* and that *"no bone in the back of the skull was missing."* Of course, that wasn't good enough for all too many, including Smith. In his article, Smith sought to undermine Ebersole's credibility by writing that when he confronted Ebersole with his statements to Dulaney about the back of the head, that Ebersole claimed *"It was a misquote. I really meant side of the head."* Smith then claimed he'd called *"Delaney"* to see if he had misquoted Ebersole, and was assured by *"Delaney"* that the conversation had been taped, and that Ebersole had not been misquoted. Smith then argued that Ebersole, if he really thought he'd been misquoted, had had plentiful opportunity to complain to *"Delaney"* about the misquote prior to Smith's call, but had failed to do so.

This, however, was grossly unfair. Smith made a tape of his phone call to Ebersole, which he shared with writer David Lifton. This tape, as quoted in Lifton's book *Best Evidence*, shows that after Ebersole said he'd been misquoted about the back of the head, Smith asked *"That was a misquote?"* It shows further that Ebersole then replied *"Yes. Misquoted"* but then corrected himself and said *"I really, ah, I may have said that--what I meant was, the side."*

Ebersole had not denied that he'd told Dulaney the wound was on the back of the head. And Smith knew it before writing his article suggesting as much. Ebersole had said the word "back" instead of "side" before being shown the x-rays and autopsy photos he had long claimed to be authentic, and that was all it took for him to be forever painted as a "back of the head" witness, who'd tried to lie his way out of it.

Autopsy photographer John Stringer is yet another autopsy participant to wrongly be characterized as a "back of the head" witness. Stringer, along with Boswell, Ebersole, and Humes, signed the November 1, 1966 inventory of the autopsy photos and x-rays, in which these materials were claimed to be authentic. The final page of this inventory bearing their signatures claimed that it listed *"all the x-rays and photographs taken by us during the autopsy."* Although Stringer and the others have since indicated they weren't so sure about the word "all," they have never retreated from their claim the x-rays and photos they observed were ones they'd taken. It is almost certain, moreover, that these are the x-rays and photographs in the archives today. And yet, when testifying for the ARRB in 1996, Stringer failed to recognize the photos of Kennedy's brain as photos he'd taken at the supplementary examination of Kennedy's brain. He thought he would have done a better job identifying the photos themselves when taken; he thought he'd have used a different kind of film; and he didn't remember taking one of the views. Well, this, of course, is interesting.

But conspiracy theorists of all stripes have taken from this that the photos were switched out to hide a hole on the back of the brain, a hole proving once and for all that the shot killing Kennedy came from the front and blew out the back of his head. Many assert that this makes Stringer--yep, you guessed it--a "back of the head" witness...

And that's just nonsense. I mean, if the 78 year-old Stringer could tell by looking at the photos in 1996 that they were not taken by him, wouldn't he have been much better able to tell in 1966, just a few

years after their taking, when he was but 48? Well, then why didn't he say so, or remember his thinking so? In 1977, moreover, the HSCA asked the then 59 year-old Stringer to go to the archives and look at the autopsy photos. The report on his doing so reflects that, while he was uncertain he'd taken the black and white photos of the brain, the brain itself gave the appearance of the brain he'd photographed, and that the brain, as Kennedy's brain, was not sectioned (cut into quarters). While some, including Doug Horne and writer Jim DiEugenio, are fond of pointing out that Stringer told the ARRB that autopsy photographers who objected to things, such as rushing through the autopsy, didn't "last long," this by no means suggests he would have readily gone along with someone switching out his photos, as they so ardently believe.

Nor does it make much sense. By Horne's own admission, the 78 year-old Stringer's memory had by 1996 faded so badly that he couldn't even remember being contacted by the HSCA, let alone visiting the archives on their behalf. It follows then that the confusing aspects of his ARRB testimony may simply have been a reflection of his age, and the passing of time. It makes little sense, after all, to assume Stringer would readily admit what all too many now perceive as an important truth--that he did not take the brain photographs--but then lie about the nature of Kennedy's head wounds in order to "get along." What, are we to believe Stringer was so stupid he didn't realize his disowning the brain photos was bound to raise some questions?

And yes, you read that right. Those holding that Stringer was a bold and fearless truth-teller when discussing the brain photos inevitably hold he was a cowardly liar when discussing Kennedy's head wounds.

Consider... When first contacted by Doug Horne on behalf the ARRB, and asked to describe the large head wound, Stringer told Horne *"there was a fist-sized hole in the right side of his head above his ear...It was the size of your fist and it was entirely within the hair area. There was a sort of flap of skin there, and some of the underlying bone was gone."* When under oath in his ARRB testimony, moreover, Stringer further confirmed that, no matter who took the brain photos, there was NO large blow-out wound on the back of Kennedy's head. When asked to describe Kennedy's head wounds, he at first described a small wound on the occipital bone near the EOP, *"about the size of a bullet, from what you could see."* He then described the large head wound: *"Well, the side of the head, the bone was gone. But there was a flap, where you could lay it back. But the back - I mean, if you held it in, there was no vision. It was a complete head of hair. And on the front, there was nothing - the scalp. There was nothing in the eyes. You could have - Well, when they did the body, you wouldn't have known there was anything wrong."*

He was thereby describing the wound depicted in the autopsy photos and not the wound on the far back of the head proposed in books such as Horne's. Which only made sense... Stringer had, after all, signed an inventory in 1966 in which it was claimed the autopsy photos were those he'd taken, and had, upon studying these photos a second time in 1977, confirmed this by explaining to the HSCA's investigators what he was trying to portray as he took each shot. He had, moreover, told an interviewer from the Vero Beach Press-Journal in 1974 that the fatal bullet *"had entered the right lower rear"* of Kennedy's head and had come *"out in the hair in the upper right side, taking with it a large chunk of his skull."*

While Mr. Stringer had also intimated (in a 1972 phone call with David Lifton) that the *"main damage"* was on the *"back part"* of Kennedy's skull, it's not entirely clear that Stringer was describing the damage to the skull apparent before the reflection of the scalp, or after. It's fortunate then that Stringer got a chance to clarify this issue in his ARRB testimony. He explained that when he first saw the skull, the scalp at the back of the head *"was all intact. But then they peeled it back, and then you could see this part of the bone gone."*

Now, should one believe I'm cherry-picking here, and wrongly accepting Stringer's latter-day

recollections over his much earlier statements to Lifton, one should go back and read the transcript of Stringer's conversation with Lifton, as released by the ARRB. It's confusing to say the least. After Stringer told Lifton the wound was on the *"back part"* of the skull, Lifton sought further clarification. He asked *"In other words, there was no five-inch hole in the top of his head?"* To which Stringer replied *"Oh, it was...ahh some of it was blown off--yeah. I mean, ahh...towards out of the top, in the back, yeah."* Apparently unsatisfied with that answer, Lifton later returned to this question, and re-framed it in one of the most confusing series of questions I've ever read. He asked *"If you lie back in a bath tub, just in a totally prone position and your head rests against the bath tub, is that the part of the head, you know, is that the part of the head that was damaged?"* To which Stringer replied *"Yeah."* (Now, I'm already lost. If you're laying back in a bath tub, you're not really prone, are you? Does Stringer's response then indicate that the top of the head was damaged? Or the back of the head?) Lifton then sought further clarification--with an equally confusing question. He asked *"the part that would be against the tile of the bathtub?"* To which Stringer replied *"Mm-hmmm."* (I'm still lost. Isn't the *"tile of the bathtub"* normally the tile on the back wall of a bathtub? And, if so, doesn't Stringer's response suggest the top of the head was damaged, and not the back?) Lifton then tried again: *"Whereas the part that would be straight up ahead, vertically in that position--was undamaged?"* To which Stringer replied *"Oh, I wouldn't say--undamaged--no. There was---some of it was gone--I mean--out of some of the bone."* (Now, I'm not exactly sure what this means. But it seems clear, nevertheless, that Stringer thought he'd observed a hole on the top of Kennedy's head, where so many assume no hole was found. And that's not all that seems clear. In his book *Best Evidence*, Lifton re-writes this last question, and changes the context of Stringer's reply. He claims he asked Stringer *"about the part of the head which in that position would be straight up and down, the vertical part, the 'top.' Was that undamaged?"* His actual words, of course, were not so clear. According to his transcript, he not only failed to specify that he was talking about the top of the head, but said *"straight up ahead"* instead of *"straight up and down."* And that's confusing as heck. There is reason to believe then, that Stringer was confused by Lifton's questions, and just played along to get him off his back, not realizing his answers would be quoted in a best-selling book 8 years later, and cited as evidence for a massive conspiracy.)

And should one still have doubts Stringer failed to see a large hole on the back of Kennedy's head where conspiracy theorists believe it to have been, Stringer explained under further questioning by the ARRB that the occipital bone was *"intact"* but fractured, and that he could not recall any of it missing upon reflection of the scalp.

So, yes, it's clear. Those believing Stringer to be honest and credible when telling the ARRB he didn't take the brain photos, and then using this to suggest there was a blow-out wound to the back of Kennedy's head, are behaving like the Warren Commission in reverse: taking snippets of someone's testimony, propping these snippets up as proof of something, and then finding ways to hide or ignore that the bulk of the witness' statements suggest something other than what they are trying to prove.

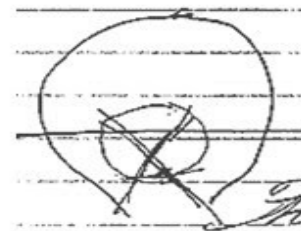
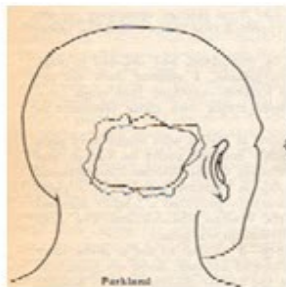
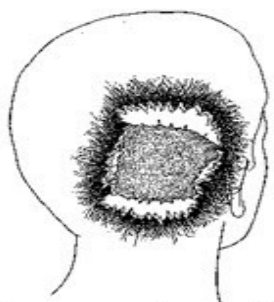
Now, this is fairly common behavior, on all sides of the discussion. But what is unusual in this circumstance is the strength with which those pushing this view hold onto two mutually exclusive ideas: 1) Stringer is a brave truth teller, and PROOF the brain photos are not of Kennedy's brain, and 2) Stringer is a gutless liar, out to protect the status quo by pretending there was no hole on the back of Kennedy's head.

I trust I'm not alone in finding this a problem. As far as Doug Horne, not only does he push in his book that Stringer lied about Kennedy's head wounds to the ARRB, he asserts that Stringer first publicly reversed himself from the descriptions he'd provided Lifton (in the 1972 phone call) in 1993. This avoids that in the 1993 article cited by Horne, Stringer's 1974 comments, in which he'd accurately described the wounds depicted in the autopsy photos, were discussed, as well as the fact that a TV crew

inspired by Lifton's book interviewed Stringer in 1988, only to shelve the footage when Stringer told them the autopsy photos were accurate depictions of Kennedy's wounds. This, then, raises as many questions about Horne's integrity as Stringer's. That Stringer was describing the wounds shown in the autopsy photos as early as 1974, after all, cuts into Horne's position that Stringer reversed himself on the nature of these wounds as a response to Lifton's book, published seven years later, in 1981.

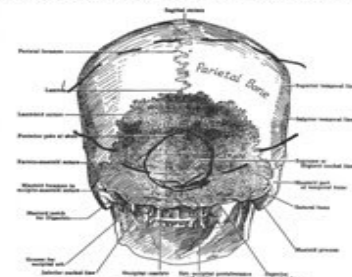
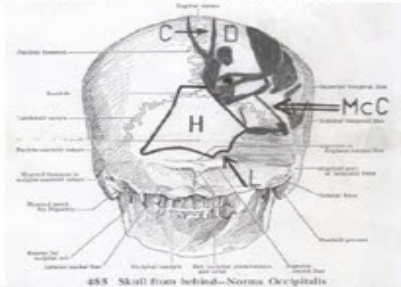
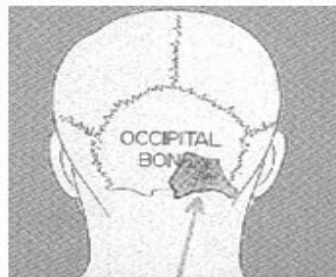
Of course, Stringer's not the only witness to be abused in such a manner.

Harper, Lee, and Tom Robinson



Above: ARRB MD 63

Since some, such as Josiah Thompson in 1967 (at left), and David Lifton in 1980 (at middle), had proposed that the Harper fragment was occipital bone, and that its absence was compatible with the wound seen at Parkland, it appears significant that Kennedy's mortician, Tom Robinson, told the HSCA in 1977 there was a hole in this location. (As shown at right, above.)



But things are not as they appear. Not only did Robinson's statements not support there was a bullet entrance on the front of Kennedy, and that Lee Harvey Oswald was innocent, as claimed by so many, his depiction of the head wound location on an anatomy drawing for the ARRB in 1996 (ARRB MD 88, at right) was in conflict with the location for the Harper fragment as proposed by Robert Groden in *The Killing of a President* (at left), and David Mantik in his presentations (at middle).

Harper, Lee, and Tom Robinson

Nor the most ridiculous. One of the strangest "back of the head" witnesses, in my opinion, is Tom Robinson, one of Kennedy's morticians. The stealth with which conspiracy theorists, in an attempt to acquit Lee Harvey Oswald, present Robinson's words to suggest Kennedy was shot from the front, is truly a wonder to behold.

This is how researcher Michael Griffith presents Robinson in his online essay *The Head Shot from the Front*.

Tom Robinson the mortician. He reassembled the President's skull after the autopsy. He reports that there was still a visible defect in the back of the head even after the inclusion of some late-arriving skull fragments from Dallas.

After discussing Dr. Burkley's claim the bullet entered Kennedy's temple, and pretending that Burkley's words suggest a separate exit on the back of the head, Griffith further discusses Robinson: *"This was very probably the same small temple-entry hole that was described by some of the Parkland doctors*

and that was filled with wax by Tom Robinson."

Well, this suggests that Robinson not only saw an exit on the back of the head and an entrance on the front, but that the Harper fragment--the only large bone fragment not recovered by the end of the autopsy--was occipital bone, correct?

Well, maybe, but what Griffith presents is not a fair presentation of Robinson's words.

When asked, on 1-12-77, by HSCA counsel Andy Purdy if he could tell what percentage of the large hole on the back of Kennedy's head he'd observed had been caused by bullets, as opposed to the doctors, he responded: *"Not really. Well, I guess I can because a good bit of the bone had been blown away. There was nothing there to piece together, so I would say probably about [the size of] a small orange."*

He is basing his guess, then, on the size of the hole left on the back of the head after reconstruction. He doesn't even realize that three large bone fragments had been retrieved and added back into the skull, and that the size of the hole after reconstruction does not reflect what he thinks it does...

He also offers no reason to believe the reconstruction was accurate. Morticians are not forensic anthropologists. They are not trained to piece shattered skulls back together. They are cosmeticians. They stretch and sew torn scalp together to hide head wounds. They use packing material and rubber to reconstruct skulls, not super glue. In this case, moreover, they were hired to make the body presentable at a State Funeral. So, OF COURSE the hole left over at the end of the initial phases of reconstruction -- which Robinson did not even perform, nor pay much attention to (he observed the autopsy from a location on the left side of the President's body and had no recollections of a large wound on the right top side of the President's head)--was on the back of the head (where it could be hidden in a pillow should the President have been given an open-casket funeral), and not the right top side of the head, from whence the Harper fragment almost certainly derived.

That the wound during the autopsy was not where Robinson saw it at the end of the autopsy is supported, moreover, by Robinson himself. Consider the summary of Robinson's interview with the ARRB, written by Doug Horne, which reveals: *"Robinson said he had a '50 yard line seat' at the autopsy...He said the President's head was to his right, which means that he was on the anatomical left of the president during the autopsy. He said that most of the pathologists and their assistants were opposite him, on the anatomical right of the president during the autopsy."* Well, why would the autopsy team be standing on the right side of the body, if the wound was at the middle of the back of the head?

But that's not the only reason to doubt the hole in the middle of the back of the head seen by Robinson was the exit wound seen at Parkland. For one, he said this hole on the skull was "circular." Well, who believes the triangular Harper fragment--as stated, the only large bone fragment still missing by the end of the autopsy--would leave a circular hole on the skull? No one. When asked by Doug Horne and the ARRB in 1996 to further describe this hole and mark the location of this hole on a drawing, moreover, Robinson contended that he believed this hole was an entrance wound, and placed it in the middle of the occipital bone, inches away from where conspiracy theorists Robert Groden and David Mantik hold the Harper fragment erupted.

The strangeness surrounding Robinson's testimony, or at least most theorists' interpretation of his testimony, however, is best illustrated through a discussion not of Robinson's ARRB testimony, but

Saundra Spencer's ARRB testimony. In Volume 2 of his 5 volume opus, Doug Horne writes: *"Before the photograph that Saundra Spencer developed was exposed, a head-filler...was used to restore shape and structure to the severely damaged cranium; after a 'rubber dam' was located to help seal the large cranial defect and prevent body fluids from leaking from the cranium inside the casket, the remaining scalp was stretched back into place as much as possible and sutured together (as well as into the rubber dam material) outside the now hardened and reconstructed skull. **The two-inch diameter 'wound' that Saundra Spencer recalls seeing squarely in the middle of the back of the head in one photograph, high in the occipital bone, simply represented the small area that the undertakers could not repair and close.**"*

Robinson's fellow mortician John Hoesen described a similar hole on the back of the head. According to Horne, Hoesen claimed *"it was roughly the size of a small orange...located in the center of the back of the head."* Horne then proceeds to assert that Hoesen, as Spencer, was describing the small hole remaining after skull reconstruction.

And yet he maintains that Robinson, who described a hole in the exact same location, in nearly identical terms, (it was the size of a "small orange") was describing the head wound at the beginning of the autopsy! What? Where does he get that?

He gets that from Robinson's HSCA and ARRB interviews, and his claim the head wound was enlarged by Dr. Humes to remove the brain (something Humes actually testified to). Apparently, Horne assumes Robinson's description of the wound prior to being enlarged was based upon an independent observation, and not on speculation derived from its appearance during reconstruction. Well, as we've seen, this just isn't true. When asked if he could estimate the size and location of the wound at the beginning of the autopsy, before the enlargement of the wound and removal of the brain, Robinson told the HSCA's Andy Purdy: *"Not really. Well, I guess I can because a good bit of the bone had been blown away. There was nothing there to piece together, so I would say probably about [the size of] a small orange."*

"Not really. Well, I guess I can because..." Horne's "Epiphany" that Robinson saw an orange-sized hole on the back of Kennedy's head, and that Dr. Humes then enlarged this wound to hide its real size (as opposed to simply pulling out the brain), is thus exposed as smoke. If the hole started out as orange-sized, and was then expanded for the taking of the autopsy photos, and then reconstructed with the addition of the three large skull fragments flown in from Dallas, how could it be orange-sized at the end?

No. Nothing strange there.

Well, then, what about the entrance on the front of the head observed by Robinson? Certainly, Robinson's recollection of THAT wound is important. Well, WHAT entrance on the front of the head? He saw no such thing.

Here is his discussion with Purdy of the wound he observed.

PURDY: Did you notice anything else unusual about the body which may not have been artificially caused, that is caused by something other than the autopsy?

ROBINSON: Probably, a little mark at the temples in the hairline. As I recall, it was so small it could be hidden by the hair. It didn't have to be covered with make-up. I thought it probably a piece of bone or a piece of the bullet that caused it.

PURDY: In other words, there was a little wound.

ROBINSON: Yes.

PURDY: Approximately where, which side of the forehead or part of the head was it on?

ROBINSON: I believe it was on the right side.

PURDY: On his right side?

ROBINSON: That's an anatomical right, yes.

PURDY: You say it was in the forehead region up near the hairline?

ROBINSON: Yes.

PURDY: Would you say it was closer to the top of the hair?

ROBINSON: Somewhere around the temples.

PURDY: Approximately what size?

ROBINSON: Very small, about a quarter of an inch.

PURDY: Quarter of an inch is all the damage. Had it been closed up by the doctors?

ROBINSON: No, he didn't have to close it. If anything, I just would have probably put a little wax in it.

When asked later what he thought caused this wound, moreover, he claimed *"I think either a piece of bone or a piece of the bullet. Or a very small piece of shrapnel."* When asked one last time what he thought caused the wound, furthermore, he reiterated *"A piece of the bone or metal exiting."*

So, Robinson did not call this wound an entrance, nor think it was an entrance. No, he believed it to have been an exit for a very small fragment of some sort, or perhaps even a mark created by shrapnel. This is NOT the description of an entrance hole for an explosive round so many pretend it is, nor a bullet hole of any kind.

Heck, it was a wound so small that Robinson wasn't even sure he put wax in it.

So why pretend otherwise?

I mean, Griffith, a fairly conservative researcher, has presented the exact same nonsense spewed by the far from conservative James Fetzer in his online posts, and has indicated that Robinson saw 1) an exit on the back of the head (when he in fact said he thought it was an entrance), and 2) an entrance on the front of the head (when he in fact said it was to his mind an exit for a small fragment, and possibly even a nick from shrapnel).

Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case. Robinson is far from the only "back of the head" witness whose stories fail to support what is claimed of them.

And he's not even close to the worst. No, the worst "back of the head" witness, beyond doubt, is Joe O'Donnell. Now, O'Donnell, a former photographer for the U.S. Information Agency, never claimed to see Kennedy's body. But, starting in the early nineties, he did claim that a friend, White House photographer Robert Knudsen, showed him autopsy photos of Kennedy within days of the shooting, and that these photos showed a large grapefruit-sized wound on the back of JFK's head and another much smaller wound in JFK's forehead above his right eye... Now that would have been the end of it--an old man telling tall tales. But the ARRB's Doug Horne, hearing of this story, helped arrange for an official interview of O'Donnell in 1997, and O'Donnell repeated his claims.

Horne found support for these claims, moreover, when the family of the no longer available Knudsen told him that yessirree, he'd claimed he'd taken photos of the autopsy. Horne even found an article on Knudsen from 1977 in which Knudsen claimed he'd taken photos of the autopsy. His claim was

dubious at best, however, as he claimed he was the *only* photographer at the autopsy--an assertion no one, including Horne, believes.

But that's as far as it goes. From there it dissolves into nothing.

You see, Knudsen was interviewed for the HSCA in 1978, well after the article in which he claimed he'd taken the autopsy photos had been published. He told the HSCA he'd helped DEVELOP the autopsy photos, and confirmed he'd not been present at the the autopsy itself by admitting he'd first became aware of the photos the morning after the autopsy. There is NO evidence he was at the autopsy. Not one person known to be present at the autopsy, including those suspecting a conspiracy, such as Paul O'Connor and Floyd Riebe, had any recollection of his being at the autopsy. Knudsen was a White House photographer--who took pictures of Mrs. Kennedy shaking hands and that sort of thing. He didn't belong at the autopsy and he clearly wasn't there.

Well, okay, then perhaps he showed the photos he'd *developed* to O'Donnell.

Unfortunately, that collapses, too.

You see, O'Donnell murdered his credibility by also telling Horne he'd been friends with Mrs. Kennedy and had convinced her to bury her husband at Arlington National Cemetery. He said, as well, that he'd held a private screening of the original Zapruder film for Mrs. Kennedy a few weeks after the shooting. Just the two of them, of course, calmly watching the murder of her husband when it was undoubtedly the last thing she'd want to watch... But it gets worse. He told Horne that Mrs. Kennedy convinced him to edit TEN FEET from the film, to remove the halo of debris from around the President's head at the moment of the fatal head shot. Well, golly. The entire length of the known film is about six feet.

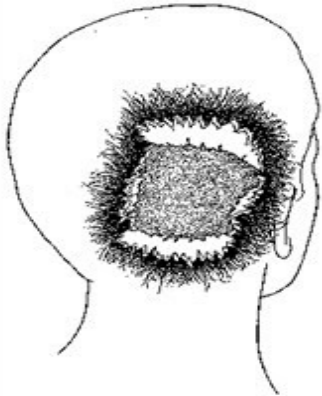
Then, in 2007, after O'Donnell died, the other shoe dropped. The papers printed his obituary, along with a list of some of the famous photos he'd taken. They then got letters from men claiming that no, *they* had taken these photos. This led to a brief investigation, and an article in The New York Times. It was then revealed that O'Donnell had been suffering from dementia since the early 1990's, and that he'd claimed to have taken many famous photos of the Kennedys, including the famous one of John-John saluting his father's casket--*and that he had even been selling prints of these photos at galleries*--but that he, in fact, had taken none of them. As you can imagine, this caused quite a ruckus in the photo world.


I became aware of this ruckus, and posted several articles on this scandal on JFK Forums--hoping word would spread and that conspiracy theorists would stop citing O'Donnell's claims as evidence for anything. In one of these articles, it was revealed that Cecil Stoughton, the main White House photographer at the time of the assassination and a close colleague of Knudsen's, had said he'd never heard of O'Donnell, and had doubted O'Donnell's claim his job as photographer with the U.S. Information Agency had brought him into regular contact with Knudsen. As O'Donnell had, admittedly, never met Knudsen's family, this left conspiracy theorists with NO support for O'Donnell's claims. None that he'd seen photos. None that he'd even known Knudsen. For all they knew, he'd read the 1977 article on Knudsen somewhere or had simply remembered his name from his days with the USIA, and had invented his story from whole cloth. He was a proven liar...who'd told numerous lies in which he'd placed himself close to the Kennedys...and who, in the interview in which he described the autopsy photos showing a wound on the back of the head, had told a couple of whoppers--which few, if any, conspiracy theorists take seriously--in which he and Jacqueline Kennedy were the best of pals and where she convinced him to edit the Zapruder film.

And so, in December 2009, when I first received my copy of Doug Horne's Inside the Assassination Records Review Board Volume 2, I immediately turned to the section on O'Donnell. I was aghast. Horne wrote that he was "*personally inclined*" to accept O'Donnell's recollections, and presented him as support for the possibility Knudsen took a second set of super secret autopsy photos never put into the Archives. No mention of O'Donnell's dementia. No mention of his obvious obsession with the Kennedys. No mention that, oh yeah, by the way, there's a strong likelihood this old guy's story is bullshit.

Horne had either fallen asleep for two years, or had thought his readers need not know that O'Donnell-- a man whose story had gained quite a bit of traction among those thinking Kennedy's body had been altered--was, quite literally, demented.


JFK and the Unthinkable





Beverly Oliver:
Phillin Willis:
Marilyn Willis:
Ed Hoffman:

At left, a drawing by Philip Johnson created for Josiah Thompson, in an attempt to depict the large head wound as observed by Dr. McClelland. Amazingly, the recollections of all the witnesses pictured on this page have been presented as support for the accuracy of this depiction. As the wound location in a number of these recollections was far closer to the wound location demonstrated on the autopsy photos than on Johnson's drawing, and as a number of these witnesses subsequently deferred to the accuracy of the autopsy photos, this is not exactly honest.



■ Jones

■ Carrico

■ Dulany

■ Peters

■ Salyer

■ McClelland

■ Crenshaw

■ [unclear]

■ [unclear]

■ O'Connor

■ Riebe

■ Custer

■ O'Neill

JFK and the Unthinkable

Well, no surprise, it turns out that many of the other witness statements used to sell that Kennedy was shot from the front offer as little real support for the proposition as those of Boswell, Stringer, Robinson, and O'Donnell.

In his best-selling and highly-influential book High Treason, published 1989, Robert Groden held that the wound location depicted in the "McClelland" drawing "*was verified by every doctor, nurse, and eyewitness as accurate,*" and that these witnesses described an "*exit wound... almost squarely in the*

back of the head (the occiput)."

In his more photo-intensive follow-up, *The Killing of a President* (1993), moreover, Groden appears to back up this claim. The photographs of 18 witnesses pointing to their heads are presented, accompanied by the following text:

"The Parkland Hospital doctors were the best eyewitnesses to the President's wounds. They had at least 20 minutes, and some had longer, to examine the President's injuries immediately after the shooting. The doctors' oral and written statements provided the only reliable clues to the snipers' locations and bullet trajectories..."

From this one might assume the witnesses presented were at Parkland and had 20 minutes or more in which they viewed the President's wounds. But this is far from the case. Only 10 of these witnesses were at Parkland and very few of these witnesses got much of a look at the President.

When one studies the photos of these witnesses, moreover, there's a bigger surprise. Many of these purported "back of the head" witnesses are not actually pointing to a wound location on the back of their heads, as one would guess, but are instead pointing out a wound location on the top or side of the head, at locations just as close or closer to the wound location depicted in the autopsy photos and x-rays as the wound location depicted in the so-called "McClelland" drawing...the drawing they'd purportedly "verified."

(Although Groden, in *The Killing of a President*, claims Dr. McClelland himself made this drawing, he is clearly mistaken. In June, 2010, Josiah Thompson, who first published the drawing, wrote me and confirmed that while this famous drawing--which has come to represent the "actual" location and appearance of the president's large head wound to many, if not the majority, of conspiracy theorists--was based upon Dr. McClelland's description of the large head wound to the Warren Commission, Dr. McClelland had in fact *"had nothing to do with the preparation of the drawing."*)

And it's not as if Groden is the only one making false claims about these witnesses... Here is how Dr.s Mantik and Wecht address this issue in *The Assassinations*, published 2003: *"The compilations of Gary Aguilar, M.D., have convincingly shown that the Parkland Hospital physicians and nurses, and even the Bethesda autopsy personnel themselves, almost unanimously recalled a large hole at the low right rear of Kennedy's head."* And, as if to prove their calling this wound "low" was not a mistake, they later ask *"Was cerebellum missing at the low right rear, where the Parkland medical witnesses (including six physicians) saw massive trauma?"* Now, look back at the photos in Groden's book reproduced on the previous slides... Is it a true statement that these witnesses "almost unanimously" pointed out a wound location at the LOW right rear of their heads? NO. NO. And HELL NO.

Let's count then and make it official. First of all, we need to define our terms. For a wound to be LOW on the back of the head, it would have to be at the level of the ear or below, in the location of the wound in the "McClelland" drawing, correct? So let's run back through the photos and note which ones show someone pointing out a wound below the top of their ear.

Beverly Oliver points out a large wound at the level of the ear and above. She represents 1 witness whose recollections are consistent with a wound at the low right rear.

Phil Willis points out a wound above the level of his right ear. This means only 1 of 2 witnesses so far discussed have had recollections consistent with a wound at the low right rear.

Marilyn Willis points out a wound on top of her head. This lowers the ratio to 1 of 3 witnesses.

Ed Hoffman points out a wound at the top of the back of his head. This lowers it further to 1 of 4 witnesses.

Ronald Jones points out a wound above and in back of his ear. This means the recollections of but 1 of 5 witnesses so far discussed are consistent with what Groden, Aguilar, Mantik, and Wecht have been feeding us.

Charles Carrico points out a wound on the back of his head above his ear. The ratio drops to 1 of 6 witnesses.

Richard Dulaney points out a wound at the top of his head. It spirals downward to 1 of 7 witnesses.

Paul Peters points out a wound above his ear. It's clear now that only 1 of 8 witnesses had recollections consistent with what so many have long claimed.

Kenneth Salyer points out a wound on the side of the head, by the ear. It bottoms out at 1 of 9 witnesses.

Robert McClelland points out a wound on the back of his head, both below and above the top of the ear. This means but 2 of 10 witnesses so far discussed had recollections consistent with a wound at the low right rear.

Charles Crenshaw points out a wound mostly behind the ear. He lifts the ratio back to 3 of 11 witnesses.

Audrey Bell points out a wound at the level of her ear. The ratio soars to 4 of 12 witnesses...1 in 3.

Theran Ward points out a wound by the ear. It drops back to 4 of 13 witnesses.

Aubrey Rike points out a wound on the back of the head above the ear. The ratio drops to 4 of 14.

Paul O'Connor points out a wound behind the ear. The ratio rises back to 5 of 15 witnesses.

Floyd Riebe points out a wound behind the ear. Now, 6 of the 16 witnesses have depicted a wound at the low right rear.

Jerrold Custer points out a wound behind the ear. Now, 7 of the 17 witnesses have depicted a wound consistent with the wound described in the conspiracy literature.

Frank O'Neill points out a wound on the back of his head above the ear.

So there you have it. Only 7 of these 18 witnesses can honestly be claimed to have described a wound at the "*low right rear*" a la Mantik and Wecht, at the "*bottom of the back of the head*," a la Lifton, or in the location depicted in the "McClelland" drawing, a la Groden. 7 of 18, need it be said, is not the "*almost unanimous*" claimed by Mantik and Wecht, based on the research of Aguilar, nor the "*every*" purported by Groden.

But it's actually worse than that... FAR worse than that. Now, let's go through Groden's "witnesses" again, taking into account circumstances and statements not provided those relying on Groden's book.

Groden starts out with the photos of four witnesses who claimed to have seen the shooting.

While **Beverly Oliver** claims to have been one of the closest witnesses to the shooting, many if not most long time researchers doubt her claims, as she only came forward years after the shooting, and told some pretty wild stories. Even so her description of a wound on the back of the head is in keeping with the wound described by Dr. McClelland, and the drawing prepared by Phillip Johnson. **Back of the head witness.**

Although **Phil Willis** made several statements over the years indicating he thought the fatal shot blew out the back of Kennedy's head, he was clearly repeating what his wife and daughters had told him. You see, he'd testified before the Warren Commission that he was not looking at Kennedy at the time of

the head shot. **Not actually a witness.**

Although **Marilyn Willis**, Phil's wife, was a witness to the head shot, and said the wound was on the "back" of Kennedy's head, when ultimately asked to point out the location of the wound she saw from 50 yards or so away, she pointed to a location high on the top of her head above her right ear. **Top of the head witness.**

While deaf-mute **Ed Hoffman** only came forward years after the assassination, and while his stories of watching the shooting from a nearby freeway and then seeing Kennedy's wounds as the limo passed underneath were never fully accepted, he was at least consistent on one point: he always placed the head wound on the top of Kennedy's head. Not always in the same way, mind you. While the photo in Groden's book shows Hoffman with his hand over the crown of his head, and his fingers over the wound location shown in the autopsy photos, other photos found online show him with his hand forward of this location, and more in line with the wound seen on the autopsy photos. **Top of the head witness.**

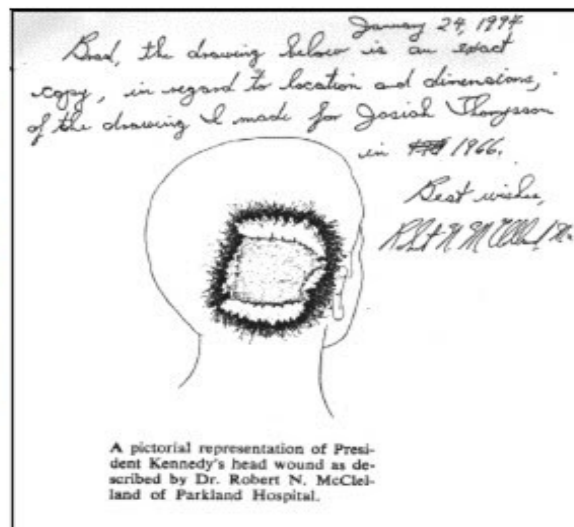
Groden then presents the photos of ten witnesses observing Kennedy's wound at Parkland Hospital.

The Impersistence of Memory

Below left: Dr. McClelland in *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*. Below right: Dr. McClelland in *JFK: An Unsolved Murder*.



At right: Brad Parker's signed copy of the McClelland drawing. Note that McClelland claims he "made" the drawing.



Although many conspiracy theorists find Dr. Robert McClelland to be credible, and believe his statements suggest there was a "blow-out" wound on the far back of Kennedy's head, this is far from the case. When one compares his depictions of the wound location in *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*, first broadcast October 25, 1988, and KRON TV's *JFK: An Unsolved Murder*, first broadcast November 18, 1988, it's obvious the wound in McClelland's memory had slipped an inch or two down the back of his head. (Just look at the locations of his fingers in comparison to his hairline...) As Dr. McClelland had long admitted that a viewing of the Zapruder film convinced him the fatal head shot came from in front of Kennedy, it seems possible this decision colored his memories, whereby the wound in his recollection had crept ever so slowly toward the back of Kennedy's head. Or perhaps not. In any event, by the early 90's his memory had slipped so badly that he began claiming HE'D "made" the so-called "McClelland" drawing showing a wound LOW on the back of Kennedy's head--a drawing made for writer Josiah Thompson, who'd never even spoken to McClelland.

The Impersistence of Memory

As one might expect, the head wound location pointed out by **Dr. Robert McClelland** is fairly consistent with the head wound location depicted in the drawing by Johnson based upon McClelland's

Warren Commission testimony. Fairly consistent but not fully consistent. McClelland's hand in the photo is, in fact, on the back of his head almost entirely above his ear, which places the wound about two inches higher on the back of the head than in the drawing. This is not surprising. As previously mentioned, Josiah Thompson, who'd arranged for the drawing's creation, insists that Dr. McClelland had actually had "nothing to do with" its creation. What is surprising, however, is that, shortly before Dr. McClelland pointed out the wound location in the footage used by Groden, Dr. McClelland had pointed out the wound location for the 1988 documentary *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*, and had at that time placed his hand *on the top of his head, above and behind his right ear*, perhaps two inches to the rear of the wound's location in the autopsy photos, but *at least three inches away from its location in the so-called "McClelland" drawing*.

Or maybe this isn't surprising. I mean, it's not as if McClelland's recollections are all that reliable...

Although he stood at the head of Kennedy in the ER at Parkland and was thus well-positioned to note his fatal wounds, McClelland's initial report claimed the fatal wound was on Kennedy's left temple, and not his right. While he would later claim he wrote this after Dr. Jenkins led him to believe there was a separate entrance on the left temple, this fails to explain why Dr. McClelland wrote that *"The cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple."* By writing *"of the left temple,"* as opposed to *"to the left temple,"* McClelland had failed to indicate there was any wound anywhere but on the left temple. This suggests that, perhaps just perhaps, Dr. McClelland actually thought the large head wound was near Kennedy's right temple, and that he'd confused his right with his left after looking at Kennedy upside down.

Now, this might seem unfair. Dr. McClelland appears to be a very nice man, and has been most helpful to researchers and writers. But some of his claims are clearly wrong. On November 4, 2009, he told Canadian radio personality Brent Holland that the "massive" wound on the back of Kennedy's head was "at least five inches in diameter." Such a wound would, of course, envelop the entire head. When discussing the drawing made for Thompson with the ARRB in 1998, moreover, McClelland noted that *"the edge of the parietal bone was sticking up through the scalp. And that's not on this picture"* and that the location of the wound in the drawing compared to its actual location was *"a little bit lower or it doesn't indicate that there was still a - you know, maybe a shelf of bone left below that."* He also made a monstrous gaffe, explaining *"but what we were trying to depict here was what the posterior part of the wound looked like. In other words, it's not the entire wound. It's simply the posterior part of it and what I thought of as the critical part of it at that time and still do."* Yep. That's right. Dr. McClelland had admitted both that the wound stretched further forward than depicted in the drawing, and not as low on the back of the head. And had added as a bonus that he'd helped create the drawing.

It's actually worse than that. Since at least his appearance in the 1988 Nova program *Who Shot President Kennedy?*, McClelland has claimed a connection to the "McClelland" drawing that simply does not exist. (In the program McClelland claims *"I find no discrepancy between the wounds as they're shown very vividly in these photographs and what I remember very vividly"* but then observes that, on the autopsy photos he'd just studied in the archives, *"there doesn't seem to be any sort of wound in the area where I had drawn the picture that showed this large hole."*) Now, admittedly, that statement by itself is confusing.

But his subsequent statements and actions are not. In Robert Groden's 1993 documentary *JFK: The Case for Conspiracy*, McClelland holds up a copy of the drawing for the camera and declares *"This is the drawing I had made for Josiah Thompson's book."* In 1994, even worse, he signed a copy of the "McClelland" drawing for researcher Brad Parker and indicated that he'd personally created the drawing. According to Thompson, of course, McClelland had *nothing* to do with the drawing's creation. He did not draw it. He was not consulted on its creation. Nothing... Ouch. The impersistence of human memory. **Back of the head witness who does not support the accuracy of the McClelland drawing.**

Dr. Paul Peters, on the other hand, has tried to have it both ways. Although he had repeatedly claimed the wound he saw was in the "occiput" or the back of Kennedy's head, and is pictured in Groden's book pointing to this location, he also told the producers of the PBS program Nova, after viewing Kennedy's autopsy photos in 1988, that the autopsy photos were *"pretty much as I remember President Kennedy at the time."* He then confirmed his support for the legitimacy of the autopsy photos by telling Gerald Posner in 1992 that the *"head wound is more forward than I first placed it. More to the side than to the rear."* When interviewed by the ARRB in 1998 and given yet another chance to claim the autopsy photos and x-rays were fake, moreover, he claimed instead that *"I was amazed when I saw the first x-ray of the skull — the lateral skull--of the extent of the fragmentation of the skull. I did not appreciate that I think because a lot of it was covered by scalp at the time we worked on him. We were doing a resuscitation, not a forensic autopsy."* He had thereby deferred to the accuracy of the x-rays. When discussing the location of the wound in the McClelland drawing, for that matter, he shared: *"It looks a little further down in the occiput in this picture."* When trying to explain the intact back of the head in the back of the head photo, on the other hand, he claimed: *"It was my thought exactly that they just kind of pulled that flap back into place and took a picture so they could show how it looked with things restored as much as possible and it just -- a flap just kind of -- had been torn back and now they were just kind of putting it back and snapping a picture. For what reason, I don't know. But I'm certain there was a hole there, too. I walked around right and looked in his head. You could look directly into the cranial vault and see cerebral injury to the cerebral cortex and I thought at the time to the cerebellum. So I know the hole was big enough to look into. I estimated it at seven centimeters at that time, and I don't know what the actual measurements were when they took the radiographs, but I thought just exactly what Bob, did. They were probably making a series of pictures and they had just pulled that flap back up there to cover it up and took a picture of that to show the head with the flap restored, so to speak, for whatever reason. I'm sure there were many other pictures that were made at the same time."*

Back of the head witness who does not support the accuracy of the McClelland drawing, and presumes the authenticity of the autopsy photos.

Fortunately, **Dr. Kenneth Salyer** was a little more consistent. But only a little. From his Warren Commission testimony to the present day, he always claimed the wound was primarily a temporal wound...on the side of the head. The photo in Groden's book, moreover, shows him grabbing the side of his head, just above his ear, an area at least as suggestive of the wound in the photos as the one in the "McClelland" drawing. **Side of the head witness.**

Dr. Charles Crenshaw, of course, became a star witness for the supposed wound on the "back of the head" when he wrote a book on his experiences in the early nineties. The problem with Crenshaw as a witness, however, is that, not only did he fail to see Kennedy for more than a few seconds, his recollections were not recorded prior to the publication of the "McClelland" drawing showing him how other Parkland witnesses purportedly recalled the wound. **Back of the head witness.**

Dr. Ronald Jones, as Peters, has claimed many times over the years that the wound was on the back of Kennedy's head. In the photo in Groden's book, however, he points to a wound location slightly to the side of the wound on the "McClelland" drawing. In 1992, even stranger, he described the wound as a *"side wound."* In 1997, in a letter to researcher Francois Carlier, Jones tried to explain his confusion; he insisted that although he observed a wound on the *"posterior aspect of the skull,"* he was *"unable to observe the exact extent or dimensions of this wound"* because of his *"position at the table on the left side of the President below his arm"* while the President was lying *"flat on his back."* When interviewed by the ARRB in 1998, for what's worse, he offered more excuses, insisting *"it was difficult to see down through the hair,"* and admitting *"All my view was from the President's left side."* He then clarified this position to researcher Vincent Palamara, first admitting that he really didn't have *"a clear view of the back side of the head wound. President Kennedy had very thick dark hair that covered the*

injured area" and then offering *"In my opinion it was in the occipital area in the back of the head."* He had thereby confirmed that he'd failed to see the large hole missing scalp and bone depicted in the "McClelland" drawing. **Back of the head witness who does not support the accuracy of the McClelland drawing, and defers to the accuracy of the autopsy photos.**

As the first doctor to inspect Kennedy upon his arrival at Parkland, **Dr. Charles Carrico** would certainly have been in good position to accurately note the wound location on Kennedy's head. While the wound location he points to in Groden's book is actually a bit too high for anyone to claim he confirmed the "McClelland" drawing, it's really academic. You see, on January 11, 1978, Dr. Carrico was interviewed by the HSCA staff, and specified that the head wound was "five to seven centimeters, something like that, 2 1/2 by 3 inches, ragged, had blood and hair all around it," and was "located in the part of the parietal occipital region...*above* and posterior to the ear, almost from the crown of the head." Uhhh, this is clearly NOT the wound depicted in the McClelland drawing. In 1981, when the Boston Globe asked him specifically about the "McClelland" drawing, moreover, Carrico replied "it was a very large wound as indicated in the drawing. However, I do not believe that the large wound was this far posterior since, one thing I can be certain of, is that we were able to see the majority, if not all of this wound, with the patient laying on his back on a hospital gurney. The location of the wound represented in the drawing suggests that it would barely have been visible, if visible at all, with the patient laying in such a position." When asked to comment on the HSCA's tracing of the back of the head photo, in which the back of the head is intact and the wound is above the ear, moreover, he told them there was "nothing incompatible" between what he remembered and the drawing. Well, that oughta seal it, but if that's not enough, Dr. Carrico eventually made his rejection of the McClelland drawing's accuracy crystal clear. In 1992, he told single-assassin salesman Gerald Posner that if he and his colleagues had initially claimed the head wound was in the occipital bone, instead of the parietal bone, they "were mistaken." Yep. It's a slam dunk case. Dr. Carrico rejected the accuracy of the McClelland drawing, and deferred to the accuracy of the autopsy photos. **Back of the head witness who does not support the accuracy of the McClelland drawing, and defers to the accuracy of the autopsy photos.**

Although **Dr. Richard Dulaney** made a number of statements over the years suggesting the large head wound was on the back of Kennedy's head, the wound location he points to in Groden's book and video is up at the top of the head...as close to the wound depicted in the autopsy photos as the one depicted in the "McClelland" drawing. Only making matters worse for those claiming him as a "back of the head" witness, moreover, is that, in 1988, after viewing the autopsy photos, he told the producers of the television program Nova *"I don't see any evidence of any alteration of his wound in these pictures from what I saw in the emergency room."* **Top of the head witness who defers to the accuracy of the autopsy photos.**

Nurse **Audrey Bell** is similar to Dr. Crenshaw in that, while she has been consistent in her claim that the wound was on the back of Kennedy's head, there is no record of her making this claim prior to the 1980's, long after the "McClelland" drawing was published in Six Seconds in Dallas. **Back of the head witness.**

Justice of the Peace **Theran Ward** is also similar to Dr. Crenshaw, in that he really didn't get much of a look at the head wound. Even so, when one looks at the interview with Ward in Groden's Case for Conspiracy video, and in the image on the slide above, it's clear that Ward, much as Dr. Salyer, felt the wound was on the side of Kennedy's head, and not the back. **Side of the head witness.**

This brings us to the final Parkland witness presented in Groden's book. And he wasn't even a witness... While ambulance driver **Aubrey Rike** claimed to feel a hole in the back of Kennedy's head as he helped put his body in its casket, he has always admitted the head was covered at the time, and that he never actually saw the wound. As a result it's possible Rike was mistaken, or merely confused by the

fractured bone on the back of the skull seen on the x-rays. **Not actually a witness.**

We now move to the Bethesda "back of the head" witnesses... The statements of these witnesses, purported to confirm the Parkland doctors' account of the wounds, should seal the deal if there was really a wound on the back of the head behind the ear.

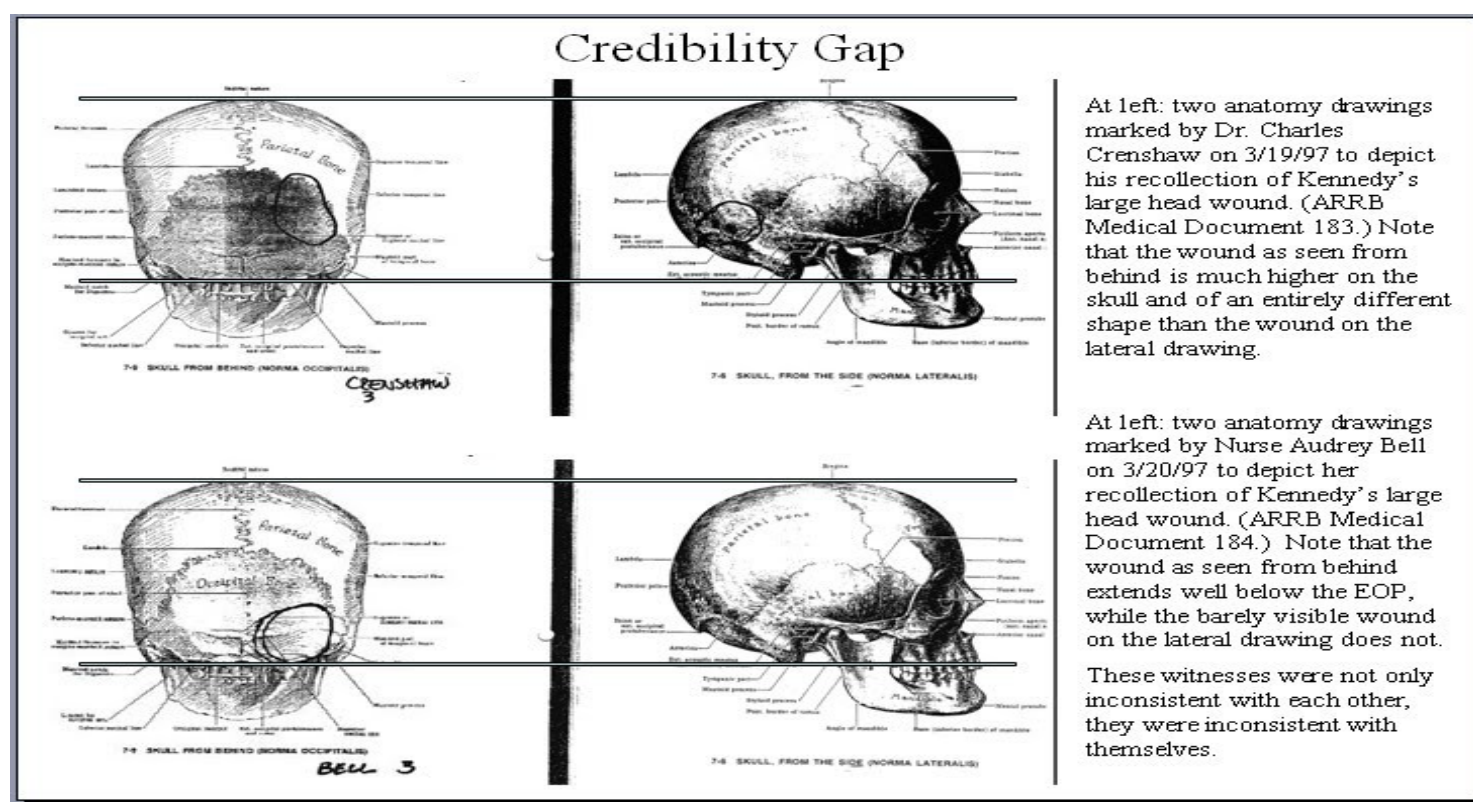
Unfortunately, they do no such thing. While radiology tech **Jerrol Custer** made many statements over the years indicating that he thought the autopsy photos and X-rays were faked, he actually told the ARRB, after having finally been shown the original X-rays, that they were indeed the ones he took on 11-22-63, and that he had been in error. This, of course, was years after the publication of Groden's book. Even so, when one watches Groden's video, JFK: The Case For Conspiracy, one can see that Custer was never really a "back of the head" witness, as he does not point out a wound on the back of Kennedy's head, as suggested by the frame used in Groden's book, but drags his hand across the entire top of his head while claiming the wound he saw stretched "From the top of the head almost to the base of the skull..." He was thereby describing the wound's appearance after the scalp was reflected, and the brain was removed. (In support of this proposition, it should be noted that he'd also claimed there was no brain in the skull that he could remember.) **Entire right side of the head witness. Defers to the accuracy of the autopsy photos.**

Ditto **Paul O'Connor**. While O'Connor, as Custer, had made many statements over the years suggesting the autopsy photos and X-rays had been faked, his credibility, seeing as he'd depicted the wound location in the upper right quadrant of the back of the head in a drawing he'd created for the HSCA, and then moved it to beneath the top of the ear years later, was questionable. In Groden's video The Case for Conspiracy, moreover, O'Connor repeated Custer's performance almost word for word, stating there was "an open area all the way across into the rear of the brain right there," while pointing out the dimensions of this hole--basically the dimensions of the hole after Kennedy's scalp had been reflected, and his brain had been removed. O'Connor, as Custer, also claimed no brain was in the skull when he observed the large defect. He was thereby, like it or not, supporting the accuracy of the autopsy photos and the official story of the wounds. **Entire right side of the head witness.**

Ditto ditto assistant autopsy photographer **Floyd Riebe**. Much as Custer, Riebe made many statements suggesting the autopsy photos were fake--in Groden's book, he even pointed at the location of the wound in the "McClelland" drawing. Once shown the original photos by the ARRB, however, he, too, deferred to their accuracy. **Back of the head witness who defers to the accuracy of the autopsy photos.**

This leaves us with **Frank O'Neill**, one of the two FBI agents to observe Kennedy's autopsy. While O'Neill told pretty much anyone with an interest--the HSCA, the ARRB, and a string of independent researchers from the 80's to the 00's--that the large head wound included part of the back of Kennedy's head, he always placed this wound at the top of the back of the head, inches above the wound in the "McClelland" drawing. He also claimed, in his official report on the autopsy, that a *"high velocity bullet had entered the rear of the skull and had fragmentized prior to exit through the top of the skull."* This wound was thus, to his understanding, both an entrance and an exit. On April 4, 1992, for that matter, O'Neill participated in a panel discussion before an audience at the Franklin Pierce Law Center in Concord, New Hampshire, and both confirmed that he thought this wound was both an entrance and an exit, and explained why he thought the wound was on the back of Kennedy's head. (A transcript for this discussion was placed online by Allan Eaglesham. Thanks, Allan.) O'Neill reported that *"during the autopsy, later stages of the autopsy"* the Secret Service brought in a fragment *"of a skull, which was found in Dallas in the car. And it turns out that it could be matched perfectly with part of the missing, part of the missing skull in the head—and there's beveling on that which coincides with the beveling on the eh, the eh, on the back of the president's head here."* He then pointed to the back of his head, by the EOP.

Well, this was where the autopsy report placed a through and through entrance wound. According to their initial reports and testimony, the doctors found exit beveling on the fragment found in the car, and this confirmed to them that the exit wound was at the top of the head. This convinced them then that the bullet entered low and exited high. Apparently, however, O'Neill was never told of the through and through entrance wound by the EOP. As a result, he couldn't properly understand how the doctors came to the conclusion the bullet entered low and exited high. Presumably, then, he came to conclude that the beveling on the late-arriving fragment completed the entrance wound by the EOP. And this, in turn, led him to believe the late-arriving fragment derived from the back of the head. While this is undoubtedly intriguing--particularly in that, from the seventies on, Dr. Boswell remembered this fragment fitting into the skull in the same manner--it also underlines the reality of O'Neill's recollections. The man felt certain the wound was entirely above the EOP, and felt sure it was both an entrance and exit wound, NOT an exit wound for a bullet hitting Kennedy on the front of his head. **Top of the head witness.**



Credibility Gap

So now a final tally... Of the **18** witnesses presented by Groden to demonstrate that the bulk of the Parkland and Bethesda witnesses believed there was an exit on the far back of the head--an exit purported to be centered in the occipital bone--**2** never saw the wound, **2** depicted a wound encompassing the entire right side of the head, **2** depicted the wound on the side of the head, **4** depicted the wound on the top of the head, and **3** depicted a wound on the back of the head, but apparently came to accept they were mistaken, and deferred to the accuracy of the autopsy photos. This means that only **5** witnesses actually believed the wound was on the far back of Kennedy's head, and **2** of these--Peters and McClelland, were inconsistent in their statements but ultimately claimed they believed the wound to be further forward than in the "McClelland" drawing. This means that but **3** witnesses felt comfortable asserting the large head wound was really behind the ear in the occipital bone, as purported

by most conspiracy theorists and as presented in the "McClelland" drawing: Crenshaw, Bell, and Oliver.

Well, Crenshaw, Bell and Oliver never described the wound location until many years after the "McClelland" drawing was published. And Oliver, when describing the wound to Robert Groden for his video, JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, told him "The whole back of (Kennedy's) head went flying out the back of the car," something no one--not even Groden--honestly believes.

This leaves Crenshaw and Bell as the only two witnesses presented by Groden who can reasonably be taken as confirming the wound depicted in the "McClelland" drawing.

And their credibility--already questionable due to the many years between the time of the shooting and the time they first began describing the wound--was pretty much eradicated by the ARRB.

It is important here to recount Dr. Crenshaw's previous descriptions of Kennedy's head wound. (Most of these were drawn from JFK: The Medical Evidence Reference, by Vincent Palamara.)

In 1992, Dr. Crenshaw's book Conspiracy of Silence arrived on the scene and claimed that the "entire right cerebral hemisphere appeared to be gone...From the damage I saw, there was no doubt in my mind that the bullet had entered his head through the front, and as it surgically passed through his cranium, the missile obliterated part of the temporal and all the parietal and occipital lobes before it lacerated the cerebellum." Well, this doesn't sound like the exit wound on the back of the head purported by most conspiracy theorists, now does it? It sounds more like a giant wound enveloping a large portion of the top, side, and back of the head.

But no, Crenshaw was describing a wound on the far back of the head. On April 2, 1992, he appeared on ABC's 20/20 news program, and pointed to his hairline above his right eye, and explained that, in his opinion, the bullet went "from here through," whereby he pointed to the back of his head behind his ear. He then finished the interviewer's sentence, explaining that this bullet took out "The back or the occipital part--the back of your head." He then reiterated, while pointing to a location behind and well below the top of his right ear that "This was gone, in our view. And we could see the cerebellum." He then explained that if the bullet had come from behind, it would have exploded from the top of Kennedy's head, whereby he pointed out the wound location shown on the autopsy photos and Zapruder film. This made it clear he recalled no such wound.

Now watch how things get muddy, real muddy. This same month, April 1992, Crenshaw wrote a letter to writer Harrison Livingstone, in which he claimed the bullet striking Kennedy "to the right rear side of his head, obliterated part of the parietal, part of the temporal, and all of the occipital area. This resulted in a gaping hole, the size of a baseball, in the back of the head, and the cerebellum was hanging on a thread of tissue outside the wound." Note that he has now retreated from his conjecture the bullet entered the forehead. Note also that he has stopped musing on the damage to the parietal and temporal lobes of the brain, which could not be readily observed through the hole on the back of the head.

In June, moreover, Crenshaw spoke at the First Midwest Symposium, a conference on the Kennedy assassination. Here, he reported that the wound he saw was in the "parietal occipital area" and was "an obvious exit wound." This is slightly above the wound he described on 20/20, and is more in line with the wound described by his fellow doctors. Perhaps Dr. Crenshaw was growing more cautious.

On July 22, 1992, Dr. Crenshaw was finally interviewed by the FBI. The report on this interview asserts that Dr. Crenshaw claimed that "The head wound was located at the back of the President's head and was the approximate size of Doctor CRENSHAW's fist. It extended from the approximate center of

the skull in the back to just behind the right ear, utilizing a left to right orientation, and from a position a couple of inches above the right ear to the approximate middle of the right ear utilizing a top to bottom orientation." The report further explained that Dr. Crenshaw's "description which indicates that the wound extended from the hairline back behind the ear and to the back of the head was 'poorly worded' in his book and that "The correct description indicates that the wound was located entirely at the rear of the head behind the right ear." Okay, so here we finally get some clarification. Crenshaw has indeed retreated from the descriptions of brain damage in his book, and is now claiming, in opposition to what he told 20/20, that the wound stretched from the right top of Kennedy's head behind his right ear to the middle of the back of his head.

On September 4, 1992, furthermore, the editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association called a press conference, and challenged Dr. Crenshaw's recollections and overall credibility. Crenshaw was then interviewed on radio station WBAI. His comments were transcribed by researcher John DiNardo, and saved for posterity and re-posted for our edification by Bernice Moore. Here Crenshaw clarified that "The head wound was tangential in nature, coming in over the right side, above his ear, and leaving a large exit area, avulsed area in the right-rear part of the head. There was loss of part of the parietal, temporal and most of the occipital lobe of the right cerebral hemisphere, with exposure of the cerebellum. It was about two-and-a-half to two- and-three-fourths inches in diameter. It was more or less circular." Well, this pretty much supports what he told the FBI, and is pretty much what the other Parkland witnesses remembered. Gone is his earlier suggestion the bullet entered Kennedy's forehead above his right eye. Gone is his earlier claim the exit on the back of the head was below the top of his ear. He saw but ONE WOUND on Kennedy's head, which he assumed to be of entrance and exit, with avulsed, or inside-out skull.

He has thereby described the wound shown on the autopsy photos, only inches further back.

He has retracted his claims in smaller, less noticeable, ways as well. While he'd previously said "all" the occipital lobe and "all the occipital area" were obliterated, he now said there was a loss of "most of the occipital lobe."

Now, perhaps Crenshaw's memory was not at fault. Perhaps, instead, he was merely prone to exaggeration. One notes that the damage that had once engulfed part of the temporal, all of the parietal and all the occipital has over a fairly short time morphed into damage engulfing part of the temporal, part of the parietal, and most of the occipital.

Still, this doesn't make Crenshaw so unreliable that one can readily dismiss his claim *some* occipital was involved, does it? This last description, after all, was fairly consistent--meaning within an inch or so--with the wound location presented by Crenshaw in *The Killing of a President*, which is itself fairly consistent with the McClelland drawing.

So, what's the problem?

The problem is that, in 1997, when asked by the ARRB to mark the head wound location on an anatomy drawing of a skull viewed from behind, Crenshaw placed this wound almost entirely on the occipital bone, behind and almost entirely below the top of Kennedy's ear. This is about two inches below and further back from the location he'd described to the FBI. More telling, when asked to mark the wound location on a lateral drawing of the skull, Crenshaw placed the wound on the occipital and parietal bone, an inch or so lower, and perhaps as much as two inches forward, from the location he'd marked on the drawing from behind. Something is just wrong here. While the upper margin of the wound location depicted by Crenshaw in *The Killing of the President* was roughly at the level of the

middle of the forehead, the upper margin of the wound on this lateral drawing was roughly at the middle of the eye socket. This raises serious, and I mean serious, questions not only about Dr. Crenshaw's memory, but his grasp of basic anatomy.

But what about Nurse Audrey Bell? Well, first of all, there are reasons to doubt she even saw Kennedy's head wound. While she told Jeremy Gunn and Doug Horne of the ARRB on 3-20-97 that she spent 3-5 minutes in Trauma Room One, and had been shown Kennedy's wound by Dr. Perry during this short period, not one of the doctors and nurses filing reports on Kennedy in the immediate aftermath of the assassination, or testifying before the Warren Commission, mentioned her presence in the room. There's no record, moreover, of her talking about what she saw in the years immediately following the assassination. Beyond telling David Lifton in 1982 that the head wound was so localized on the back of the head that she couldn't see it from Kennedy's right hand side, in fact, she made few comments on the wound location over the years, prior to being interviewed by Gunn and Horne.

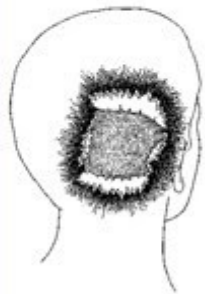
Apparently, this was for good reason. When asked by the ARRB to depict the wound location on an autopsy drawing of a skull viewed from behind, sadly, she depicted the wound even lower on the occipital bone than Crenshaw. She depicted it so low, in fact, that, it was in clear contradiction with the earliest reports and statements of Dr. William Kemp Clark, the only doctor at Parkland to actually examine the wound, and even Dr. McClelland, who told the Warren Commission that *"the parietal bone was protruded up through the scalp and seemed to be fractured almost along its right posterior half."*

As a result, her recollections regarding this wound have zero credibility. Much as Crenshaw, she couldn't even be consistent from one drawing to the next. While she depicted the wound both above and below the level of the External Occipital Protuberance on the anatomy drawing presenting the skull as seen from the rear, she presented the wound entirely above the EOP on the drawing of the lateral view. (This is seen more clearly in Volume 1 of Doug Horne's Inside the ARRB than on the slide above.)

Thus, Crenshaw and Bell were not only inconsistent with each other, and the only doctor to examine the wound at Parkland, but with themselves. While they might have been the most fabulous people on God's green Earth, their decades-after recollections of Kennedy's head wound location are clearly just not credible.

So much for the oft-repeated claim that the Parkland staff were "trained witnesses" and could not mistake a wound on the top of the head for a wound on the back of the head... Crenshaw and Bell either couldn't orient a simple anatomy drawing, or were unable to remember where they'd marked the wound only a few seconds earlier.

NOT on the Back of the Head Witnesses



Across top, from L to R: 2 photos of Marilyn Willis, 2 photos of Ed Hoffman

Second row, from L to R: 2 photos of Dr. Richard Dulaney, Dr. Kenneth Salyer, and Theron Ward

When one looks closely at the photos of the purported "back of the head" witnesses featured in Robert Groden's books and DVDs, one finds that many of them actually described a wound a good distance away from the wound depicted in the so-called "McClelland" drawing at left. Some, like those pictured on this slide, described a wound either at the top of the head where one can see the wound in the autopsy photos or at the side of the head. While this should rightfully silence those claiming that we KNOW there was an exit wound on the far back of the head, and that the autopsy photos are fake, it sadly isn't so.

NOT on the Back of the Head Witnesses

Still, even if one were to pretend Crenshaw and Bell were credible, one can't simply assume the wound was where they said it was, when so many equally or more credible witnesses, when later put to the test and asked where they saw the wound, either pointed to a location NOT on the far back of the head behind the ear, OR deferred to the accuracy of the autopsy photos.

Or, to put it another way... For years people have been getting away with insinuating that all witnesses describing a large head wound different than the one seen in the autopsy photos were really describing the wound on the back of the head in the location of the wound in the "McClelland" drawing, a wound on the occipital bone from which cerebellum flowed....when in reality many of these so-called "back of the head" witnesses were "NOT on the back of the head" witnesses.

Now, I am far from the first to notice this. Not only have single-assassin theorists such as John McAdams taken the time to point out that many of the Parkland witnesses described a wound not on the back of the head, but conspiracy theorists such as the late Hal verb have done so as well. In fact, in 1998, Verb aroused the ire of the same clique as I when he pointed out in a series of articles and letters in the assassination journal *The Fourth Decade* that the eyewitnesses suggested there was in fact no blow-out on the back of the head.

I do suspect, however, that I am the first to point out that the photographs of the witnesses pointing out the wound location--the very photographs purported to PROVE there was a wound on the far back of the head--prove no such thing. And, thankfully, I'm no longer the only one noticing this.

On December 12, 2010, on the Education Forum, my contention that the location of the wound described and depicted by the witnesses failed to match the descriptions of the wound location provided by most conspiracy theorists received some much appreciated support. In response to a post by Dr. James Fetzer, in which he claimed I was wrong and that the "McClelland" drawing really was drawn by Dr. McClelland, Six Seconds in Dallas author Josiah Thompson wrote:

"It is one of the oldest mistakes in JFK research to ascribe the the sketch in Six Seconds[u] to Dr. McClelland. I've been telling people for years that McClelland had nothing to do with the preparation of this sketch. I took a Polaroid photo of the right back of my head and sent it to a medical illustrator in Philadelphia. I included the actual text of McClelland's description of the Kennedy back of the head wound and paid the medical illustrator to draw it. Hence, it is just false that Dr. McClelland made the sketch. I never even asked him for his opinion on the sketch. The sketch then is the interpretation of a medical illustrator of what Dr. McClelland described.

Pat Speer "comes up with this stuff" by doing what a good researcher ought to do: asking questions and getting direct answers from people who are in a position to know.

His analysis of the various descriptions of damage to the back of Kennedy's head is quite illuminating. He should be praised for not accepting the usual superficial interpretations of these witness reports. So fume as much as you like, but Pat Speer is 100% correct and you are 100% incorrect.

Josiah Thompson "

SO...let's be honest here. The mythical wound at the "low right rear" of Kennedy's head is not the only deception regarding the medical evidence cultivated by sellers of conspiracy. For years, conspiracy theorists have been misled into believing not only that the statements of the "back of the head witnesses" were incredibly consistent, but that the location for the wound they were describing overlay the "white patch" on Kennedy's lateral skull x-ray, the shadowy area on the back of Kennedy's head in the Zapruder film, the location proposed by Dr. Cairns for the Harper fragment, and the hole seen in the "McClelland" drawing. This just isn't true.

Beyond that many of the purportedly back of the head witnesses were actually describing a wound on top of the head, and that some of these witnesses, including head nurse Doris Nelson, who told researchers the wound was on the back of the head but then pointed to the location shown on the autopsy photos when posing for Life Magazine (as shown [here](#)), were clearly unreliable, the head wound described by most witnesses was toward the top of the head, mostly above the white patch on the x-ray, and the purportedly painted-in area on the Z-film frames. This area, moreover, was largely on the parietal bone, above the area depicted in the "McClelland" drawing, and inches away from where the Harper fragment purportedly exploded from the occipital bone.

This, then, raises a question...have we been conned? Have those claiming elements of the government conspired to deceive us about the President's wounds been involved in a conspiracy of their own, namely, to make us think there was a hole in Kennedy's occipital bone?

Mr. Livingstone, I Presume

Maybe.

When one looks at the history of the controversy, that is, the history of the purported Parkland/Bethesda divide on the location of Kennedy's large head wound, one finds that much of it was stirred up by writer Harrison Livingstone in the years 1979-1981. In 1979, on a trip paid for by the Baltimore Sun, he went to Dallas and asked a number of witnesses to Kennedy's wounds a series of questions about them, and showed them the HSCA's tracing of the back of the head photo--the photo illicitly copied by Livingstone's soon-to-be-partner Robert Groden. While the Sun never published a detailed article on these encounters, Livingstone did publish his version of such an article in the 11-22-81 issue of The Continuing Inquiry newsletter.

Here are the sections of the article on the witnesses:

1. *"'That's not the way I remember it,' said Dr. Richard Dulany, a medical resident who was on duty in the emergency room when Kennedy was brought in, after looking at a copy of an official autopsy photograph. According to Dr. Dulany, there is a 'definite conflict' between the wounds as portrayed in the photo and the wounds which he observed in the emergency room. There were at least 22 witnesses in Dallas who have described a 'large hole in the back of the head.' Dr. Dulany insists that the photo does not show the large, gaping wound which had blown out the back of the president's head."* (Note that Livingstone fails to reveal the degree of this 'conflict'--was Dulaney told that the autopsy photo he was shown was genuine? Was he willing to sign an affidavit saying the photo was a fake? Or did he simply assume he was mistaken?)
2. *"Dr. Paul Peters, professor and chairman of the Urology Department at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School at Parkland, also questions the accuracy of the disputed photograph. Dr. Peters told the Warren Commission: 'We saw the wound of entry in the throat and noted the large occipital wound.' After seeing the pictures, he said, 'I don't think it's consistent with what I saw. There was a large hole in the back of the head through which one could see the brain. But that hole does not appear, in the photograph.'"* (Note the lack of certainty. Peters 'questions.' Peters doesn't 'think' it's consistent. In other words, Peters, as Dulaney, was unwilling to say he thought the photo was a fake.)
3. *"The president's widow also described a severe wound at the back of the head to the Commission: 'But from the back, you could see, you know, you were trying to hold his hair and his skull on...'"* (This, as we've seen, was a misrepresentation of her statements, which in fact suggested the wound was at the top of the head, and more readily viewed from behind.)
4. *"Doris Nelson, a Dallas nurse who was the supervisor of the emergency room when Kennedy was brought there, and who helped to treat the dying president, said that government autopsy photos of the skull are 'not true. There was no hair.' She said, while disputing the most controversial photograph, which merely shows a small entry wound in the cowlick area, which is four inches from where the autopsy report itself describes it, 'There wasn't even any hair back there, on the back of the head. It was blown away. All that area was blown out.'"* (Well, here's a decent witness. Of course, she later showed Life Magazine where she thought the wound had been--and it was what most of us would call the top of the head.)
5. *"Claiming that the Photographs were too 'gory,'...the (HSCA) actually published exact tracings of them. It was these tracings, which are described as being accurate down to the last detail, which the Dallas medical witnesses recently evaluated for this report. (One witness, however. Dr. Malcolm Perry of the Cornell Medical Center, was shown prints of the actual photographs by Sun reporters in 1979, and also strongly denounced them as being inaccurate.)"* (Hmmm...Perry was Kennedy's primary physician in the ER, why not quote him directly? Could it be that Perry was not shown the photo by the reporters, as claimed, but by Robert Groden, who kept no notes?)
6. *"The list of medical witnesses who have challenged the autopsy photos includes Dr. Robert McClelland, professor of surgery at the University of Texas Medical School in Dallas."*

Seventeen years ago, he told the Warren Commission that he stood at the head of the operating table in the emergency room 'in such a position that I could very closely examine the head wound, and I noted that the right posterior portion of the skull had been extremely blasted. It had been shattered, apparently, by the force of the shot...in such a way that you could actually look down into the skull cavity.' Recently, after viewing a sketch of the gaping head wound which had been drawn by an independent investigator, Dr. McClelland said that it accurately portrays what he 'vividly remembers' seeing on the operating table after the president was rushed into emergency. He firmly rejected the autopsy photos." (Livingstone failed to reveal that McClelland's initial report on his 'vivid' recollections of the wound on the back of the head...placed the wound in the left temple.)

7. "Margaret Hood (Margaret Henchllffe at the time) had been an emergency room nurse for 12 years prior to the assassination. The nurse, who helped wheel the wounded president into the room and later prepared his body for the coffin, recently drew a sketch of the wound on a skull model provided by reporters. That sketch also showed a large wound at the back of the head. 'You couldn't see much of the wound,' said Ms. Hood. 'It didn't affect his face or ears at all. it was more to the back.' Ms. Hood also strongly disavowed the photographs." (Well, once again, what does that mean-- 'disavowed'? Did she say they weren't consistent with what she remembered? Or did she accuse the government of misconduct?)
8. "Dr. Ronald C. Jones, a professor of surgery who was Parkland Hospital's chief resident in surgery at the time of the murder, originally described for the Warren Commission 'what appeared to be an exit wound in the posterior portion of the skull.' He also rejected the autopsy photos, and drew an outline with his finger of a large hole at the back of an imaginary head. In addition, he described the drawing which Dr. McClelland had approved as 'close.'" (Once again, this was too vague. Is it really a story when someone remembers something a bit differently than it is depicted in some photographs? No, I don't think so. The story comes when that person is willing to swear on a stack of Bibles their recollections are correct, and publicly accuse someone of faking the photographs. None of Livingstone's witnesses have gone that far.)
9. "Patricia Gustafson (then Patricia Hutton), another emergency room nurse at the time of the shooting, helped to wheel the president from the limousine into treatment. Ms. Gustafson, testifying before the Warren Commission, outlined a 'massive opening on the back of the head.' Recently, describing an effort to place a pressure bandage on the head wound, she said: 'I tried to do so, but there was really nothing to put a pressure bandage on. It was too massive. So he told me just to leave it be.' Asked if she was sure about the location of the wound, she said yes: 'It was the back of the head,' she said, while rejecting the autopsy photos." ("Rejecting"? What does that mean? I reject what looks back at me in the mirror each morning, but that doesn't mean I think it's fake, and part of some massive conspiracy.)
10. "Fouad Bashour was an associate professor of medicine in cardiology at the time of the shooting. Interviewed by this reporter at his office in 1979, Dr. Bashour insisted that the official photo which he was being shown did not accurately depict the location of the major wound. 'Why do they cover it up?' he asked several times. 'This is not the way it was.'" (Livingstone hid that Bashour only saw Kennedy's wound for a few seconds.)
11. "Dr. Charles Baxter, interviewed the same day, who had earlier told the Warren Commission 'There was a large, gaping wound in the back of the skull,' also questioned the autopsy photos." (Well, wait a minute. Baxter had told the Warren Commission "There was a large gaping wound in the skull." He had said nothing about the "back of the skull." In fact, it's worse than that. Baxter at first exclaimed "literally, the right side of his head had been blown off," but then later specified that the wound was in the "temporal parietal plate of bone laid outward to the side." This was a wound on the side of the head, and not the back of the head, as claimed by Livingstone. And "questioned"? What's that mean? And why not quote Baxter from his most

- recent interview? It seems likely from this that Baxter was mostly supportive of the photos in his interview with Livingstone, and that Livingstone didn't want to admit as much in his article.)
12. *"After being shown the most controversial photo. Dr. Marion Jenkins (he told the Warren Commission, 'There was a great laceration on the right side of the head (temporal and occipital) . . . even to the extent that the cerebellum had protruded from the wound'), blurted: 'No, not like that. Not like that, because... No, you want to know what it really looked, like? Well, that picture doesn't look like it from the back.' Dr. Jenkins demonstrated several times, on his own and a reporter's head, that the large exit wound had been located on the back of the skull: 'You could tell at this point with your fingers that it was scored out (that the edges were blasted out).'"* (It seems likely from this that Jenkins didn't trust Livingstone's assertion the photo was an official photo, and was simply trying to show them what he remembered. He was certainly much more cautious in his subsequent interviews. This highlights the problem with the article--it shows that the memories of Kennedy's wounds of some witnesses are inconsistent with what is shown in the autopsy photos, but fails to explore the strength of their recollections, or even what this means...if this is in fact unusual for people trying to remember the specifics of something that happened 16 years prior.)
 13. *"Dr. Charles Carrico, now a professor of surgery at the University of Washington in Seattle, was a general surgeon in residency at Parkland when the president was shot--and the first doctor to reach him. He told the Warren Commission about a large gaping wound, a five-by-seven-centimeter defect in the posterior skull, which he observed in the occipital region. But he has not been interviewed since."* (Is it a coincidence that Livingstone failed to interview Carrico, and that Carrico would come to totally reject Livingstone's claims?)
 14. *"In addition to these medical figures, three other physicians who were involved in treating the , stricken president-Doctors Gene C. Akin, Jackie Hunt, and Adolph Giesecke, have not fully endorsed the autopsy pictures."* (In other words, they partially endorsed the autopsy pictures. Well, what part? Since, if they'd said the head wound was wrong, Livingstone would most certainly have let his readers know about it, it seems likely they said they thought the photos of the head wound looked pretty good to them...and that Livingstone didn't want us to know about this.)
 15. *"Two crucial medical witnesses, meanwhile, have not yet been interviewed about the case. Dr. Kemp Clark, who was the senior physician on duty in the Parkland 'trauma room' when the wounded president was brought in, refuses to comment--although he described for the Warren Commission '... a large wound in the right occiput, extending into the parietal region."* (Livingstone hid from his readers that Clark accepted the conclusions of the autopsy report and Warren Commission.)
 16. *"Diana H. Bowron, a British nurse who worked in the Parkland emergency room in 1963, could not be located as of this writing. However, Ms. Bowron did tell the Warren Commission: 'the president was moribund. He was lying across Mrs. Kennedy's knee, and there seemed to be blood everywhere. When I went around to the other side of car, I saw the condition of his head...the back of his head...it was very bad; I just saw one large hole.'" (Aha! A good, credible witness...whom Livingstone hadn't even spoken to...or shown the autopsy photo...)*

It seems clear from this, then, that Livingstone was pushing an agenda in his article, and that he wasn't particularly interested in telling his readers the whole story. I mean, why else short-change the recollections of those "not fully" endorsing the photos, and emphasize the recollections of several others--including Mrs. Kennedy--whom he didn't even interview?

And here are some more reasons to believe he cherry-picked his quotes to push a fantastic theory he

knew few would buy if he was more forthcoming...

First of all, he claimed, in the article, that *"According to the recently interviewed medical witnesses, the president had been shot in the throat, from in front, in addition to the head shot."* Well, this was just not true. Few of the witnesses interviewed by Livingstone even saw the throat wound before it was expanded by Dr. Perry, and those that did never told anyone else that the throat wound they saw WAS in fact an entrance wound...only that it appeared to be one. Now, this is an important distinction. These witnesses made observations, and formed recollections, and may or may not have formed opinions based upon these recollections. But Livingstone claimed they'd both presented these opinions as facts, which would have been thoroughly unprofessional, and universally shared the same opinion. It seems clear, then, that he was putting words in their mouths, and that he was exaggerating, or worse.

Secondly, a 6-11-80 article on Livingstone by Maureen Williams found in the Bangor Daily News suggests Livingstone was not a healthy camper. I know this seems a cheap shot, but stick with me here. This article was on Livingstone at a time virtually no one knew who he was, written in his local paper. The article, it follows, was his idea, or at least written with his full cooperation. And yet, look what it reveals: *"The federal government has stipulated that certain sensitive material concerning the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 cannot be released to the public and media until the year 2039. One man who claims to be living in secrecy and fear for his life in eastern Maine, claims to have gotten some of that material through an underground source with connections in the Pentagon. Harrison Edward Livingstone, one of hundreds of private citizens who are involved in researching the assassination, carries his completed but rough manuscript of his book with him wherever he goes...He has kept on the move in recent years in several states, because he said he believes he's a 'hunted man.' In one of those states, he says, his car was fitted with an explosive device. In July 1979, a plane was to carry a team of reporters of the Baltimore Sun to Dallas, where they were to rendezvous with Livingstone. The plane was accidentally rammed by a jet fuel delivery truck on the airport apron. Livingstone says this was no accident. The incident caused the occupants to be confined in the plane for three hours, but what is stranger is that neither the newspaper or Livingstone could locate the investigative team for two days. In July and November 1979, the Baltimore Sun published two stories, containing purported new information and a lot of speculation, which Livingstone claims to have stimulated. 'But nobody read it...the wire services probably didn't pick it up, and one of the stories ran on a Sunday features page,' Livingstone said. Livingstone is convinced that some of the government's official autopsy photographs have been forged by an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency so they would be consistent with the so-called 'single-bullet, single-gunman' theory. Livingstone said that on July 30, 1979, he traveled to Dallas where he interviewed various physicians who attended the dying president at Parkland Hospital. In tape-recorded and transcribed interviews, Livingstone said, medical doctors Adolph Giesecke, Robert McClelland, Malcolm Perry, Charles Baxter, Fouad Bashour, Jacqueline Hunt, and Marion Jenkins, indicate that the official government photo shown them may have been fake, because it shows an entrance wound in the occipital-parietal section of the president's head. Livingstone says they all told him that when the president was wheeled into Parkland's emergency room for initial medical treatment, the wound they saw in the back of his head looked like an exit wound...Robert Groden of Hopelawn, N.J., a photographic consultant to the House Assassinations Committee, said 'My visual inspection of the autopsy photos and X-rays reveals evidence of forgery in four of the photographs...'"*

The article then proceeded to quote Jack White on the possibility the photos had been faked, and Dr. Cyril Wecht on the probability there was more than one shooter. It then reported: *"On the other hand, Dr. Paul C. Peters, professor and chairman of the Division of Urology, University of Texas Health Science Center at Dallas, told the NEWS that he has never seen any of the official government autopsy*

photos. He was one of the many doctors and nurses who tried to revive the dying President 17 years ago. But after studying the forensic observations of Dr. John Lattimer, a retired Columbia professor, he believes that the gaping hole he saw in the right rear of the felled President's head should not be considered a true exit wound, but a 'tangential' wound, caused by a shallow bullet entry at the back of his neck."

Well, where do we begin? Hmmm... Livingstone had either presented himself, or had allowed himself to be presented, as a man on the run from dark forces--all because he had copies of the autopsy photos. He then hid that he'd received these copies from Robert Groden, by claiming he'd gotten them from some mysterious figure in the Pentagon. This allowed, as well, for Groden to serve as an additional source for the reporter. Well, this was pretty sneaky, no? And then there's the matter of Peters, who was not listed as one of Livingstone's interviewees, but nevertheless ended up getting called by Williams, only to shoot down the possibility the Parkland doctors' disagreement with the photos suggests a second shooter, by claiming single-assassin theorist Dr. John Lattimer had convinced him otherwise. Pretty wacky.

And from there it only got wackier. By June of 1981, Livingstone had convinced Ben Bradlee, Jr. of the Boston Globe to pick up where he'd left off, and interview the Parkland witnesses for himself. Bradlee's summary of these interviews can be found in the Weisberg Archives. They reveal that Bradlee focused on the recollections of 16 witnesses, and that 8 of the 14 he interviewed for the story cast doubt on the authenticity of the photos, and 6 largely supported their authenticity. This was a journalist at work, and not a theorist. And he believed barely more than half the witnesses suggested the photos were at odds with the wounds. This was far from the ALL claimed by Livingstone.

The witnesses Bradlee thought disagreed with the official description of the head wound were:

1. Dr. Robert McClelland, who is reported to have claimed that the drawing he approved for book publication is still how he *"vividly remembers"* the wound appearing.
2. Dr. Richard Dulany, who is reported to have *"told the Globe that he recalled seeing a wound four to six inches in diameter squarely in the back of the head, in a location quite distinct from that depicted in the official autopsy report and photograph."*
3. Patricia Gustafson, who repeated what she'd earlier told Livingston, that the wound she'd observed was at the *"back of the head."*
4. Doris M. Nelson, who *"drew an illustration of the head wound that placed it high on the back, right side. The wound she drew was in the parietal area, but it extended well toward the rear of the head and appears to conflict with the autopsy photograph. Shown the tracing of that photo, Nelson immediately said: 'It isn't true.' Specifically, she objected to the photograph showing hair in the back of the head. 'There was no hair,' she said. 'There wasn't even hair back there. It was blown away. All that area was blown out.'"* (Note: Bradlee was more specific than Livingstone regarding Nelson's recollections, and reveals that, while disputing the accuracy of the autopsy photos, she nevertheless felt the wound was at the top of Kennedy's head, and not on the far back of the head, where Livingstone and others placed the wound.)
5. Margaret Hood, who *"sketched a gaping hole in the occipital region which extended only slightly into the parietal area."*
6. Dr. Ronald Jones, who *"refused to make a drawing of the wound on a plastic skull model, saying he never had an opportunity to define the wound's margins. With his finger, however, he outlined the wound as being in the very rear of the head. He said the official autopsy photograph of the back of the head did not square with his recollection, but that the McClelland drawing was 'close.'"* (Well, this is interesting. Jones clearly saw where this was headed, and

tried to make clear that his recollection wasn't worth all that much.)

7. Dr. Paul Peters, who *"made a drawing that appeared to place the head wound entirely in the parietal region, but he insisted that he meant for it to overlap into the occipital region as well. 'I think occipital-parietal describes it pretty well,' he remarked. He said he had a good opportunity to examine the head wound. Shown the official tracing of the autopsy photograph, Peters remarked: 'I don't think it's consistent with what I saw.' Of the McClelland drawing, Peters said: 'It's not too far off. It's a little bit (too far) down in the occipital area, is what I would say...But it's not too bad. It's a large wound, and that's what we saw at the time.'"* (Well, this is also quite intriguing. Peters placed the wound in the parietal area, but, one can only presume, recalled Clark's description of it as occipito-parietal, and thought better of it. Note also that two of the witnesses disputing the accuracy of the autopsy photos--Nelson and Peters--had disputed the accuracy of the McClelland drawing as well.)
8. Diana H. Bowron: A British registered nurse. Bradlee couldn't find her but quoted her testimony before the Warren Commission.
9. Dr. William Kemp Clark. Clark refused to be interviewed but Bradlee quoted his previous reports and testimony.
10. Dr. Gene C. Akin, who *"at first recalled that the head wound was 'more parietal than occipital'" but who equivocated after being shown the McClelland drawing, and said "Well, in my judgment at the time, what I saw was more parietal. But on the basis of this sketch, if this is what Bob McClelland saw, then it's more occipital."* (Holy smokes. This confirms that at least one back of the head witness deferred to the accuracy of McClelland's drawing, without realizing the drawing had not been made by McClelland, and without the foresight to realize McClelland himself would come to dispute its accuracy. There's also this. Of the 8 witnesses disputing the accuracy of the autopsy photos, three--Nelson, Peters, and Akin--also initially disputed the accuracy of the McClelland drawing.)

This, then brings us to the six witnesses Bradlee spoke to who *"tended to agree with the official description of the head wound that emerged from the autopsy and Warren Report."*

1. Dr. Charles Baxter, who, despite his earlier statements and testimony, drew *"a large wound in the parietal region"* on a model skull, and *"said the official autopsy photo of the back of the head did not conflict with his memory."*
2. Dr. Adolph Giesecke, who *"placed the head wound in the right parietal region, saying it extended about three or four centimeters into the occiput. Though this would appear to make the wound visible in a rear-view photo, Giesecke said the official autopsy photograph was nonetheless 'very compatible' with what he remembered. He explained this by saying that in the photograph it appeared to him that a flap of scalp blown loose by a billet was being held in such a way as to cover the rear-most portion of the skull wound. Giesecke said the McClelland drawing did not reflect what he remembered of the wound."* (So Giesecke was being reasonable; the photo didn't reflect exactly what he remembered but it was close enough for him to assume it was legitimate. Meanwhile, he totally dismissed the McClelland drawing.)
3. Dr. Charles Carrico, who was not interviewed, but answered questions by letter, and said in his first letter *"that the official autopsy photograph showed 'nothing incompatible' with what he remembered of the back of the head. But he conceded that 'we never saw, and did not look for, any posterior wound.' In his second letter, Carrico said he agreed with the size of the wound shown in the McClelland drawing, but not its location, since '...we were able to see the majority, if not all of this wound, with the patient laying on his back in a hospital gurney.'"*
4. Dr. Malcolm Perry, who, like Carrico, declined to be interviewed, but responded by letter. *"In the first letter, Perry said that while he gave only a 'cursory glance at the head wound...not*

sufficient for accurate descriptions,' the autopsy photograph 'seems to be consistent with what I saw.' In his second letter, Perry simply-reiterated that he had not made a careful examination of the head wound. and that in his opinion, the only person qualified to give a good description of the wound was Dr. Clark."

5. Dr. Marion T. Jenkins, whose earlier claims he'd observed cerebellum had been widely quoted *"told The Globe he had been mistaken in his statements on this. 'I thought it was cerebellum, but I didn't examine it,' he said. Jenkins refused to draw a picture of the head wound on a plastic skull model, insisting instead that a reporter play the part of the supine Kennedy so he could demonstrate what he saw and did. Asked to locate the large head wound, Jenkins pointed to the parietal area above the right ear. He said he had never looked at the back of the head."*
6. Dr. Robert G. Grossman, who *"said he took up a position next to Dr. Clark at the right of Kennedy's head. In contrast to Jenkins, Grossman said the president's head was picked up by Clark. 'It was clear to me that the right parietal bone had been lifted up by a bullet which had exited,' Grossman said. Besides this large parietal wound, Grossman went on to say that he had noted another separate wound. measuring about one—and—a-quarter inches in diameter, located squarely in the occiput. Grossman was the only doctor interviewed who made such a reference to two distinct wounds. Though no occipital wound such as he described is apparent in the official autopsy photograph, Grossman nevertheless said 'it seems consistent' with what he remembered. He said the large wound depicted in the McClelland drawing 'is in the wrong place.'"*

Let's reflect. Ben Bradlee and the Boston Globe interviewed 14 Parkland witnesses in 1981. Of these 14, 8 strongly questioned or rejected the accuracy of the autopsy photo showing the back of Kennedy's head, and 6 supported or failed to question the accuracy of the photo. This is indeed interesting. But what's just as interesting, and just as telling in the long run, is that NINE of these 14 rejected the accuracy of the McClelland drawing, which those focusing on this issue nevertheless propped up as a depiction of the one true wound.

Feel free to scream. And let's reflect that when ultimately reporting on these interviews, in his 1989 best seller *High Treason*, Livingstone and his co-author Robert Groden claimed that the "McClelland" drawing *"was verified by every doctor, nurse, and eyewitness as accurate."*

So, I ask again, were we conned?

I mean, it's not as if Livingstone didn't know these witnesses had discounted his theory. Here is Bradlee's 6-21-81 article on the head wounds:

INVESTIGATIONS

Dispute on JFK assassination evidence persists

Eighteen years later, Dallas medical team disagrees: where was the President's mortal head wound?

***By Ben Bradlee
Globe Staff***

DALLAS — Burled in the mounds of books, official reports and investigative files on the assassination of John F. Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963, is a dispute about the medical evidence that has never been resolved. The crux of the issue is the precise location of the gaping head wound which all concerned acknowledge that the President sustained.

The gaping head wound was seen by at least 12 doctors and four nurses who treated Kennedy at Parkland Memorial Hospital here minutes after he was shot. Fourteen of the 16 were interviewed recently by The Globe. Eight of those said that an official tracing of an autopsy photograph of the back of the President's head does not show the wound as they recall it.

What significance the dispute plays in unraveling the puzzle of the Kennedy assassination is uncertain: If the recollections of these doctors and nurses are correct, it could ultimately mean that the Warren Commission was wrong in its conclusion that Kennedy was shot from the rear by a single gunman; or, it could be simply an indication that the doctors and nurses were wrong about what they think they saw.

Eleven of the doctors and three of the nurses (none of whom has seen the actual Kennedy autopsy photographs) were shown the tracing of the most pertinent autopsy photo. which was prepared for the House Select Committee on Assassinations and published in its final report in 1979.

A 12th doctor who treated the late President refused to be interviewed and a fourth nurse could not be reached by The Globe. But both are on record as having placed the head wound in an area which is not consistent with the official tracing,

Neither the Warren Commission nor the House Assassinations Committee, which concluded that President Kennedy was "probably" assassinated as part of a conspiracy, attempted to resolve the discrepancies by showing the autopsy photos to the Parkland doctors and nurses. Critics have called this a fundamental flaw in both investigations.

A majority of the doctors and nurses interviewed this year (five of the doctors, three of the nurses) say they recalled seeing a large wound in the right rear of Kennedy's head. The tracing of the autopsy photograph shows what appears to be a flap of bone protruding from the right side of the head but the back of the head shows no gaping wound.

'There's a definite conflict'

"There's a definite conflict," commented Dr. Richard B. Dulany when shown the official tracing. "That's not the way I remember it."

"It's not true." added Doris M. Nelson, nursing supervisor of the Parkland emergency room the day of the assassination, when she examined the official tracing. "There wasn't even hair (in the back of the head) ... it was blown away. All that area was blown out."

In testimony before the Warren Commission or in earlier written reports. all the Dallas doctors and nurses who made specific reference to the location of the head wound either said it was squarely in the occipital area (back of the head) or that it extended from the right parietal area (side of the head) into the occiput.

If these doctors were precise in their application of the terms occipital and parietal. Why isn't such a wound visible in the autopsy photograph taken of the back of the head?

One possible explanation is that the doctors and nurses, considering that they were more concerned with saving Kennedy's life than observing his wounds, were mistaken in their

observations, or were imprecise in describing what they saw. However, the Dallas doctors and nurses who dispute the accuracy of the official tracing told The Globe they are firm in their recollections.

Critics of official investigations into the Kennedy assassination have advanced two other possible explanations: 1) that the photo in question has been doctored to eliminate evidence of a gaping exit wound in the back of the head to make the evidence conform to the official theory that Kennedy was shot from the rear by Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone; or 2) that the President's head wounds were surgically altered before his body arrived at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland for autopsy.

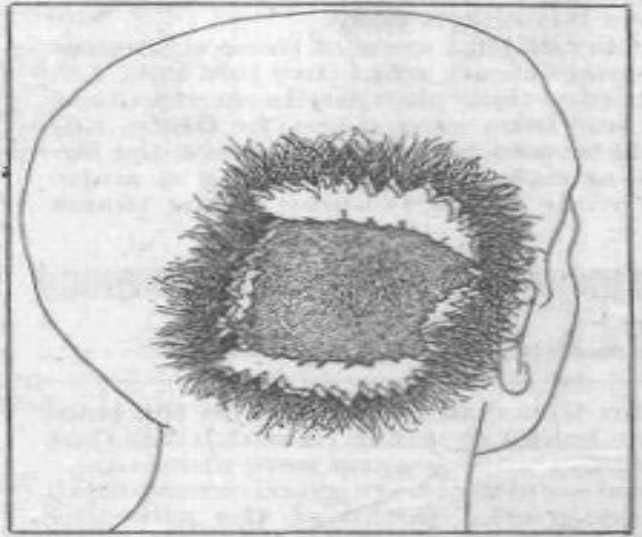
NOTE ON SOURCES

The autopsy and its failures have been discussed in books and articles such critics as Edward Epstein, Harold Weisberg, Sylvia Meagher, Vincent Salandria and Cyril Wecht.

Harrison Livingstone, a Baltimore researcher, first showed the official tracing of the autopsy photograph of the back of President Kennedy's head to several of the Dallas doctors, and elicited doubts from them as to the tracing's accuracy.

Kennedy is officially said to have sustained two wounds: one which entered in the lower back of his neck and exited at his throat, and one which entered the back of his head and exited at the right side of his head, creating a gaping wound. The most detailed description of the large head wound given the Warren Commission was furnished by Dr. Robert N. McClelland, a surgeon who treated Kennedy in the Parkland emergency room. But McClelland put this large defect in the back of the head, not the side.

McClelland told the Warren panel he stood at the head of the operating table and thus was in "such a position that could very closely examine the head wound, and I noted that the right posterior portion of the skull had been extremely blasted. It had been shattered, apparently, by the force of the shot so that the parietal bone was protruded up through the scalp and seemed to be fractured along its right posterior half, as well as the occipital bone being fractured in its lateral half, and this sprung open the bones that I mentioned in such a way that you could actually look down into the skull cavity itself and see that probably a third or so, at least, of the brain tissue, posterior cerebral tissue and some of the cerebellar tissue, had been blasted out."



Left: The official tracing commissioned by the House Assassinations Committee of a photo taken of the rear of President Kennedy's head during his autopsy. Flap of bone protrudes at right, but no gaping wound can be seen. Arrow (added by Globe) shows a small entrance wound in the cowlick area, about four inches higher and to the left of where the autopsy doctors located it in their report.

Right: A drawing representing the location of Kennedy's gaping head wound as described by Dr. Robert N. McClelland, one of the Dallas doctors who treated him. A majority of those doctors and nurses attending Kennedy who were in a position to see the head wound agree with McClelland and dispute the official tracing.

Controversial artist's drawing

One of the many amateur investigators of the assassination who has published a book about the event, Josiah Thompson, a former professor of philosophy at Haverford College, commissioned an artist to prepare a drawing based on the McClelland description. The drawing, approved by McClelland prior to its publication in the book, depicts a fist-sized wound with edges scored out in the lower right rear of the head.

McClelland reaffirmed in a recent telephone interview that the drawing was what he "vividly remembers" the head wound looking like.

Some Warren Commission critics and other researchers have erroneously cited this drawing as representing the Dallas doctors' and nurses' sole view of the head wound.

Actually, according to Globe interviews, they are not unanimous in their opinions or recollections. Five of the doctors and nurses agree with McClelland on the drawing and strongly assert that the wound was in the back of the head; four other doctors say that the tracing of the autopsy photograph shown them by The Globe is "consistent" with their recollection of the head wound.

Two doctors lean toward this official view, while five others tend toward the McClelland view that the wound was in the rear of the head, but fall short of giving it a blanket endorsement.

Of the six doctors who said that they agree or tend to agree with the official tracing showing no gaping wound extending into the occipital region, five have, at one time or another, gone on record as saying that the wound did extend into the occiput.

For example. Dr. Charles J. Carrico, the first physician to treat Kennedy, testified twice before the Warren Commission, first describing the head wound as "a large, gaping wound located in the right, occipital-parietal area," and then as a "five by (seven) cm. defect in the posterior skull, the occipital region ..." Carrico was not interviewed by The Globe, but in a letter sent in response to questions, he said the official tracing of the autopsy photograph showed "nothing incompatible" with what he remembered of the back of the head.

The sixth doctor supportive of the official tracing, Dr. Robert G. Grossman, now a professor and chairman of the department of neurosurgery at the Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, was working next to the senior neurosurgeon present, Dr. Kemp Clark, at Kennedy's head. Grossman told The Globe that he observed two separate wounds: a large defect in the parietal area above the right ear, and a second wound, about one-and-a-quarter inches in diameter, located squarely in the occiput. Grossman, the only physician to report seeing two such distinct wounds, was never called to testify before the Warren Commission or the House Assassinations Committee. Nor were Dr. Dulany or Nurse Patricia Gustafson, one of those who said that Kennedy's gaping wound was in the back of his head.

Disagreement on wound's visibility

In interviews, some doctors doubted the extent to which a wound to the rear of the head would have been visible since the President was lying supine with the back of his head on a hospital emergency cart.

But others, like Dulany and Grossman, said the head at some point was lifted up, thereby exposing the rear wound. Added Gustafson: "One of the doctors asked me to put a pressure bandage on the head wound and I tried to do so. (but) there was really nothing to put a pressure bandage on. It was too massive. So he told me just to leave it be." The wound, she said, was in "the back of the head."

"Definitely in the back?" she was asked.

"Yes," she said.

To critics of the official investigations, it is inconceivable that the presumably skilled Dallas doctors, conversant with anatomical terms, would consistently misuse words like "cerebellum" and "occipital" and say that the wound extended into the back of the head if, in fact, it did not.

But speaking to the occipital question, Grossman, a neurosurgeon, suggested that part of the confusion surrounding the location of the head wound could be the result of the imprecision with which the term "occipital" is used, While the occiput refers specifically to a bone in the lower back section of the head, Grossman said many doctors loosely use the term to refer to "the back fifth of the head ... There is this ambiguity about what constitutes the occipital and parietal area ... It's very imprecise."

Until now, to critics, the most plausible explanation for the discrepancy between the Dallas

observations and the autopsy photograph of the rear of the head was that the photo was a forgery.

Some of the critics, notably the House Assassinations Committee's own photographic consultant, Robert J. Groden of Lodi, N.J., have argued that the failure of the Warren Commission and the House committee to show the autopsy photographs to the Parkland doctors and nurses cast doubt on the House committee's conclusion that the photos were authentic. The question of authenticity was not addressed by the Warren panel.

In a little-noticed dissent published in one of the appendices to the House committee report, Groden, who did the original optical enhancement work of Abraham Zapruder's now-famous home movie of the assassination, asserted that four of the autopsy photographs (two in color, two in black and white) showing a similar view of the back of the President's head had been altered to eliminate evidence of a gaping hole in the back of the head.

Based on the recent doubts voiced by most of the Dallas doctors and nurses, The Globe last month received permission from the Kennedy family to view the autopsy photographs at the National Archives in Washington. This was done with the aid of three independent photo-optics experts to determine the validity of Groden's allegations.

All of the photo consultants concluded that the photographs were authentic. (See accompanying article).

Author David Litton, in his new book, "Best Evidence," published by Macmillan, advances a different, far more radical explanation for the discrepancies between the observations of the Dallas doctors and the autopsy photographs: that between the time Kennedy's body left Dallas and the time it arrived in the autopsy room at the Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland some six hours later, the wounds on the corpse were surgically altered to change the evidence concerning the number and direction of shots, as part of a plot to support the single-assassin theory.

Lifton cites an FBI report prepared by two agents who attended the autopsy. James Sibert and Francis O'Neill. The report, declassified and released years after the Warren report was published, states that "... it was also apparent that a tracheotomy had been performed, as well as surgery of the head area, namely in the top of the skull." No surgery other than the tracheotomy was performed by the Dallas doctors. In subsequent memoranda. Sibert explained that his statement was based on remarks made at the time by the lead autopsist, Dr. James J. Humes.

The 700-page book, whose thesis Lifton himself admits strains the imagination, is nonetheless a thoroughly researched account based largely on public documents and buttressed by new evidence in the form of statements from several Bethesda hospital technicians and military bystanders who were eyewitnesses to the movements of Kennedy's body.

Concerned that some of these witnesses might later retract what they told him. Lifton recorded their statements on videotape which has been viewed by The Globe. Lifton said he was moved to interview the Bethesda attendants after reading a statement in one of the volumes of the House Assassinations Committee report issued in 1979, saying that Kennedy's body had arrived at Bethesda in a body bag. This conflicted with the testimony of many witnesses who told the Warren Commission the body left Dallas wrapped in sheets.

Lifton located witnesses who told him that Kennedy's body first arrived at Bethesda in a plain gray

shipping casket, not the bronze casket it left Dallas in, and that the body was inside a zippered body bag.

In a telephone interview, retired Brig. Gen. Godfrey McHugh. President Kennedy's Air Force aide who said he was with the President's casket for all but five minutes or so that day, castigated Lifton's book as "absolutely absurd. It's full of lies and false implications." When he wasn't with the casket, McHugh said, Mrs. Kennedy, aides or the Secret Service always were. He said he saw the President's body taken out of the bronze casket inside the Bethesda morgue, but he conceded he could not attest to the fact that the body was inside that casket from the time it left Parkland Hospital until it reached the morgue.

Besides photo forgery, rejected by The Globe panel, and the more radical Lifton thesis of surgical alteration, there is a third, quite innocent, possibility advanced by some, including the House Assassinations Committee. as an explanation for the discrepancies between the Dallas and Bethesda observations: that the Parkland physicians, concerned chiefly with trying to save Kennedy's life rather than observe his wounds, simply were mistaken In what they saw.

A variation of the mistaken hypothesis is that, as Dr. Grossman suggested, the Dallas doctors erroneously described the head wound. The autopsy photograph of the right side of Kennedy's head, seen by The Globe at the National Archives but not shown to the Dallas doctors, depicts a massive wound which extends about two inches behind the ear toward the back of the head. It is possible, according to Grossman, that the doctors loosely used the word "occipital" in describing a wound that extended to the back fifth of the head, or that they assumed, without lifting up the head, that the defect did reach the back.

Whatever the answer, it is likely that few will be satisfied, and that The Globe's Dallas interviews add up to another mysterious footnote to the Kennedy legacy.

The Blame Game

Well, Bradlee's article was quite fair, wouldn't you say? It described the controversy without taking sides. Still, that wasn't good enough for Livingstone.

Here is the bulk of a press release (found in the Weisberg Archives) prepared by Livingstone on June 27 1981, attacking Bradlee's June 21, 1981 article:

"I, Harrison E. Livingstone, mentioned in the article as first interviewing the Parkland doctors concerning the autopsy photos, motivated the Globe and prepared them for their 'investigation", during which time I was severely mistreated by them. The Globe claims that the majority of doctors and nurses whom they interviewed disputed the autopsy photos. (as did the autopsists themselves 7 HSAC), but that some doctors say that the photo is consistent with the wounds as they recall them. This is doubtful or not true. The Globe has perhaps-one witness of the 14 they interviewed that might positively say this. The Globe has not documented their work, not named the doctors whom they claim support the picture. The reason is that we proved that the doctors did not tell the Globe this, but that the Globe in an excess of zeal tried to get each witness to change what they said to the Globe, to the Sun previously, and to me. Previously, 100% of all witnesses interviewed by the Sun and myself said the pictures did not show the wound as they recall them. Both myself and Sun reporters have re-interviewed some of the

Globe witnesses whom the Globe said agree with the pictures and find that this is simply not true. One of the doctors whom the Globe counted as reversing his testimony to me, then wrote me after the Globe visited him, and repeated what he told me, that the large gaping hole in the back of the head extended into the occipital area. My original tapes of him and the other doctors are in the JFK Library. The Globe attempted to tell people that what I said was on the tapes was not on them, but then discovered that the Sun and the Library and others have these tapes and that they are valid and unassailable. Nevertheless, the Globe counted among their negative witnesses several of mine. Why they have fabricated evidence in this case, I do not know. I am sorry I went to them. It has taken me two years to try to establish this major evidence in this case. It was clear to me from an early stage that the Globe's intent was to either destroy my evidence, and Bob Groden's claim that the pictures are forged, or water it down. They could only water it down by the use of fraud. The doctors and nurses made no mistake as to the wounds. The nurses had plenty of time to study the body as they washed it."

Livingstone then added: *"I ask that the above not be printed until I have completed certain work. The Globe has promised to allow me to listen to all of their tapes, and state that they will be placed in the JFK Library soon. I forced them to do this. I have also been able to trap these papers into doing some sort of an investigation. The Baltimore Sun has major evidence in the case, has in fact had access to the autopsy photos in 1979, as they admitted in an article Nov 18, 1979 by Steve Parks, and the Globe knows this and has talked to Parks. Why have they lied about so much? The Sun is working on the case now, and does not like both the Globe's fabrications and private accusations that the Sun has lied about the testimony it took, which both Groden and I are familiar with."*

Well, this is pretty clear. Livingstone felt Bradlee had burned him, and had picked up his story in order to water it down, or destroy it. What he needed to do, then, in order to prove Bradlee incorrect in claiming nine witnesses rejected the accuracy of the McClelland drawing, was listen to Bradlee's tapes, and show where Bradlee had turned some of these witnesses against him, and misrepresented what they had said about the McClelland drawing.

He would have to do as much, or something equally dramatic, before he could possibly claim every doctor had verified the accuracy of the McClelland drawing, correct?

Circumnavigating the Globe

Wrong. Let's explore then how Livingstone handles Bradlee's 1981 interviews in *High Treason*, co-authored by Robert Groden, and published in 1989... In a footnote on Bradlee's article, he relates *"I am grateful for the work that the Globe people contributed to this investigation, and for turning it over to me. I earned it."*

Hubba..whaa? Did Livingstone forget how their work helped undercut his own?

Or had he decided to just ignore the interviews they'd obtained that ran counter to his thesis?

Neither, actually. In *High Treason*, it was advanced that *"Livingstone, The Baltimore Sun, and Ben Bradlee, Jr. of The Boston Globe have compiled the testimony of a number of additional witnesses, and the startling conclusion of their work is clear: the autopsy pictures are fake"* and that, furthermore, *"upon seeing the official government autopsy photograph of the back of the head for the first time, each witness independently denounced it."*

Well, heck, that's quite a statement, particularly in that Bradlee thought the evidence inconclusive, and

far from "clear." So what was Livingstone up to?

Apparently, a good old-fashioned whitewash...

Here's how he explained the Globe's failure to replicate his results... He offered *"Just prior to Ben Bradlee's Boston Globe trip to Dallas, the evidence he was about to gather was subject to a powerful negative influence, which changed the results he might otherwise have collected. A book was published by David Lifton--Best Evidence--which revolved around the question we are dealing with in this book: why the alleged autopsy photograph does not show the wounds as they were described by all of the witnesses. In addition to the theory it propounded, the book gave the erroneous impression that there was a flap of scalp on the President's head which covered up the large hole in the back. This book promptly became a best-seller for five months. The flap of scalp story convinced some of the doctors co-author Livingstone and The Baltimore Sun had interviewed to change their feelings about the picture..."*

Yes, you read that right. Rather than acknowledge the obvious--that the Parkland witnesses were not in total agreement--Livingstone claimed David Lifton had convinced *"some of the doctors"* that the hole they'd seen was covered up by a flap by the time of the autopsy, and that the autopsy photos were therefore authentic, but misleading. Well, this avoids the inconvenient truth these witnesses not only said the photos looked legit, but also said the McClelland drawing was inaccurate.

I mean, really... As if these doctors would have claimed the photos were fake if that spoil-sport Lifton hadn't convinced them otherwise... This is silly in the extreme... There's no evidence any of the doctors interviewed by the Globe ever subscribed to Lifton's theory, or looked to him for guidance when interpreting the autopsy photos...

Feel free to laugh...

And observe how Livingstone further dispenses with the Globe's article in High Treason...and scream...

(His words in bold.)

"On June 21, 1981, the Globe published an article based on taped testimony basically corroborating the authors' findings. It appears that the Globe editors attempted to water down this powerful evidence, discrediting the secret autopsy pictures by quantifying their results on a scale of 1 to 10. They had to literally change--or loosely interpret--the testimony of some witnesses. Although the Globe found overwhelming evidence that the pictures are false, the evidence they claim supports the autopsy photographs appears very weak when we realize that all the doctors they cite as-Supporting the picture had previously denounced it.

Ben Bradlee, Jr. wrote co-author Livingstone, "Dear Harry: Here is the story as it appeared yesterday. It is not as I wanted it, as the enclosed copies of my original drafts will attest. There was so much haggling over the piece, however. I was glad just to be done with it and get it in the paper. Note your acknowledgement at bottom left. Thanks for the book. Best regards, Ben."

Of all the many witnesses, the Globe counted four who they felt supported the picture. Three of the four had made strong statements denouncing the picture at one time.

(Note: it wasn't four; it was six.)

The Globe wrongly interpreted the data on doctors Giesecke, Jenkins, Perry, and Carrico, for they all had been led to believe--after their interviews with the author and the Sun-- that there was a flap of scalp on the back of the head which was pulled down to show an alleged entry wound. We have already seen that the autopsists hotly denied that there had been an entry wound in that region, and they said, like many other Dallas witnesses, that there was no scalp there to be pulled down, Lifton's theory notwithstanding.

(So, Livingstone had decided to ignore Baxter and Grossman... His failure to acknowledge their statements supporting the photo to The Globe is indeed suspicious. Baxter's Warren Commission testimony described a "*temporal parietal plate of bone laid outward to the side*" and he told The Globe the tracing of the autopsy photo "*did not conflict with his memory.*" And yet, in his 1981 article describing his interview with Baxter, Livingstone had at first misrepresented Baxter's testimony before the Warren Commission, claiming he'd told them "*There was a large, gaping wound in the back of the skull,*" when he'd actually said "*There was a large gaping wound in the skull,*" and then claiming he "*questioned*" the photos. Elsewhere in High Treason, Livingstone claimed that when he interviewed Baxter in 1979, Baxter told him that "*without question the back of the head was blown away*" (his interpretation of Baxter's words), and that Baxter had actually said "*It was a large gaping wound in the occipital area.*" Well, hold it right there. Livingstone's article on his 1979 interviews reported merely that Baxter had "*questioned the autopsy photos,*" and not that he'd said the wound was in the occipital area--which would have been a change from his Warren Commission testimony. It seems likely then that Livingstone was lying and trying to hide that Baxter was not a "back of the head" witness--I mean, why not admit that Baxter had told The Globe the photo didn't conflict with his memory? As for Grossman, well, he said that the large wound of exit was in the parietal area--where it is depicted in the autopsy photos. This was, of course, most inconvenient for Livingstone and Groden's position this wound was low on the back of Kennedy's head.)

Dr. Giesecke confirmed to The Globe that the back of the head was missing, but he had been told--after Livingstone had spoken to him and before The Globe's visit--about the alleged flap of scalp. The Globe erroneously interpreted this as meaning that he no longer felt there was a large hole in the back of the head. Trying to explain this, Dr. Giesecke later wrote co-author Livingstone: "in doing so (pulling down the flap), the underlying bony defect is obscured," making clear that the large hole was still there.

(This hides that Giesecke placed the wound at the top of the back of the head, and not low on the back of the head where Livingstone claimed it was, and that Giesecke had told The Globe the McClelland drawing was inaccurate.)

The Boston Globe completely ignored the evidence co-author Livingstone had obtained from Dr. Jenkins, and claimed that the doctor agreed with the autopsy photographs (without being shown them by the Globe). Dr. Jenkins is not quoted or mentioned in the Globe article, but the following statement is used by him to discredit what Jenkins had said before: "I thought it was cerebellum, but I didn't examine it." They wrote in their notes that he was therefore mistaken in his statements concerning the hole in the back of the head, and they presumed that he had never looked at the back of the head. It was this, and only this, that the Globe used in their rejection of Jenkins' clear position that the large hole was above and posterior to the right ear, which he in fact pointed out to Bradlee, whom he made lie down for the demonstration.

The House Assassinations Committee interviewed Dr. Jenkins in November 1977. He told the

investigator that he "was the only one who knew the extent of the head wound." "His location was customary for an anesthesiologist. He was positioned at the head of the table so that he had one of the closest views of the head wound. Regarding the head wound, Dr. Jenkins said that only one segment of bone was blown-out--it was a segment of occipital or temporal bone. He noted that a portion of the (lower rear brain) cerebellum was hanging out from a hole in the right--rear of the head." They did not show him the autopsy photographs.

(This was a bit silly. Why would any paper accept "the evidence" obtained by someone else, while working for another paper, and ignore their own interviews? Jenkins said he didn't see cerebellum, and that he'd never looked at the back of Kennedy's head. That was a retraction from his earlier statements, and confirmed that he'd rejected the accuracy of the McClelland drawing. If he'd pointed to a spot on the parietal bone slightly behind Kennedy's ear, when the wound in the photos was slightly in front of Kennedy's ear, it was of little matter. Livingstone could no longer claim him as a "back of the head witness." And his attempt at keeping him in the flock reeks of desperation.)

The Sun published the fact that Dr. Malcolm Perry hotly denounced the picture, but The Globe, although they did not interview him, said that he supported the autopsy photograph. They did not print the denial or any reference to this doctor. In any event, The Sun's intensive interview with Dr. Perry was conducted in front of witnesses, and the results corroborated the testimony of every other witness who had been interviewed up to that time.

The Assassinations Committee interviewed Dr. Perry in 1978, but did not show him the autopsy photographs. Perry told the interviewer that he had looked at the head wound and that it "was located in the 'occipital parietal' region of the skull and that the right posterior aspect of the skull was missing." It does not make sense that Dr. Perry and the only other two Parkland doctors (Jenkins and Carrico) the Committee interviewed would have somehow changed their observation that the back of the head was missing for the Boston Globe.

In addition, the testimony of Dr. Perry to the Warren Commission, and his extensive first-hand experience with the wounds, makes any later retraction attributed to him not credible.

(This was equally silly. Livingstone asserts that Perry's retraction can be ignored because he--Livingstone--finds it not credible. Perry was Kennedy's main physician at Parkland, and Livingstone's claims we can dismiss his most recent recollections on the wounds are nonsense.)

The fourth witness, Dr. Carrico, made such contradictory statements to the Globe that it would be inaccurate to count him as supporting the picture. Dr. Carrico told the Warren Commission: "The wound that I saw was a large gaping wound, located in the right occipitoparietal area. I would estimate it to be about 5 to 7 cm. in size, more or less' circular, with avulsions of the calvarium and scalp tissue. As I stated before, I believe there was shredded macerated cerebral and cerebellar tissues both in the wounds and on the fragments of the skull attached to the dura.""

When interviewed in January 1978 by the House Assassinations Committee, Dr. Carrico repeated the same thing: "The other wound was a fairly large wound in the parietal, occipital area. One could see blood and brains, both cerebellum and cerebrum fragments in that wound....The head wound was a much larger wound than the neck wound. It was five by seven centimeters, something like that, 2 1/2 by 3 inches, ragged, had blood and hair all around it, located in the part of the parietal occipital region...above and posterior to the ear, almost from the crown of the head," that is, just where the small entry wound shows in the alleged autopsy photograph. It would have been

impossible for this to be true without showing on the photograph.

Dr. Carrico was not interviewed by the Globe, but he wrote them two contradictory letters. In nearly all other cases, the witnesses have just as clear a picture of the events of November 22, 1963 today in 1988 as they did then.

(Livingstone thereby demonstrates his lack of understanding of a topic he really should have studied: the reliability of eyewitness testimony. In reality, the clarity of the picture has almost nothing to do with the accuracy of the picture.)

The first spontaneous, emotional response of a witness is the most credible. In legal terms, such evidence bears the indicia of truth and reliability, before the witness has a chance to be subjected to conflicting influences and pressures, and/or reflect on his own self-interest. Eyewitnesses can be very wrong, depending on the circumstances, but the medical witnesses at Parkland, the President's wife--who held his head in her lap--and other officials and agents present in Dallas cannot all be wrong.

(More nonsense. Mrs. Kennedy's statements did not suggest a wound on the far back of her husband's head. And the part about emotional responses being the most credible--is GARBAGE!)

Dr. Robert Grossman, now a Professor and Chairman of the Department of Neurosurgery at the Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, had just joined the staff at Parkland at the time of the assassination as an Instructor in Neurosurgery. He never testified to the Warren Commission or to the Assassinations Committee. He said that he saw two large holes in the head, as he told The Globe, and he described a large hole squarely in the occiput, 'far too large for a bullet entry wound, which would have shown in the disputed picture. It does not.

(Seriously? Grossman said the large hole was at the top of Kennedy's head, exactly where it is shown in the autopsy photos. Livingstone and Groden's pretending the entrance wound he claimed to see on the back of Kennedy's head was the same wound described by others, and proof the photos are fake, is deceptive, to say the least.)

Since the Globe did not take into account the previous testimony taken by Livingstone and the Baltimore Sun, it would seem that by their own standards, any testimony or position on the issue of the validity or lack of validity of the autopsy photographs should be discounted--especially if they did not actually speak to the witness. The Globe and Ben Bradlee, Jr. had no contact whatsoever with Dr. Kemp Clark or Nurse Diana Bowron, yet the Globe placed them on their chart ranking as 9s on a scale of 1 to 10, ten meaning total disagreement with the autopsy photographs.

(This is a bit bizarre. He's attacking the Globe for doing exactly what he did in his article for the Sun--including the statements and testimony of witnesses before the Warren Commission that SUPPORT the possibility there was a large wound on the back of the head. And his description of the interviews he'd conducted for The Sun as "testimony" is both self-serving and deceptive.)

Dr. David Stewart wrote Livingstone on DeCember 11, 1981: "I enjoyed our phone conversation and I appreciate your sending the material. I'll try to answer your questions as well as I can.

"On the Joe Dolan radio show, I meant to indicate that there was no controversy concerning the wounds between the doctors in attendance. I was with them either separately or in groups on many

occasions over a long period of time.

"Concerning exhibit F-48, there is no way the wound described to me by Dr. Perry and others could be the wound shown in this picture. The massive destructive wound could not remotely be pulled together well enough to give a normal contour to the head that is present in this picture." We would have to say that if Dr. Stewart did not actually see the wound, then this is hearsay evidence insofar as what he saw or did not see. What is admissible in evidence here is what he was told by Dr. Perry, the wound described to him.

Dr. Jackie Hunt, like Dr. Bashour, was not interviewed by The Globe, but Livingstone showed her the picture in 1979 and she instantly denounced it. She did not see the back of the head because she was standing directly over the President, but she insisted that the back part of the head was blown out and rejected the official picture. "That's the way it was described to me," she said, saying that the back of the head was gone." Had the large defect been anywhere else, she would have seen it and described it. Dr. Akin said that if you looked directly down on Kennedy, you could not see the large hole." Therefore, Dr. Hunt's testimony is significant.

Dr. Hunt responded to Livingstone's question: "So, the exit wound would be in the occipital-parietal area?" "Yeah, uh-huh. It would be somewhere on the right posterior part of it..." She pointed to the sketch from Six Seconds In Dallas: "That's the way it was described to me." "I went around this way and got the equipment connected and started--but I saw the man's face like so, and I never--the exit wound was on the other side--and what was back there, I don't know. That is the way it was described to me," she said, pointing to the sketch showing the large hole in the back of the head. "I did not see that. I did not see this part of his head. That would have been here," she said, and put the palm of her hand on the back of Livingstone's head. She did this before Livingstone showed her the sketch from Thompson."

(Well, that's a bit deceptive, wouldn't you say? Livingstone included the statements of two witnesses who admitted they'd never seen the wounds they were describing and that what they were saying was hearsay. Well, no one--most certainly not The Globe--disputed that some of the doctors thought the wound was on the back of Kennedy's head, and that others thought that at one time but had now changed their minds. So what was the point in finding a witness to their saying so, beyond skewing the numbers and giving the impression a higher percentage of the doctors thought the wound was on the far back of the head? I mean, REALLY? We're expected to dismiss the most-recent statements of Jenkins, Perry, and Carrico--three doctors who'd actually worked on Kennedy--and accept the second-hand recollections of Stewart and Hunt, who didn't even see his wounds? And speaking of Hunt, let's recall that in his rejected article for The Sun, Livingstone claimed that she didn't "fully endorse" the autopsy photos. Well, no wonder. She hadn't even seen Kennedy's wounds!)

It should be noted, however, that Livingstone is more of a zealot than a snake-oil salesman. In the years since High Treason, to his credit, he has published interviews with witnesses that ran counter to his previous claims. In Killing the Truth (1993), he published the transcript of an interview he'd obtained from long-lost Parkland nurse Diana Bowron, in which she told him Kennedy's head wound was "basically almost the size of a saucer, and sort of from the occiput. So there was quite a reasonable amount missing from the top as well." She then drew a top view of Kennedy's head, which Livingstone also published. It had an area on the right side stretching from above the ear on back marked "missing." Well, this was totally at odds with the "McClelland" drawing Livingstone previously had championed.

It seems likely, in fact, that Livingstone has come to doubt the accuracy of the "McClelland" drawing.

In High Treason 2, published 1992, he cited a 7-21-81 interview of Parkland Nurse Doris Nelson conducted as a response to The Globe's article the month before, in which she firmly rejected both the autopsy photo of the back of Kennedy's head and the "McClelland" drawing. She told Livingstone: *"All I saw was missing skull and brains on the back of his head right there...There wasn't any bone there where that entry hole shows in the picture."* When then shown the McClelland drawing, she claimed *"It looked like that, but it's too low. It was where the cowlick is in this picture. There was nothing there...The hole in the drawing was too low. It was right there, in the right rear."* Well, heck, this confirmed for Livingstone what she'd previously suggested to Bradlee--that the McClelland drawing was inaccurate.

But it's worse than that. When discussing Nelson's rejection of the McClelland drawing, Livingstone added *"She said the same thing about that drawing which Dr. McClelland had told me."* Oops. Keep in mind that this interview was in 1981 and that High Treason, co-authored by Robert Groden, was not published until 1989. In High Treason, Livingstone (and Groden) claimed Nelson disputed the accuracy of the autopsy photo, but said nothing of her opinion of the McClelland drawing. In it, they claimed McClelland had told the Baltimore Sun and Boston Globe the drawing was *"accurate."* In the photos section of High Treason, moreover, they claimed that the "McClelland" drawing *"was verified by every doctor, nurse, and eyewitness as accurate."* Now here was Livingstone, in 1992, admitting that this claim was untrue, and that at least two of the witnesses he'd interviewed in '79 and '81 had told him the wound in the drawing was too low. It's also of interest, then, that Livingstone's 1981 article on his 1979 interview with McClelland claimed *"Dr. McClelland said that it (the drawing) accurately portrays what he 'vividly remembers' seeing on the operating table after the president was rushed into emergency."* Perhaps, then, Livingstone (and Groden) considered a witness' saying the wound in the McClelland drawing resembled Kennedy's wound a *"verification"* of its accuracy, even if they said it was in the wrong spot.

If so, then, well, this was something they should have told their readers.

The Case For Conspiracy



Dr. Paul Peters in JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, while pointing out Kennedy's head wound location: "Right about there is where I thought the hole was: occipital-parietal"



Dr. Paul Peters in The Killing of a President, p. 87: "...right there, occipital parietal"



Jerrol Custer in JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, while dragging his hand from his forehead all the way back to the base of his skull: "From the top of the head almost back to near the base of the skull, it seemed that that part was gone."



Jerrol Custer in The Killing of a President, p. 88: "From the top of the head, almost to the base of the skull, you could see where that part was gone."



Paul O'Connor in JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, while tracing the outline of a massive wound from front to back on his skull: "(There was) an open area all the way across into the rear of the brain like that."



Paul O'Connor in The Killing of a President, p. 88: "(There was) an open area all the way across into the rear of the brain."

When one watches the interviews of Paul Peters, Jerrol Custer, and Paul O'Connor in Robert Groden's DVD JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, one finds evidence for a most surprising conspiracy—a conspiracy to deceive the readers of Groden's book The Killing of a President, and make them think these men were describing an exit wound low on the back of the head.

The Case For Conspiracy

When one compares the interviews presented in Robert Groden's 1993 video JFK: The Case For Conspiracy with the synopsis of these interviews presented in his 1993 book The Killing of a President, moreover, one can find clear-cut evidence for deception.

In the video, Dr. Paul Peters points out his recollection of the head wound location. As shown on the slide above, it was at the crown of Kennedy's head. So why does Groden, in his book, present a photo of Peters pointing to the far back of his head, barely above his ears? Was Groden pulling a fast one in order to help sell that Peters' recollections were consistent with the proposition the Harper fragment was occipital, and that the "McClelland" drawing was accurate?

If so, then the irony is palpable. David Lifton, in the 2011 forum post cited above, cited Peters' 1966 recollection of looking down into Kennedy's wound and seeing cerebellum as evidence the wound was low on the back of Kennedy's head on the occipital bone, and the Harper fragment was occipital bone. Lifton hates Groden...so much so that he wrote a near-book length article on Groden's deceptions for the 2003 book The Great Zapruder Film Hoax.. Well, here was Peters, in a 1993 Groden video, claiming the head wound was 4 inches or so above where Lifton still claims Peters thought it was. This blows Lifton, who boasted, after all, that *"There is no comparison between an 'eyewitness to the shooting'--who may have had a fleeting glimpse of the President (and his wounding), a glimpse lasting a few seconds, and the observations of someone like Dr. Peters, who was in the Emergency Room, and had a chance to observe the wounds at close hand (just inches away), and with the experience of a trained physician"* completely out of the water.

The irony, then, is that Groden, in his book, presents an image of Peters (from apparently the same interview as the one shown in his video) pointing to the far back of his head, suggesting the possibility Peters DID say something to indicate the wound was on the far back of his head at one point in the

interview.

Of course, if he HAD actually pointed to the far back of his head in the interview, and indicated this was the exit location, it only makes sense that Groden would have used that footage in his video. The likelihood, then, is that Peters was, in the image used by Groden, pointing out the occipital region of the skull, and NOT where he thought he saw the exit wound...and that Groden pulled a switcheroo.

That Groden would willfully misrepresent Peters' recollections is not just speculation, by the way. As we've seen, in Groden's previous book, *High Treason*, he and his co-author Livingstone told their readers that the accuracy of the "McClelland" drawing had been verified by every doctor. Seven pages later, they presented a photograph of a 1979 letter from Dr. Peters to Livingstone, accompanied by a copy of the "McClelland" drawing with an "X" marked on it by Peters. In his letter, Peters explained *"I have marked an 'X' on the picture which more accurately depicts the wound, although neither is quite accurate. There was a large hole in the back of the head through which one could see the brain."* Then, twenty-four pages later, Groden and Livingstone discussed this letter. They reported: *"Co-author Livingstone first showed the official picture to Dr. Peters in 1979, along with the sketch approved by Dr. McClelland. He returned them, marking with an X the sketch of a large exit wound on the back of the head as being accurate, and rejected the official picture."*

Yep. You read that right. Peters told Livingstone the drawing wasn't *"quite accurate,"* and Groden and Livingstone turned around and claimed he'd verified its accuracy.

The next two deceptions have already been touched upon and are slightly more nebulous.

In the interviews presented in Groden's video, Jerrol Custer and Paul O'Connor demonstrate on themselves the dimensions of a wound stretching from the right front of Kennedy's head across the top and down along the back of Kennedy's head. Where Custer starts the wound and where O'Connor presents the wound at its widest is presented on the slide above. In Groden's book, however, he presents an image from the interview with Custer grabbed just as Custer's hand reaches the base of his skull to demonstrate the lowest part of the wound. He then quotes Custer, not quite accurately, saying that *"From the top of the head almost to the base of the skull, you could see where that part was gone."* Well, this is quite deceptive. When put right next to the photo of Custer with his hand at the base of his skull, Custer's use of the word "top" implies the top of the back of the head, not the front of the head, as shown in the video.

Groden's presentation of O'Connor is even more suspicious. While the quote attributed to O'Connor in *The Killing of a President* comes directly from the interview presented in Groden's video, the photo of him pointing to the back of his head comes from a different interview entirely. This suggests that a decision was made not to use an image from the interview in which O'Connor depicted the dimensions of the wound with his index fingers, and to instead present a photo of O'Connor pointing to the back of his head. This, of course, is deceptive. While the reader has no idea what O'Connor was saying when he pointed back behind his ear for that photo, it's clear he was NOT saying there was a fist-sized wound back behind the ear, a la Dr. Crenshaw, whose placement of the wound would otherwise appear to be identical.

From "mistakes" such as these, in which Groden misrepresented the statements of Custer and O'Connor to insinuate that the wound they saw was similar to the one observed by Crenshaw, it's easy to see why Lifton, whose own theory requires they saw a quite different wound, holds Groden in such low regard.

Head Scratcher #1001

Here's a quick aside, which I believe is both illustrative and entertaining. On May 17, 2011, while

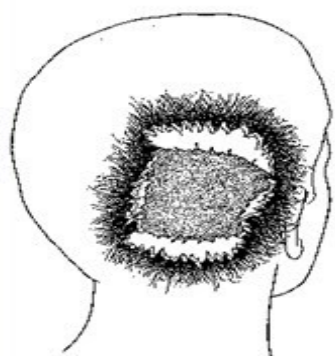
discussing Kennedy's head wounds on the Education Forum, an online forum to which I regularly contribute, I posted The Case for Conspiracy slide above to demonstrate Groden's misrepresenting the recollections of the witnesses to suggest there was little difference between the recollections of the Parkland and Bethesda witnesses. This met with the following response from Dr. James Fetzer: *"The man is perpetrating a fraud. O'Connor and Custer were describing the wound AFTER HUMES HAD ENLARGED IT. Peters and McClelland were describing it AS IT WAS OBSERVED AT PARKLAND. David Lifton selected the wrong target when he went after me about 9/11. He should instead be gutting this guy regarding JFK!"*

Well, the "man" in the post was me. Fetzer had misunderstood the slide and had thought it was I who was proposing the descriptions matched, and not Groden. Well, this was incredibly ironic. You see, the "fraud" I was accused of perpetrating--trying to convince people the wound descriptions of the Parkland and Bethesda witnesses were actually quite similar--was one of the main thrusts of a 43 page article by Dr. Gary Aguilar in *Murder in Dealey Plaza*, a book conceived and edited by...Dr. James Fetzer!

Yep... On page 187, before describing the statements of the many witnesses, Dr. Aguilar claims *"In sum, on the location of, if not the exact size of, the major portion of JFK's skull defect--right rearward--there is NO disagreement between the autopsy report and both the Dallas witnesses and the autopsy witnesses."* And, should one think this a typo, on page 197, after discussing a few of the Parkland witnesses who'd recently changed their story, he claims that the early accounts of these witnesses *"were ONE with the reports of over 40 witnesses who saw JFK both at Parkland Hospital and in the morgue at Bethesda."* (Emphasis added).

And yet this was all news to Fetzer, who ultimately undermined the authority of his book (and indirectly himself) by acknowledging Aguilar was mistaken.

Sleight of Hole?



In Robert Groden's video, JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, a discussion of Kennedy's head wound becomes a case study in confusion. First, as the "McClelland" drawing at left above is shown, the narrator claims "The doctors from Parkland Hospital ALL described a massive exit wound on the President's head..." The skull sculpture at middle above is then shown, and the narrator finishes "... behind the right ear and extending into the occipital area which is at the extreme rear of the head." Hmmm... Then, a few minutes later, after discussing the recollections of the Bethesda witnesses, some who described a wound from front to back, Groden presents the skull sculpture and says "A bullet striking the president in the right temporal area would have exited in the occipital region in the rear of the head, and this would be completely consistent with the wound seen by the Dallas doctors." Hmmm... maybe, but the wound in front of the ear most certainly would not! Anyhow, later, after showing the autopsy photo marked with the circle at right above, Groden claims, of these very same witnesses: "Everyone said the area within this circle was gone." Well, heck. Only minutes before he'd shown some of these witnesses the version of the photo at right, and they'd agreed that the much smaller wound added onto this photo was similar to what they'd remembered. What was he up to? Was he pulling a fast one?



Sleight of Hole?

Unfortunately, it appears that Groden is more than mistaken.

As discussed, in his best-selling and highly-influential book *High Treason* Groden held that the wound location depicted in the "McClelland" drawing *"was verified by every doctor, nurse, and eyewitness as accurate,"* and that these witnesses described an *"exit wound... almost squarely in the back of the head (the occiput)."* Now, as we've seen, the photos in his subsequent book, *The Killing of a President*, prove this wasn't true.

But I guess that never sunk in... By the time of the interview presented in the 2008 documentary, Frame 313: *The JFK Assassination Theories*, Groden's story had sprouted wings. Where his claims had once had a kernel of truth--the witnesses he spoke to did indeed think the wound was further back on Kennedy's head than shown in the autopsy photos--he now claimed that of the witnesses he'd spoken to *"Every single one--not one, not two--more than 20 have said the photographs that show the rear of the head intact are forgeries."* Well, this wasn't true. While Groden may have come to believe from the statements of these witnesses that the photos were forgeries, most of them never said anything about the photos being forgeries. Many of them, in fact, specified that they thought the photos were accurate depictions of Kennedy's wounds, and that they were simply mistaken about what they'd remembered.

And yet, as recently as his 11-18-10 appearance on Black Op Radio, Groden was still claiming that he'd interviewed about 20 Dallas doctors, and that *"every single one of them, without exception, said that the shot that killed the President--the fatal shot--came from the right front--entered the right temporal area--and blew out the back of his head."*

Well, hell's bells. He's just wrong. Very very wrong. Wrong as wrong can be. Not only did few if any of these witnesses claim the official autopsy photos are forgeries, very few if any of these witnesses

described an exit wound that anyone could honestly claim was *"almost squarely in the back of the head"* and NONE of these witnesses said they saw an entrance wound in the right temporal area.

Now, to be fair, Groden's not the only one spreading this nonsense. In his 2010 book *Hear No Evil*, Don Thomas claims *"The opinions of the Parkland Hospital doctors that Kennedy was shot in the right temple was based largely on the blown out condition of the occiput, which they knew to be characteristic of an exit wound."*

But Groden, who has only been studying the case for forty years, and has spoken to the Parkland doctors, ought to know that none of these witnesses saw an entrance by Kennedy's right temple, and few, if any, have ever said they suspected there'd been such an entrance.

Now, one might take from this that the man's a big liar...

But when one watches his video, *JFK: The Case for Conspiracy*, it's hard not to conclude that he's simply stuck in a groove, and that he's a much better salesman than truth-teller.

In this video, to be clear, Groden pulls off quite a trick. First, while the "McClelland" drawing is shown the audience, the narrator claims "The doctors from Parkland Hospital ALL described a massive exit wound on the President's head..." A skull sculpture showing a wound from front to back is then shown, and the narrator finishes "...behind the right ear and extending into the occipital area which is at the extreme rear of the head." Hmm...Groden can't be trying to imply the Parkland witnesses saw a wound this massive, can he?

Groden then proceeds to discuss Dr. Cairns' conclusion the Harper fragment was occipital bone. He shows his viewers where this would place the wound--on the far back of his head. Then, while discussing Jackie Kennedy's testimony about holding her husband's skull on, he puts his hand to the back of his head at the level of his ear in the occipital region. Well, this suggests the large head wound was in this location, correct? Low on the back of the head in the occipital bone...

Uh, not entirely... Only moments later, after discussing the statements of the Bethesda witnesses, two of whom, Custer and O'Connor, described a wound stretching from the front of Kennedy's head to the back and down to the base of his skull (in other words, the state of Kennedy's head AFTER the scalp was reflected and skull fell to the table) Groden officially introduces the sculpture of Kennedy's damaged skull briefly shown earlier; this sculpture depicts a large head wound stretching all the way from the right temple to the occipital bone. Well, this is a bit strange. This sculpture, in effect, combines the wounds apparent on the Zapruder film and autopsy photos with the wounds described by the Parkland witnesses--the wounds most believe are in conflict. Groden then tells his audience "A bullet striking the president in the right temporal area would have exited in the occipital region in the rear of the head, and this would be completely consistent with the wound seen by the Dallas doctors." Yikes. Is he *really* suggesting the wound observed at Parkland--which the witnesses for the most part claimed was on the back of the head--was the massive wound described by Custer and O'Connor? Apparently, so. Never mind that none of the Parkland witnesses saw an entrance in the right temporal area. Never mind that none of them recalled seeing the large wound in front of the ear described by Custer and O'Connor, and depicted on the sculpture.

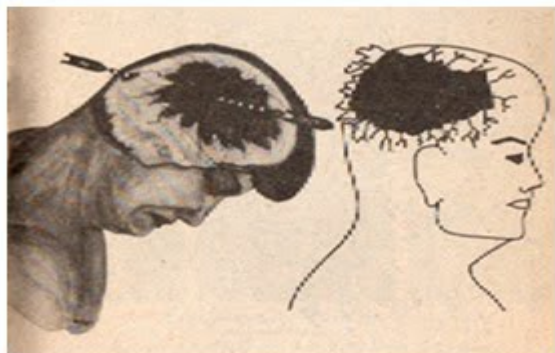
But I digress. Back to Groden's trick. After presenting a few more interviews with "back of the head" witnesses such as Robert McClelland and Charles Crenshaw, and showing some of them an autopsy photo with a wound added-in on the back of Kennedy's head in the parietal region, and getting them to AGREE that this was close to what they saw, Groden sums up their statements by presenting an autopsy photo of the back of the head and claiming "Everyone said the area within this circle was gone." Hmm...now what area was this, you might ask? Well, as shown on the slide above, the area within the circle--the area Groden was NOW claiming was, according to the Parkland witnesses,

missing--was an area on the right side of the back of Kennedy's head, mostly above his ear, primarily in the parietal region, stretching almost all the way to the large defect in front of Kennedy's ear. It was not "almost squarely on the back of Kennedy's head," as Groden had long claimed. It was not a wound primarily on the back of the head, as depicted on the autopsy photo with the wound added-in. It was not a wound beginning in front of the ear, where Groden had implied it was in his video only minutes before. It was not even centered in the occipital region, and consistent with a blow-out of the occipital bone, where Groden had implied it was before that.

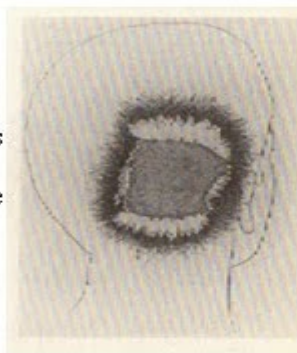
So, what's the trick? Well, think about it. Whether by accident or design, Groden had presented a few Parkland witnesses claiming Kennedy's head wound was toward the back of his head, mostly above his ear, and mixed them in with a few Bethesda witnesses describing a much larger wound, and somehow ended up convincing tens if not hundreds of thousands of people (at one point including myself), this wound was 1) a large wound stretching from the front of the head to low on the back of the skull, 2) consistent with the wound seen in the Zapruder film, and 3) consistent with a blow out low on the back of the head in the occipital bone, when it was really 4) none of the above.

He had, in effect, presented three different versions of the wound--an occipital wound from whence the Harper fragment exploded, a mostly parietal wound of the back of the head seen by the Parkland witnesses, and the large wound on top of the head shown in the Zapruder film and seen at Bethesda--and convinced his audience the witnesses presented in his video supported all three...when they did not. Not even close.

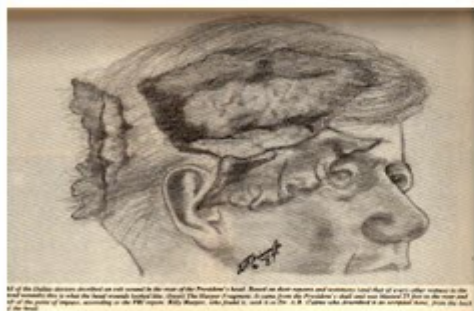
Mr. Groden's Wild Ride



When one looks back through Robert Groden's books and videos, it's clear he's changed his mind about the appearance of Kennedy's head wound at Parkland Hospital. More than once...



In JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, published 1976, Warren Commission Exhibit 388, purported to represent the wound as seen at autopsy, was compared to a drawing of the wound as seen at Parkland Hospital. As demonstrated at left above, the wounds in these drawings were nearly identical. As demonstrated at right above, however, this wound would by 1989's High Treason split itself in two, with the wound as seen at Parkland now strictly on the back of Kennedy's head, in the location of the wound in the "McClelland" drawing (at near right) and a second wound unnoticed prior to autopsy by Kennedy's temple.



By 1993, however, the two separate wounds presented in the drawing by Ed Chiarini at left (which had been featured in High Treason), had merged to become the one gigantic wound on the sculpture by Ed Chiarini at right (which was featured in The Killing of a President). This new and enlarged wound, moreover, was now proclaimed to be "completely consistent" with the wound observed in Dallas. Really?



Mr. Groden's Wild Ride

Now, to be fair, it seems more than likely that Groden, in his pretending the wound described by Custer and O'Connor was the wound observed at Parkland, did not think he was deceiving anyone, and that no one has been more victimized by Groden's deceptions than Groden himself.

I write this, in part, because I've met the man, and believe him sincere. For many years, on weekends and holidays, he has stood on the grassy knoll, talking to tourists and those with an interest in the assassination. He has spent much of this time correcting misconceptions about the assassination. Apparently, however, he has spent so much time and energy defending his own take on the medical evidence, that the facts have, for him, become somewhat blurred. While he once noted inconsistencies between what the Parkland witnesses described and what is apparent in the Zapruder film, he has, over time, come to ignore these inconsistencies. Perhaps to simplify things for those looking for a quick explanation... Perhaps to simplify things for himself..

This is best demonstrated by retracing Groden's steps. In his first book on the assassination, JFK: The Case For Conspiracy, published 1976, before he'd gained access to the autopsy photos, Groden and his co-writer F. Peter Model followed Josiah Thompson's lead and proposed that Kennedy had been hit twice in the head, first from behind and then from the front, and that the difference between the head wound as described by the Parkland doctors and Bethesda doctors was largely a difference of perspective, with the Parkland doctors describing the large hole on Kennedy as an exit on the back of the head, and the Bethesda doctors describing this same hole as an exit on the top of the head.

With the publication of Lifton's Best Evidence in 1981, and its focus on the incongruity of the Parkland and Bethesda descriptions of the head wound, however, such a position was no longer practical. So, with High Treason, published 1989, Groden and his co-writer Harrison Livingstone presented a bit of a compromise. As shown on the slide above, they presented the "McClelland" drawing created for Thompson as a depiction of the ONE WOUND observed at Parkland, as the exit wound of a bullet entering at the large defect in front of Kennedy's ear shown on the Zapruder film and autopsy photos. They claimed the autopsy photos failing to show this wound had been "forged." They claimed, furthermore, that the top of the head wound shown on the Zapruder film was "*easily overlooked*" by the Parkland doctors after Mrs. Kennedy closed up her husband's head. Now, when one looks at the autopsy photos showing a gaping hole at this location, this claim is awfully hard to believe. But they had an explanation for this as well. Yes, in the photo section of the book, in a caption to the autopsy photo of the top of Kennedy's head, they asserted, "*The conspirators sawed off the top of the head and removed the brain and bullets before the autopsy.*"

Well, this, right there, revealed the incredible sloppiness of Groden and Livingstone's theories. When discussing the "back of the head" photo, they reported that all the witnesses said it failed to show what they remembered, and that the photo must therefore be a fake. They then wrote that the failure of "some" of the witnesses to stand by their earliest impressions the photo was a fake, was because they'd become aware of David Lifton's theory the body had been altered, and had concluded the hole on the back of Kennedy's head had been covered by a flap for the photo. They then spent two whole pages (49-51 in the paperback) explaining why Lifton's theory made no sense, in large part because they'd spoken to Kennedy's friend, David Powers, and he'd assured them that he and others loyal to Kennedy had kept watch on Kennedy's casket for the whole trip from Dallas.

So when, exactly, did THEY propose "*the conspirators sawed off the top of the head?*"

In any event, with The Killing of a President, published 1993, Groden further distanced himself from Lifton's "body alteration" theory, and wrote it off as an "*assassination myth.*" This left him with no explanation for the Parkland witnesses' failure to note the large hole on the top of Kennedy's head seen in the Z-film. No matter. None offered. Second, where he once presented a drawing showing two large

head wounds--an entrance on the top of the head by the temple, and a blow-out in the occipital region--by artist Ed Chiarini, as a depiction of *"what the head wounds looked like,"* he now presented a sculpture by Chiarini of one large wound stretching from front to back. Never mind that none of the Parkland witnesses described such a wound. Never mind that the Bethesda witnesses describing such a wound were almost certainly describing the wound after the scalp was reflected, and skull fell to the table.

From these changes then, I think it's fair to assume that Groden, like so many of us, has trouble making sense of all this, and that his deceptions are rooted in his fervent desire to reconcile the Parkland eyewitness evidence with the Zapruder film, the recollections of the Bethesda witnesses, and his understandable reluctance to accept Lifton's "body alteration" theory.

This is perhaps best illustrated by taking a closer look at one of his more consistent claims.

From High Treason to the present time, Groden has repeatedly claimed there is a "volcano-shape" on the back of JFK's head apparent in the Zapruder film. He claims, furthermore, that this "volcano-shape," apparent for but a fraction of a second, represents a blow-out on the back of JFK's head. In *The Killing of a President*, moreover, he falls prey to exaggeration, and claims that the "McClelland" drawing depicting a blow-out wound mostly below the top of the ear "exactly matches the volcano image appearing in Zapruder frames 335 and 337" mostly above the top of the ear.

What he fails to perceive or acknowledge, however, is that this "volcano-shape" only becomes apparent when Jackie Kennedy runs her hand across her husband's back, from his right shoulder back toward his head, and that the "volcano-shape" is almost certainly an illusion created by her white glove blocking out part of her husband's head. (This is shown below, in a GIF file created by Bill Miller).



Now, this error by Groden--his thinking a blow-out is apparent on the Z-film and that the statements of the Parkland witnesses are therefore not at odds with the film--is highly suggestive that he is prone to

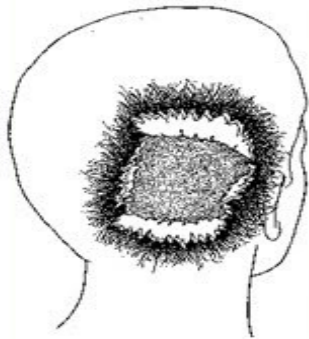
suggestion, and has a desperate desire to believe both that the film is accurate and that the head shot came from the front.

Now, to be fair, Groden's far from alone in seeing things in the film that really just aren't there. In *Head Shot*, published 2010, research physicist G. Paul Chambers once again demonstrated what we should already know--that having an education is not all it's cracked up to be. In his effort to demonstrate that the medical evidence is hopelessly conflicted, and therefore of little help in understanding what actually happened, Chambers both ignores important evidence and makes a number of strange claims about the evidence he does acknowledge. Astoundingly, not only does he fail to mention that the Dealey Plaza witnesses supported the accuracy of the Zapruder film and autopsy photos, he insisted that the Zapruder film, autopsy photos and autopsy report were in conflict, as the Zapruder film failed to show a wound on the top of the head.

This is nonsense of a supreme order. While watching the film, or while looking at the Gif file above, a disruption of the outline of the top of Kennedy's head is painfully obvious. A bone flap angled down near his face is even more obvious... Well, where does Chambers think this bone flap came from? Amazingly, the side of Kennedy's head. Yep, while discussing Zapruder frame 333, towards the end of the sequence above, he not only claims that "No visible damage of any kind is apparent at the top of the head, from the right ear to the top of the sagittal crest" but that "The only visible damage is to the right side of the head."

Chambers' clear mistake puts Groden's mistake in context. One might even venture that everyone to study this case in detail has come to have a theory, and that having a theory has led them to seek support for their theory, and occasionally see things that just aren't there.

The Slippery Slope



High Treason, 1989: This drawing was "verified by every doctor, nurse, and eyewitness as accurate."

When one compares the descriptions and depictions of Kennedy's head wound in Robert Groden's books and pamphlets, one becomes aware of an alarming fact. Whereas he once claimed that the wound depicted in the "McClelland" drawing, at top left, was verified to be accurate by the Parkland witnesses, and excused their lack of acknowledgement of the bone flap seen on the Zapruder film with the claim the flap was closed en route to the hospital, he later suggested they'd seen the bone flap, and still later suggested they'd seen the one massive wound from front to back he believes was observed at the autopsy.



High Treason, 1989: "How the wounds actually looked."



The Killing of a President Dealey Plaza Memorial Edition, 1998: "a computer generated version of (an autopsy) photograph restoring the original rear exit wound according to nearly thirty witnesses to the head wound."

He seems aware of this slide down the slippery slope. By 1998, he'd stopped claiming that the Parkland witnesses had verified the accuracy of the "McClelland" drawing, and had instead begun claiming that "the nature of the head wound" in the "McClelland" drawing had been "confirmed" by the witnesses, along with the fact "that the exit wound was in the rear of the head." This concealed that none of the witnesses had confirmed the "entrance" wound in front of the ear Groden swears by.



JFK: The Case for Conspiracy, The Killing of a President Memorial Edition: 2008: "The original photograph showing the rear exit wound according to nearly thirty witnesses to the head wound."

The Slippery Slope

Groden's mistake regarding the "volcano-shape" would be less troublesome, however, if Groden hadn't also--through his presentation of Ed Chiarini's sculpture in *The Killing of a President*, and in his pamphlets for sale in Dealey Plaza--suggested what anyone who's studied the case knows just isn't true: that the large head wound above and in front of the ear shown in the Zapruder film was readily observed at Parkland. This just ain't so. None of the Parkland witnesses described an entrance on the front of Kennedy's head, and none of them noted the large defect in front of Kennedy's ear readily apparent in the Zapruder film.

Not that Groden will admit as much. Nope, in one of his worst mistakes or biggest lies, take your pick, Groden implies in *The Killing of a President* that the wound shown on the Zapruder film was observed at Parkland, by claiming "Dr. McClelland, who had been called to the Trauma Room when Mr. Kennedy was admitted to Parkland Hospital, said that the cause of death was attributable to 'a massive head and brain injury to the right temple.'" Right temple. He wrote "right temple." Only that's the wrong temple. Yep. As we've seen, McClelland, in what he would later admit was a mistake, actually wrote "The cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple." Groden had completely misquoted him, and changed the meaning of his words.

While I acknowledge it is possible McClelland *did* see the wound shown on the Zapruder film, and *meant* to say the wound he saw was on the right temple, Groden certainly should not have presented him saying as much in an exact quote, and his doing so is highly deceptive. His presenting Jerrol Custer and Paul O'Connor in his book as witnesses to a wound on the far back of the head when they in fact described a wound stretching from the front to the rear is, of course, also problematic. A more conservative researcher/writer would not have written, as Groden did in *The Killing of a President*, that the wound seen at Parkland was a "large hole in the right rear of the head," and then offer that "The

autopsists also described the wound as such, but larger," without admitting that the recollections of the Bethesda witnesses actually differed substantially from the Parkland "back of the head" witnesses. A more conservative, and *reliable* researcher, for that matter, would NEVER present a colorized version of an autopsy photo--with a large head wound added onto the photo stretching from front to back--and then claim this was the "original" photo, "according to nearly thirty witnesses," as Groden does in a pamphlet for sale in Dealey Plaza. I mean, that's just not true. One can only wonder how many of those buying or even browsing through this pamphlet and seeing this photoshop of horrors have walked away from Groden's table in Dealey Plaza thinking they'd seen the original autopsy photo without realizing that none of the Parkland witnesses Groden implies had verified this photo had actually done such a thing.

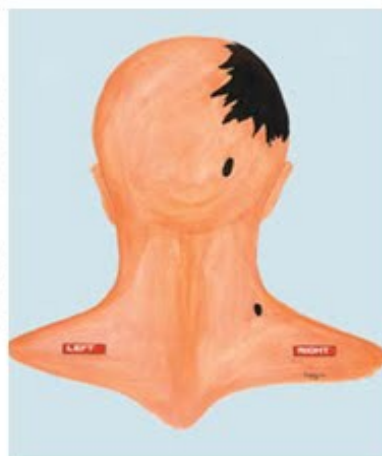
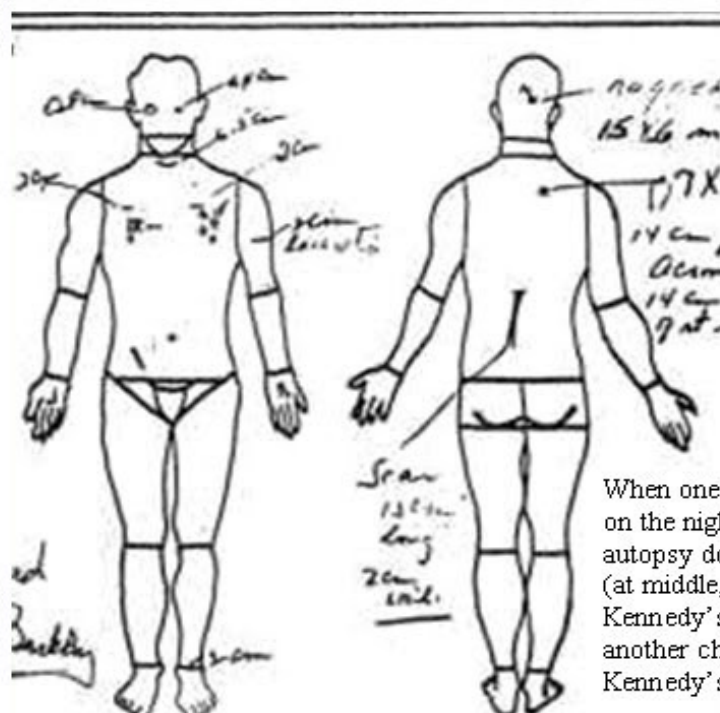
"Groden's "mistakes," in sum, lead me to suspect that, in his desperation to refute Lifton's theory the body was altered between Parkland and Bethesda, he has taken some serious short-cuts, and inadvertently deceived his readers. One simply can't trust him on this stuff.

And yet... it cannot be ignored that the locations given for the head wound by the "back of the head" witnesses seem to group around the "area within the circle" discussed by Groden in his video...a few inches higher and forward of the wound in the "McClelland" drawing, and a few inches back of the wound in the autopsy photos.

Chapter 18d: Reason to Believe

Why I believe the autopsy photos are authentic, and the Parkland witnesses were wrong

The Missing Mark



When one compares the face sheet depicting Kennedy's wounds created on the night of the autopsy (at left) with CE 386, a drawing made for the autopsy doctors to help them with their Warren Commission testimony (at middle, above), one notices, almost immediately, that the location of Kennedy's back wound has changed. Equally intriguing, however, is another change—the addition of a large exit wound on the back of Kennedy's skull. This raises a number of questions...

1) Since the face sheet depicts every wound and incision on Kennedy's body, save the large head wound, shouldn't we take from this that the wound was not visible when viewed from in front or behind (as supported by the autopsy photo above?) 2) Since the doctors changed the back wound location for the drawings created for the Warren Commission—almost certainly to help minimize discussion of a possible conspiracy—wouldn't they, should they have been determined to misrepresent the head wound location as well, have depicted the wound in CE 386 more forward on the skull? And 3) Isn't it possible, even likely, that the head wound appearing in CE 386 was not depicted on the face sheet because it was not apparent at the beginning of the autopsy, and only became apparent when the scalp was peeled back?

The Missing Mark

Since so many witnesses thought Kennedy's large head wound was further back on his head than the wound depicted in the photos, what can we take from this fact, if not that the wound was really on the back of his head, and the photographs fakes?

Well, as strange as it may seem, the fact that so many described a wound further back on the skull than is depicted on the autopsy photos and x-rays has actually solidified my conclusion that the wound was as depicted in the autopsy photos and x-rays.

The keys to this admittedly strange conclusion are the Rydberg drawings made under the supervision of the autopsy doctors, and admitted into evidence by the Warren Commission as Exhibits 385, 386, and 388.

When one compares the face sheet created at Kennedy's autopsy with CE 386, the assumption the back of the head witnesses were mistaken takes root. Since the evidence is clear the back wound has been moved between these two drawings, and since our study of the back wound suggests this was no accident, it only makes sense that, should the autopsy doctors have had concerns about there being a large exit wound on the back of Kennedy's head, they would have moved that, too.

But that's not what happened. While the location of the large head wound is not depicted on the face

sheet, it *is* presented on the back of Kennedy's head on CE 386.

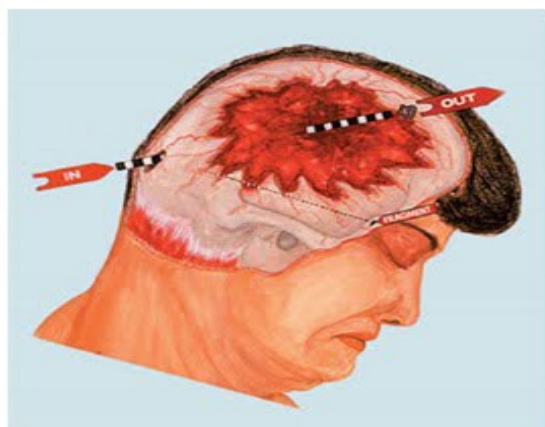
Hmmm...let's put on our thinking caps.

Hmmm...does the absence of the large head wound from a face sheet marking every other incision and wound suggest that this wound was not readily visible from the front or behind? Possibly.

Hmmm...is this possibility supported by the autopsy photos, which, strikingly, show the large head wound to be nearly invisible when viewed from behind. Yes, absolutely.

Hmmm...since there is hair on the president's head in the other drawings created for the Warren Commission, CE 385 and CE 388, is the lack of hair on his head in CE 386 suggestive that this was how the doctors thought his skull might appear beneath his hair and scalp? Yeah, sure.

Reason to Believe



Since the eyewitnesses, taken as a whole, suggest the large head wound was NOT on the far back of Kennedy's head, as proposed by most conspiracy theorists, but on the upper right side of his head, a few inches back of where it is shown in the autopsy photos (at left and center, above), a thought occurs... WHY would anyone fake photos of a wound in this location to hide that a shot was fired from the front when such a wound could simply be described as an exit? As seen at right, CE 388, the drawing of the wound published by the Warren Commission, presented the wound in the middle of the right side of the skull, where it could be an exit for a shot from either the front or the back. Since our study of the back wound suggests the doctors deliberately misrepresented *its* location in their drawings, why would the government have taken the extra step and moved the head wound forward for the photos no one was supposed to see, then let the doctors slide it back on the drawings everyone would see?

Reason to Believe

Hmmm...since the depiction of the damage to the back of the head on 386 is essentially the same as on 388, in which hair is presented, is it fair to assume from this that the autopsy doctors, and by extension the Warren Commission, were largely unconcerned about how having an exit on the back of Kennedy's head might appear? Yep. You got it.

Well, this, then, supports that there was no mass conspiracy to hide the wound on the back of the head suggested by the Parkland witnesses, and that the autopsy photos were not faked, and that, instead, the

Parkland witnesses were simply --er, rather, not so simply -- mistaken.

If the wound was on the back of the head, after all, and the face sheet the accurate depiction of the President's wounds conspiracy theorists believe it to be (because it is so problematic for the single bullet theory), well, then, why isn't the wound on the face sheet?

If the doctors were willing to move the back wound to help support the single assassin theory, after all, then why not move the head wound to support this theory? As we've seen, they exaggerated Kennedy's forward lean in 388, and helped sell that the fatal shot came from above. So why, if there were concerns about a wound on the back of Kennedy's head, not just move the wound forward of its location in 386 and 388?

Hmmm...since it makes no sense whatsoever for the government to fake top secret photos to hide a wound in the location described by the bulk of the back of the head witnesses, and then publish drawings of a wound in that same location, we can rightfully assume those claiming the wound was further back than in the photos...were mistaken.

But if this is so--if the head wound did not in fact stretch to the back of the head where so many claimed to have seen it...well, then, why? How could they be so mistaken?

Hmmm...let's put back on our thinking caps...

Well, one possible factor in so many of the Parkland witnesses thinking the wound was further back than as shown in the autopsy photos has to do with the way people perceive the human face. While recollections of the exact location of the President's head wound varied from being on the top of his head to being at the very back of his head, all the witnesses remembered clearly and correctly that the wound was not on his face. It seems likely then that the main focus of everyone's attention was in fact the President's face. When one considers that most people perceive their ears as representing the far sides of their face, it's possible to understand how a witness to a wound not on a face could remember it as being a wound behind the ear. And once someone remembers something incorrectly they will usually continue to remember it incorrectly, as their mind loses its original impressions and becomes instead a memory of what they most recently remembered.

The research of Dr. Elizabeth Loftus provides us with a model for this kind of argument. On Table 3.1 of her book *Eyewitness Testimony* she presents a chart demonstrating memory accuracy in relation to saliency or importance. This shows that when it came to salient details, (what was determined after the event to be most frequently discussed or noticed) the recollections of the eyewitnesses to the event used as a test were up to 98% accurate, while the recollections of the details that were less widely noticed were as low as 64% accurate. Since no one at Parkland Hospital had a clue where the shots came from, or what the position of the limousine was on Elm Street when the shots were fired, there is no reason to believe the exact location of the President's head wound would have been considered a salient detail. What one might assume was a salient detail was whether or not the President's handsome face had been damaged, since on that detail the witnesses were 100% accurate. Admittedly, this is working backwards. Perhaps someone can design a test to see if people used to looking at something in an upright position, such as the President's face, will remember a defect on the top of that object while it is lying flat, as a defect on its back.

Professor Barbara Tversky of Stanford University has conducted a number of tests similar to the one I've proposed. In her articles and papers, available online, she describes studies that demonstrate:

- 1) People engage in selective rehearsal when they retell events, leaving out certain details to accomplish a maximum effect. The re-telling of these events reinforces certain aspects of the event and downplays others. Over time, the original memory is replaced by the memory that has been re-told.

(This could help explain why so many witnesses' stories have changed.)

2) When people talk about their emotional response to a traumatic event, they encode a better memory of their emotional response to the event, but make more mistakes in free recall. (This could help explain why the stories of the most passionate witnesses have changed the most.)

3) When people are forced to take a position of advocacy on an event on which they initially had no bias, their memories become biased as a result. (This might help explain the behavior of Earl Warren and Arlen Specter.)

4) People tend to describe environments as if they were viewing them from above. (Since Kennedy's wound on the top of his head was on the far side of those standing at the foot of his bed, this might cause them to remember it as being on the back of his head, the *far* side when viewed from above.)

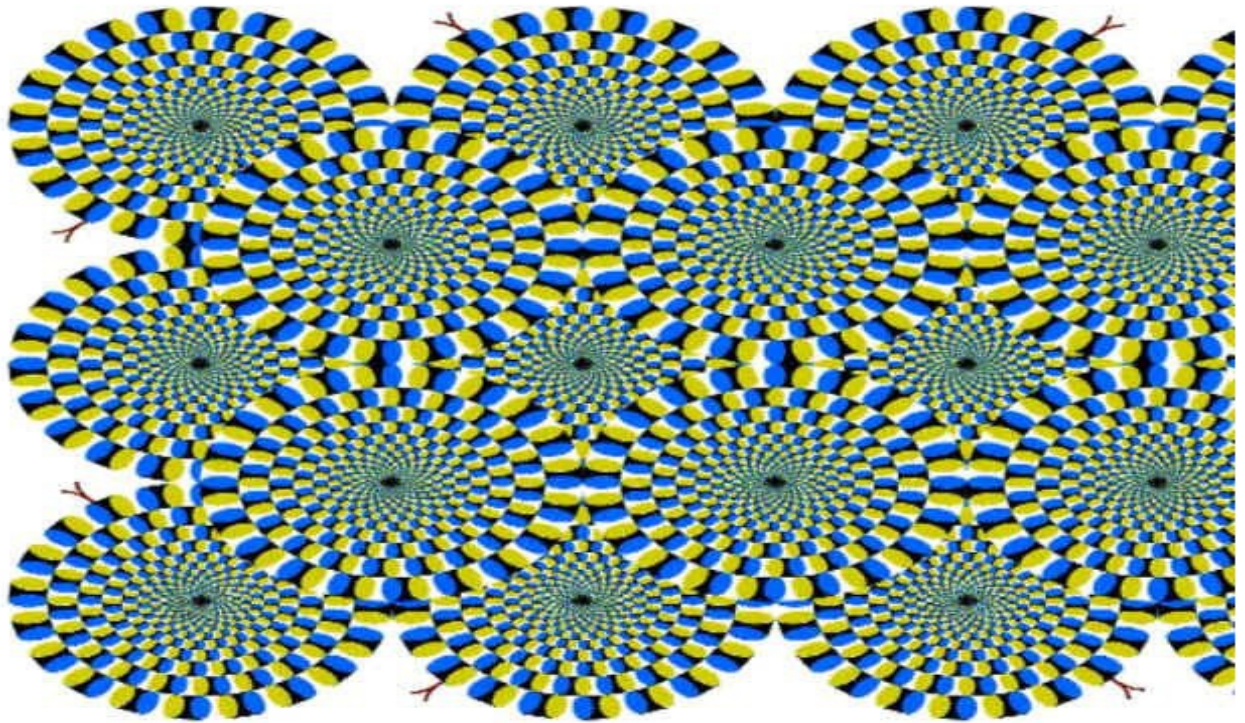
5) Mental rotation of an image is one of the most difficult transformations made in the human mind. (Dr. Robert McClelland, who stood at the head of the table looking down on Kennedy and whose later statements and drawings have been used by conspiracy writers to support that the President's large head wound was on the *back* of his skull, originally stated "The cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the *left temple*." There were others who remembered the head wound being low on the back of the head, where they couldn't have even seen it.)

6) People make small corrections in their memory. Nearly symmetric items are remembered as more symmetric than they really are. When people are shown two outlines of South America, for instance, one as it appears on a map and one as it would appear if its northern-most point was directly in line with its southern tip, people incorrectly pick the "corrected" version when asked to pick the actual shape of the continent. (Perhaps this explains why some of those who remembered the wound as being on the back of Kennedy's head had clear memories of it being smack dab in the middle of the back of his head.)

Unfortunately, regular contact with researchers, who've tracked down eye witnesses years after the fact and asked questions about details that witnesses would normally not remember even the next day, has almost certainly added to the decay in eyewitness reliability. When attempting to remember things so far in the past, witnesses are likely to inadvertently mix together their memories with suggestions offered by the researchers, and accidentally create false memories. While a question such as "Did you see any men behaving strangely?" might illicit a simple "no" for an answer, a question such as "You know there are a lot of us who believe there was a headshot from the area of the grassy knoll, and the Zapruder film reveals the shot came from the front...A number of others recall seeing a man in a hat. I was wondering if you saw anyone running in that direction..." might illicit "Y'know, I think maybe there was someone. It seems I recall a man in a hat running over there. Yeah, I remember."

While not making a specific reference to the Kennedy assassination, a July 2009 segment on CBS' 60 Minutes dealt with this very issue. Iowa State University Professor Gary Wells, interviewed by Leslie Stahl, detailed a study in which people were shown a tape of a crime, and then asked to identify the perpetrator in a line-up. Despite the fact the perpetrator was not in the line-up, most selected the suspect bearing the closest resemblance to the perpetrator. Now, this would be bad enough, but Wells studied the effect of positive re-enforcement on this identification, and received some startling results. He found that when his subjects were lied to and told they'd made a correct identification, they were more than 6 times as likely to say they'd had a good look at the suspect. He also found a more than 350% increase in those claiming they were "certain" of their identification in those who'd been told they'd been correct. This, of course, not only suggests that the memories of many of the eyewitnesses "friendly" to conspiracy theorists have been tainted, but that the memories of many of the witnesses "friendly" to the position Oswald acted alone, who continue to be convinced of his sole guilt without ever studying the case, are equally tainted.

Perceptions of Perception



Nothing is moving in the image above. The movement is all in your mind.

Perceptions of Perception

But how can this be, you might ask? Can the memories of doctors, seasoned professionals, while on the job, be as unreliable as that of an average Joe witnessing a crime?

Absolutely. The more I have read of cognition and memory, the more I have become convinced that the Parkland witnesses who remembered seeing one large wound on the *back* of Kennedy's head were mistaken, and that they had mis-perceived or mis-remembered a wound that was in fact in front of Kennedy's ear. One's perception of reality is highly subjective, a mixture of what one expects to see, what one wants to see, and what is actually there. Magicians and illusionists have known this for centuries. TV producers are aware of this as well (see the chapter entitled Bullshit and Beyond).

A discussion of cognition and memory follows...

The Encyclopedia of the Paranormal notes that "We all have a blind spot in our visual fields that our brains fill in. In the area of the retina where the branches of the optic nerve collect to exit the eyeball all visual receptors are pushed aside. Thus there is no registration of stimuli from the corresponding area in space. Yet none of us notices the gap—the brain fills it in by extrapolating the scene on all sides of the blind spot." *(This means that a certain percentage of what we actually see is invented in our minds based upon what we expect to see. This has implications for memory as well. FWIW, I also read about this in a Time/Life book on the senses.)*

Additionally, Blackmore, in *Dying to Live*, notes that "under severe psychological stress, physiological trauma, or attentional manipulations such as meditation, sensory deprivation or hypnosis the brain's representational apparatus may lose access to the sense data that are ordinarily its most predictive and useful inputs. So deprived, it begins to search for the next best alternative, usually images stored in

memory banks.” (This leads me to believe that watching the death of a much-loved or respected person might hinder a witness’ ability to accurately remember the fatal wounds. More specifically, the sight of Kennedy lying dead on his back may have led some or all of the Parkland witnesses to remember images of him while he was alive, and standing up. These images of an erect Kennedy may have led to their remembering the wounds on his body as though he were standing up. A wound behind his ear while he lay on his back--at the top of his head-- might thereby have been transposed to a wound behind his ear while standing--at the back of his head. Admittedly, this is reaching...)

Even so, a 1992 article in *Memory and Cognition* by Reinitz, Lammers, and Cochran confirms: “Miscombination of stored stimuli features can produce illusions of memory.” They then break down that: 1) “research has supported the notion that memories are sometimes reconstructed at the time of retrieval;” 2) “research has clearly demonstrated that subjects mistake their inferences for material that they had actually experienced;” 3) “Underwood (1969) proposed that memory for an event consisted in a collection of quasi-independent attributes such as spatial relations between stimulus items, stimulus frequency, etc;” 4) “findings demonstrate that in many situations, subjects can retrieve some stimulus features in the absence of others.” They then summarize their findings by stating “previously encountered stimuli that cannot be consciously remembered can unconsciously affect judgments by producing a feeling of familiarity...in the current experiments, the subjects were unable to explicitly remember all of the stimuli they had seen during study. Instead, the subjects based their recognition responses partly on the degree to which the stimuli seemed familiar. Since conjunction stimuli contained more old features than did feature stimuli, they produced greater overall familiarity and so were judged as old (familiar) more often.” *(From this it seems likely that, in opposition to the beliefs of most researchers, the Parkland doctors would be more likely to remember the locations of Kennedy’s wounds incorrectly than would laymen. They knew what the President looked like. They knew what a gunshot wound on the back of the head looked like. Thus, a mental image of the president with a wound in this location would feel more familiar to them than to non-medical personnel.)*

Still, researching how doctors might *remember* a wound incorrectly is probably beside the point. Since most of the doctors at Parkland reported Kennedy’s head wound incorrectly from their earliest reports, we need to explore whether so many could logically *perceive* something incorrectly in the same manner (or nearly the same manner—the exact location of the rear head wound as depicted by the Parkland witnesses in Robert Groden’s book *the Killing of the President* varies slightly from photo to photo). A 1979 article in *Cognitive Psychology* by Nickerson and Adams demonstrates that often people will recall items they look at every day incorrectly and in a fairly uniform manner. They found that of the eight features (front and back) of four U.S. coins--pennies, nickels, dimes, and quarters--the average American could accurately recollect only three of them. A 1983 article in *Memory and Cognition* by Rubin and Kontis followed up on this and found that when asked to draw the front sides of these four coins from memory, the drawings most frequently created by the participants in their study depicted the President’s left profile (the penny, in fact, depicts Lincoln’s *right* profile), centered (the dime, in fact, displays Roosevelt’s head to the *right* of center), with the words IN GOD WE TRUST across the top (the penny, in fact, is the *only* coin with those words across the top), the value of the coin, i.e. one cent, five cents, etc., across the bottom (*none* of them, in fact, have the denomination on the front side of the coin) and the year written horizontally on the right (the quarter displays the year on the bottom and the nickel has it vertically on the right). None of the coins as most commonly recalled had the word LIBERTY on the front of the coin, when, in fact, it is on the front of every single one of them. When Rubin and Kontis asked their subjects to suggest a design for a new coin, moreover, they found that the most common design suggested was identical to the most common representation of the other coins—a left profile with IN GOD WE TRUST across the top, the year on the right and the denomination on the bottom. *(This suggests that people’s visual memories are not like cameras and that the specific features of an image can be altered in one’s memory to fit a pre-conception of the image. More importantly, it*

suggests that these pre-conceptions are not random and that there is something about the way we process information that distorts the substance of the information we process.)

This last point is re-enforced by the following exercise.

Count every ' F ' in the following text:

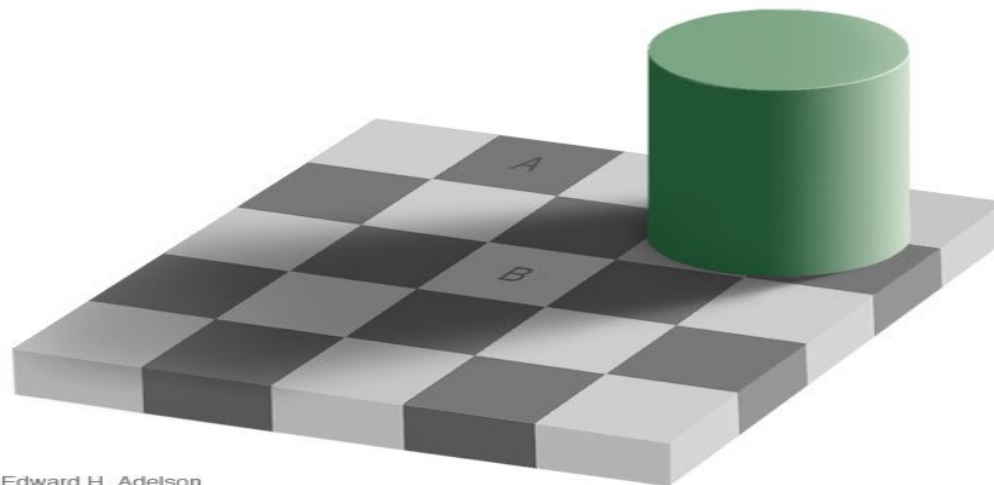
FINISHED FILES ARE THE RESULT OF YEARS OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY COMBINED WITH THE EXPERIENCE OF YEARS...

Now, how many were there?

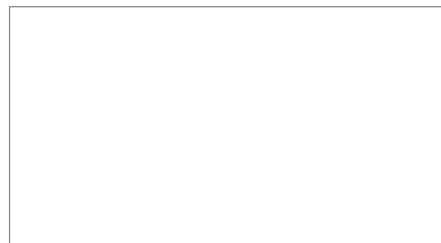
3? 4?

Wrong. For some reason, when people are asked to look for "F"s they almost always overlook the "F"s in words where the "F" makes the sound of a "V", such as the "F" in "of". There are three "of"s in the above text. The correct answer is therefore six. That we can be blind to letters right in front of our face simply because the words containing these letters use these letters in unorthodox ways undoubtedly supports that we can be confused by the appearance of an object, and think something on the top of someone's head, was on the back of his head. I mean, I looked at the above text three times before I spotted the three "of"s. And I was looking for the "F"s.

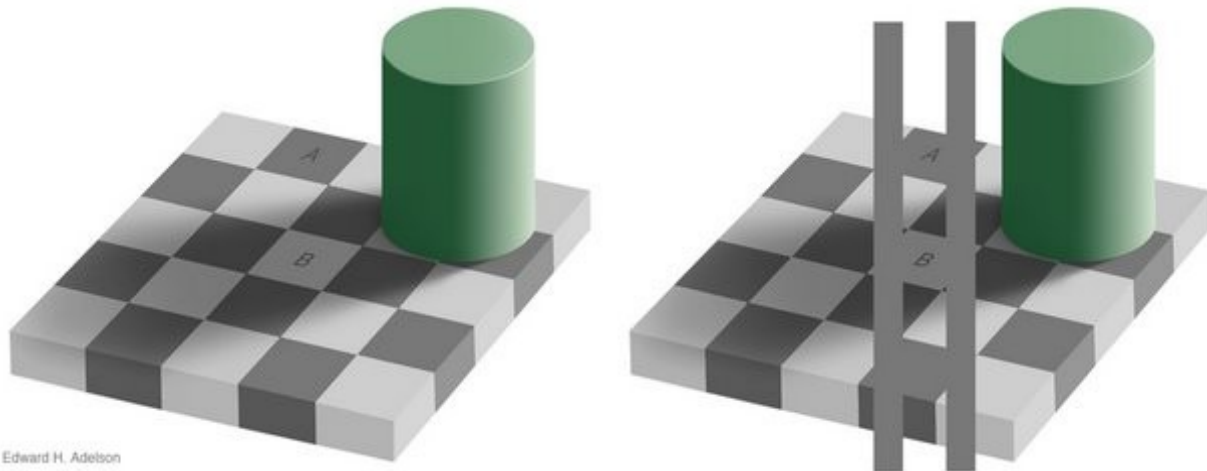
Should one doubt that eyewitnesses could uniformly misinterpret something as basic as the location of a head wound, however, one should look at the illusion below created by Edward Adelson. Square A is darker than square B, right? I mean, we can all tell dark from light, right?



Edward H. Adelson



Wrong again. When one follows a line the shade of square A down to square B, one can see that square A and square B are indeed the same shade, and that our brain has adjusted for the shadow coming from the cylinder by perceiving square B at a shade lighter than its actual shade.

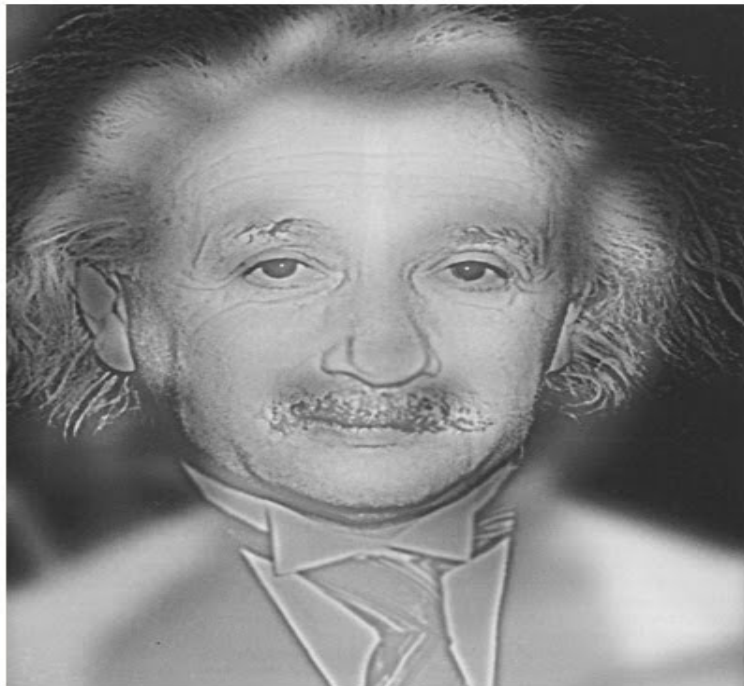


Edward H. Adelson

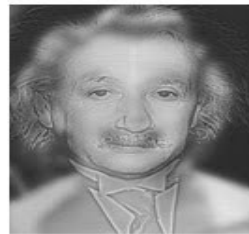
So, could the "shadows on a checkerboard", so to speak, lead the Parkland witnesses to improperly recall the location of Kennedy's head wound?

Or is there something intrinsically different about improperly perceiving shades of gray and improperly perceiving the appearance of another human being?

A Matter of Perspective



The portrait of Einstein at left is an image designed to demonstrate the effect perspective can have on an image. (Image published in the March 31, 2007 edition of New Scientist, and the May 2009 edition of Wired.)



When the image is seen from a greater distance or is made smaller, as above, the fine crinkly hair and mustache become harder to perceive, and the image of Einstein begins to transform.



When seen from even further away, or made even smaller, in fact, the image of Einstein at left becomes, gulp, the image of Marilyn, above.

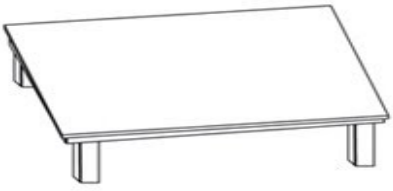
A Matter of Perspective

The Einstein-Monroe illusion, in which an image of Albert Einstein becomes an image of Marilyn Monroe as it grows smaller to the eye, demonstrates that the fine details of an image that can not even be seen from distance can drastically change one's perception of the image when viewed from up close.

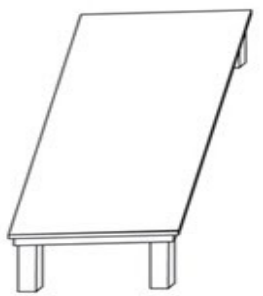
This should make us wonder if there were some minor details visible in the autopsy photos--which show the large head wound to be on the front half of Kennedy's skull--which escaped the attention of the eyewitnesses claiming the wound was on the back of the head.


In the Einstein-Monroe illusion the addition of crinkly hair, crinkly eyebrows, and a mustache, which can only be seen when viewing the image up close, changes the image from one of Monroe to one of Einstein. Was there a detail missing from the Parkland witnesses' recollections that led them to improperly recall the location of the large head wound?

Rotation and Perception




At left and right: Shepard's Tabletop Illusion. The rotation of the table at right contributes to its appearing longer and thinner than the table at left. They are in fact the same size. This shows that the rotation of an object alters our perception of the object.





At left and right: the Margaret Thatcher Illusion. The face at left is the upside down face of Britain's former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, right? Not exactly. It's the face of Ms. Thatcher with her eyes and mouth as normally seen inserted into an upside down picture of her face. It looks a little odd.

When we flip it over, however, as at right, we see that this face is more than a little odd, it is positively monstrous. Our different perceptions of these two images—which are in fact the same image—shows that rotation has a tremendous influence on our perception of facial features.



Rotation and Perception

I suspect there was. When I began researching facial recognition I was surprised to find that there has been a substantial amount of research on the difficulty of properly interpreting faces when seen upside down. The results of this research support the conclusion that the Parkland doctors' seeing Kennedy solely while he was lying on his back--and thus in a rotated position-- played a factor in their subsequent confusion about the exact location of his wounds.

In an article in the Journal of Vision entitled "Are Faces Processed like Words?" Marialuisa Martelli, Najib J. Majaj, and Denis G Polli decided yes, they are. They also noted that just as we have trouble reading words upside down we have great trouble reading faces upside down. This is significant as Kennedy's head wound could not have been viewed while looking at his face from the front. As he was lying on a stretcher, a wound on either the top or the back of his head could only have been viewed with his face in profile or upside down. A 1986 article in the Journal of Experimental Psychology by Diamond and Carey indicates that expertise has little bearing on this issue. Their studies showed that dog experts had as much trouble identifying upside down photos of individual dogs as non-experts. A 1987 article by Young, Hellawell and Hay in Perception is also helpful. They found that when they made photographic composites of famous faces their subjects had more trouble recognizing the faces when looking at them right side up than when looking at them upside down. They concluded that when faces are viewed right side up people interpret them as a whole, but when turned upside down they

recognize them based upon their isolated features. This research was supported by a 1993 study reported in *Cognitive Psychology* by Bartlett and Searcy. Their research indicated that altered faces with inverted eyes and mouths were perceived as being far less grotesque when viewed upside down than when viewed right side up.

A 1998 article in *Perception* by Dominique Valentin, Heve Abdi, and Betty Edelman further tracked the accuracy of facial recognition against rotation. They found that people were more than twice as likely to identify a face incorrectly when it was rotated 90 degrees. They also found that people use two strategies in facial recognition. When rotated less than 30 degrees, faces are identified by their configuration, i.e. how the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears all fit together. (Thus, they process the features collectively, or “wholistically”.) Faces rotated more than 30 degrees, however, are identified by their peculiarity, i.e. their distinctive marks.” (Thus, they process the features separately.) Those seeing Kennedy in the crowded emergency room, therefore, would most logically have recorded the images of his head wound without a specific reference point. Upon recall, however, they might very well have remembered that the wound was surrounded by hair and in back of the ear. The wound described by the doctors and the wound seen on the photos are both in the hair *and* behind the right ear, when viewed from different angles. If a doctor remembered the location incorrectly, and discussed its location with his colleagues afterward, he might very well have influenced their memories as well.

The effect rotation or inversion of an image has on our ability to measure spatial differences has also been studied. A 2000 article in *Perception* by Freire, Lee, and Symons noted that “accuracy in detecting spatial differences among faces fell from 81% with upright presentation to 55% with inverted presentation. By contrast, accuracy in detecting featural differences was unaffected by inversion (91 vs. 90).” Here once again, we see that people are more than twice as likely to make mistakes when reading a face that’s been rotated away from the upright position. A 1990 study reported in *Perception* by Kemp, McManus, and Piggott had achieved similar results. It concluded that “subjects are significantly less sensitive to the displacement of features in negative or inverted faces than they are in normal faces...” Their study also measured recognition errors related to the horizontal movement of features against recognition errors related to the vertical movement of features. They concluded that when photographs are altered via the movement of the eyes further apart, closer together, further up, or further down, people will fail to notice the vertical movement almost three times as often as they will fail to notice the equivalent horizontal movement.

If one is to take these last two studies in tandem, therefore, and assume that half the spatial differences reported in the 2000 study were vertical differences, then one might venture that a person is more than 3 ½ times more likely to make a mistake involving the vertical location of a wound on a man’s head when he is lying down than when upright. Is it just a coincidence then that this is the mistake suggested? Is it so illogical to assume that such a mistake occurred? Further support comes from *Perception of Faces, Objects, and Scenes*, edited by Mary Peterson and Gillian Rhodes. This article summarizes much of the recent research on face recognition and reinforces that we identify faces based upon the relative positions of its features, that we do this best when the face is upright, and that when we identify faces piecemeal, such as when it’s been rotated more than 30 degrees, we make mistakes.

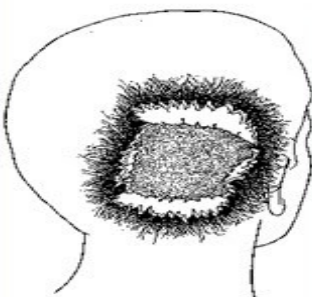
In 2009, while browsing through a 1964 book entitled *Perception*, edited by Julian E. Hochberg, I realized why none of this research regarding facial recognition should come as a surprise. From our youngest days, we learn to recognize people even when they are at a distance... Even when they are at an angle... Even when they are upside down... We don’t look at a far off man and say "Wow! Look how small he is!" We don’t look at an upside down face and say "Holy moly, that man has his mouth where his eyes should be!" No, we look at the upside down face, compare it to what in our mind’s eye we THINK his face would look like if turned upright, and compare it to faces known to us. We then recognize the face as dad looking down at us in our crib.

We continue to do this in adulthood. As a result, when we look at faces at angles other than the upright position in which we normally identify them, we don't actually SEE them as they are. We INTERPRET them in our mind's eye, and compare them to faces we've seen before...in the upright position. It only makes sense then that those looking at Kennedy while he lay on his back would be looking at his face, and identifying his face based upon 1) their interpretation of what his face would look like when upright, and 2) their recollection of what Kennedy looked like when upright. They were not studying his face or his head wounds as they were in three dimensional space. It should not be surprising, then, that some confusion would result...

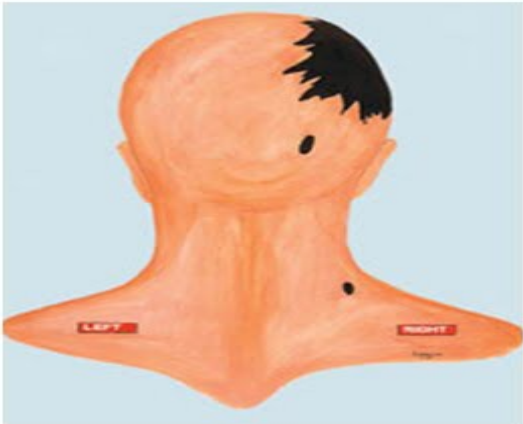
Should one still doubt that our perceptions are so erratic that people might remember a wound behind the ear while lying flat (a wound on top of the head) as a wound behind the ear while standing (a wound on the back of the head) one should contemplate a happy face. Literally. We perceive happy faces and caricatures as representing human faces, but they do not resemble us at all. Our nose is not in the middle between the tops of our heads and our chins, our eyes are. Our foreheads are the same size as our mouth, nose, and chin combined, and yet we scarcely even notice them, let alone represent them accurately on stick figures or gingerbread men... Our acceptance that happy faces resemble faces suggests that we pay little attention to the relative positions of our ears and forehead to our face, and that any wound remembered in relation to our ears and forehead is a wound likely to be remembered incorrectly.


But do the Dallas doctors' earliest statements support this conjecture? Is there anything in their words to suggest they inspected the back of the head, or located the wound in comparison to the hairline or neck?

Statements and Questions



Above: the so-called "McClelland" drawing, purportedly depicting Kennedy's large head wound as observed at Parkland Hospital.





At left and above: Warren Commission Exhibits 386 and 388 respectively, purportedly depicting Kennedy's wounds as observed at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

If the "McClelland" drawing, at left, accurately reflects the location of Kennedy's head wound as determined by his emergency room doctors, then why did these doctors not only not object when the Warren Commission published exhibits showing a wound much higher on the skull, but subsequently defer to the accuracy of the autopsy photos, showing a wound even more forward?

Even if one were to argue that these doctors were intimidated into at first keeping silent, and then admitting a mistake, how can one expect future generations to trust the observations of witnesses who not only failed to act when they had the chance, but admitted they'd been wrong?

Statements and Questions

As one reads the following statements, one should keep in mind the manner in which these statements have been presented by conspiracy theorists of all stripe and color. In his 2006 book *The JFK*

Assassination Debates, historian Michael Kurtz relates that *"Every physician and nurse at Parkland Hospital who examined the President's head wounds described a large wound in the right rear of the head. In other words, they described a bullet wound of exit in the back of the head, which meant that the bullet came from in front of Kennedy because he faced forward. In their original descriptions of the wound in Kennedy's head, Dr.s Malcolm Perry, James Carrico, Robert McClelland, Paul Peters, Ronald Jones, and others clearly described a large wound of exit in the occipital region. In addition, they observed both cerebral and cerebellar tissue coming from the wound."*

This passage, then, implies that all the doctors and nurses saw the same thing: an exit wound in the occipital region oozing cerebellar tissue. Let us see, then, how many doctors, on the day of the assassination, actually claimed 1) the wound was in the occipital region, 2) this wound was an exit wound, and 3) they saw cerebellar tissue coming from this wound.

Appendix VIII - Medical Reports from Doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dallas, Texas

Commission Exhibit No. 392

The President arrived in the Emergency Room at exactly 12:43 p. m. in his limousine. He was in the back seat, Gov. Connally was in the front seat of the same car, Gov. Connally was brought out first and was put in room two. The President was brought out next and put in room one. Dr. Clark pronounced the President dead at 1 p. m. exactly. All of the President's belongings except his watch were given to the Secret Service. His watch was given to Mr. O. P. Wright. He left the Emergency Room, the President, at about 2 p.m. in an O'Neal ambulance. He was put in a bronze colored plastic casket after being wrapped in a blanket and was taken out of the hospital. He was removed from the hospital. The Gov. was taken from the Emergency Room to the Operating Room.

The President's wife refused to take off her bloody gloves, clothes. She did take a towel and wipe her face. She took her wedding ring off and placed it on one of the President's fingers.

Summary

The President arrived at the Emergency Room at 12:43 P. M., the 22nd of November, 1963. He was in the back seat of his limousine. Governor Connally of Texas was also in this car. The first physician to see the President was Dr. James Carrico, a Resident in General Surgery.

*Dr. Carrico noted the President to have slow, agonal respiratory efforts. He could hear a heartbeat but found no pulse or blood pressure to be present. Two external wounds, one in the lower third of the anterior neck, the other in the occipital region of the skull, were noted. **Through the head wound, blood and brain were extruding.** Dr. Carrico inserted a cuffed endotracheal tube. While doing so, he noted a ragged wound of the trachea immediately below the larynx.*

At this time, Dr. Malcolm Perry, Attending Surgeon, Dr. Charles Baxter, Attending Surgeon, and Dr. Ronald Jones, another Resident in General Surgery, arrived. Immediately thereafter, Dr. M. T. Jenkins, Director of the Department of Anesthesia, and Doctors Giesecke and Hunt, two other Staff Anesthesiologists, arrived. The endotracheal tube had been connected to a Bennett respirator to assist the President's breathing. An Anesthesia machine was substituted for this by Dr. Jenkins. Only 100% oxygen was administered.

A cutdown was performed in the right ankle, and a polyethylene catheter inserted in the vein. An infusion of lactated Ringer's solution was begun. Blood was drawn for type and crossmatch, but unmatched type "O" RH negative blood was immediately obtained and begun. Hydrocortisone 300 mgms was added to the intravenous fluids.

Dr. Robert McClelland, Attending Surgeon, arrived to help in the President's care. Doctors Perry, Baxter, and McClelland began a tracheostomy, as considerable quantities of blood were present from

the President's oral pharynx. At this time, Dr. Paul Peters, Attending Urological Surgeon, and Dr. Kemp Clark, Director of Neurological Surgery arrived. Because of the lacerated trachea, anterior chest tubes were placed in both pleural spaces. These were connected to sealed underwater drainage.

Neurological examination revealed the President's pupils to be widely dilated and fixed to light. His eyes were divergent, being deviated outward; a skew deviation from the horizontal was present. Not deep tendon reflexes or spontaneous movements were found.

There was a large wound in the right occipito-parietal region, from which profuse bleeding was occurring. 1500 cc. of blood were estimated on the drapes and floor of the Emergency Operating Room. There was considerable loss of scalp and bone tissue. Both cerebral and cerebellar tissue were extruding from the wound.

Further examination was not possible as cardiac arrest occurred at this point. Closed chest cardiac massage was begun by Dr. Clark. A pulse palpable in both the carotid and femoral arteries was obtained. Dr. Perry relieved on the cardiac massage while a cardiachioscope was connected. Dr. Fouad Bashour, Attending Physician, arrived as this was being connected. There was electrical silence of the President's heart.

President Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1300 hours by Dr. Clark.

Kemp Clark, M. D.

Director

Service of Neurological Surgery

KC:aa

cc to Dean's Office, Southwestern Medical School

cc to Medical Records, Parkland Memorial Hospital

(Note: this summary was written by Dr. Clark. Here he describes the head wound as right occipito-parietal, which would place it above and behind the right ear. As no notes were taken in the ER, however, it seems clear Dr. Clark was relying solely on his memory of a wound seen hours before. As a result, it is not unreasonable to suspect he made a rotation error.)

PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

ADMISSION NOTE

J. F. KENNEDY

DATE AND HOUR 11/22/63 1620

DOCTOR: Carrico

*When patient entered Emergency room on ambulance carriage had slow agonal respiratory efforts and scant cardiac beats by auscultation. Two external wounds were noted. One small penetrating wound of ant. neck in lower 1/3. **The other wound had avulsed the calvarium and shredded brain tissue present with profuse oozing.** No pulse or blood pressure were present. Pupils were dilated and fixed. A cuffed endotracheal tube was inserted and through the laryngoscope a ragged wound of the trachea was seen immediately below the larynx. The tube was passed past the laceration and the cuff inflated.*

Respiration using the resp assistor on auto-matic were instituted. Concurrently an IV infusion of lactated Ringer solution was begun via catheter placed in right leg and blood was drawn for type and crossmatch. Type O Rh negative blood was obtained as well as hydrocortisone.

In view of tracheal injury and decreased BS a tracheostomy was performed by Dr. Perry and Bilat. chest tubes inserted. A 2nd bld infusion was begun in left arm. In addition Dr. Jenkins began resp with

*anesthesia machine, cardiac monitor, and stimulator attached. Solu cortef IV given (300mg), **attempt to control slow oozing from cerebral and cerebellar tissue via packs instituted.** Despite these measures as well as external cardiac massage, BP never returned and EKG evidence of cardiac activity was never obtained.*

Charles J. Carrico M.D

(Note: Dr. Carrico was the first doctor on the scene. Here he fails to specify the exact location of the head wound. But, on 3-25-64 he told the Warren Commission that *"The wound that I saw was a large gaping wound, located in the right occipitoparietal area. I would estimate to be about 5 to 7 cm. in size more or less circular, with avulsions of the calvarium and scalp tissue. As I stated before, I believe there was shredded macerated cerebral and cerebellar tissues both in the wounds and on the fragments of the skull attached to the dura."* This supports his original report. An occipitoparietal wound, of course, suggests a wound higher on the skull than the wound in the "McClelland" drawing, which is almost entirely occipital. It should come as no surprise then that Carrico would later make statements suggesting that the wound was chiefly a parietal wound, above the ear. In 1981, when shown the HSCA's tracing of an autopsy photo by a reporter for The Boston Globe, for example, he said that the official autopsy photograph showed *'nothing incompatible'* with what he remembered of the back of the head. After viewing the autopsy photos in the archives in 1988, moreover, he disavowed his earlier references to occipital and cerebellar damage, insisted he'd been mistaken, and declared instead that Kennedy's wounds were as shown in the photos. And this wasn't just him caving in for a TV documentary, mind you. A 5-27-92 article in the Journal of the American Medical Association quoted Carrico as claiming, *"Nothing we observed contradicts the autopsy finding that the bullets were fired from above and behind by a high-powered rifle."* And, should this not be clear enough, a 6-6-92 article in the Dallas Morning News reported that Dr. Carrico, along with fellow Parkland "witnesses" Drs Baxter, Jenkins, and Peters, attended a forum on Kennedy's wounds sponsored by the Dallas Council on World Affairs, and that Carrico told those in attendance he'd never actually seen Kennedy's cerebellum, but had confused cerebrum for cerebellum *"in part because the brain was so mangled by the bullet."* Writer Harrison Livingstone, for his 1993 book Killing The Truth, obtained a tape of Carrico's comments, and quoted him as follows: *"If I had to testify again today...I would correct or at least be far less definite about seeing cerebellum. We saw significantly destroyed brain and we thought it was cerebrum and cerebellum. I'm not at all sure we saw cerebellum."*

Kurtz score: Carrico does not describe the location of the wound in his original report, although its location can be inferred from his reference to cerebellum. He does not, however, describe this wound as a wound of exit. Kurtz's summary of Carrico's statement is therefore **accurate on 2 of 3 points.**

Somewhat misleading.)

PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

ADMISSION NOTE

J. F. KENNEDY

DATE AND HOUR 22 Nov 1963 DOCTOR: PERRY

Staff Note

*At the time of initial examination, the pt. was noted as non-responsive. The eyes were deviated and the pupils were dilated. A considerable quantity of blood was noted on the patient, the carriage and the floor. A small wound was noted in the midline of the neck, in the lower third anteriorly. It was exuding blood slowly. **A large wound of the right posterior cranium was noted, exposing severely lacerated brain. Brain tissue was noted in the blood at the head of the carriage.***

Pulse or heartbeat were not detectable but slow spasmodic respiration was noted. An endotracheal tube was in place and respiration was being assisted. An intravenous infusion was being placed in the leg.

At this point I noted that respiration was ineffective and while additional venisections were done to administer fluids and blood, a tracheostomy was effected. A right lateral injury to the trachea was noted. The tracheostomy tube was put in place and the cuff inflated and respiration assisted. Closed chest cardiac massage was instituted after placement of sealed drainage chest tubes, but without benefit. Electrocardiographic evaluation revealed that no detectable electrical activity existed in the heart. Resuscitation attempts were abandoned after the team of physicians determined that the patient had expired.

Malcolm O. Perry, M.D.

1630 hr 22 Nov 1963

(Note: Perry simply describes the large head wound as posterior. Within a few days of the shooting, Dr. Perry was the source for an article by Jimmy Breslin in the New York Herald-Tribune which was not so vague, claiming *"The occipito-parietal, which is a part of the back of the head, had a huge flap."* This flap, of course, is readily apparent on the autopsy photos but is nowhere to be seen on the "McClelland" drawing purported to represent the wound as seen by Perry. When testifying before the Warren Commission's attorneys on 3-25-64, for that matter, Perry would further describe the wound as being both in the *"right posterior parietal area of the head exposing lacerated brain"* and as a *"large avulsive injury of the right occipitoparietal area."* On 3-31-64, when testifying before the Commission itself, he would again describe the wound as *"a large avulsive wound of the right parietal occipital area, in which both scalp and portions of skull were absent"* with *"severe laceration of underlying brain tissue."* The wound described was, no surprise, higher on the skull than the wound depicted in the "McClelland" drawing. While Dr. Perry told the HSCA's Andy Purdy in 1978 that *"some cerebellum"* was seen, moreover, he either changed his mind about this or was referring to what someone else claimed to see, as he was reported to have told Gerald Posner in 1992 that he'd never actually seen cerebellum. In support that he'd actually told Posner such a thing, an article in the 4-5-92 Ft. Worth Star-Telegram had Perry rejecting Dr. Charles Crenshaw's assertion Kennedy was shot from the front; it quoted him as claiming *"There were no wounds at the front of the head at all."* It also had Perry claiming that most of the doctors who'd seen Kennedy at Parkland failed to talk much about the shooting not because they'd been silenced, but because it was *"a painful experience most of us don't want to relive."* This, in turn, led to a 5-27-92 article in the Journal of the American Medical Association, in which Dr. Perry further denounced Dr. Crenshaw and his belief Kennedy was shot from the front. This time he went a bit further, however. To counter Crenshaw's claim that his fellow Parkland physicians, including Perry, had participated in a *"conspiracy of silence"* about Kennedy's wounds, in order to save their careers, Perry responded by saying that, if Dr. Crenshaw had truly felt Kennedy's wounds were evidence of a conspiracy, and had kept his silence for 29 years, then that was *"despicable."* In 1997, in a letter to single-assassin theorist Francois Carlier, subsequently posted online, moreover, Perry made his total rejection of the conspiracy theorist claim Kennedy's head wound was on the back of the head at Parkland, but on the top of the head at Bethesda, crystal freaking clear. When asked by Carlier if he was familiar with David Lifton's theory the body was kidnapped and altered, Perry responded *"I didn't know this--what a joke!"* When then asked what he thought of Lifton's theory, he responded *"Don't know or care what he says. He wasn't there."* And it's not as if Perry was just telling Carlier what he wanted to hear. When, in 1998, conspiracy theorist Vincent Palamara similarly pushed Perry for clarification on Kennedy's wounds, Perry wrote him back and insisted he'd made *"only a cursory examination of the head"* and that both his findings and those of his colleague Dr. Clark were *"consistent with those described by Dr. Humes et al during the autopsy."* Yes,

it's more than clear. Perry, as Carrico, felt the wounds he saw at Parkland were consistent with the wounds observed at Bethesda. He was not a conspiracy theorist. And conspiracy theorists should stop pretending he was.

Kurtz score: Perry does not mention the occipital bone, nor cerebellum, in his original report. Nor does he describe the wound as a wound of exit. In fact, in the initial press conference in which Kennedy's wounds were discussed, Perry said "The nature of the wound defies the ability to describe whether it went through it from either side." Kurtz's summary therefore is **inaccurate on all 3 points. Misleading.)**

PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

ADMISSION NOTE

DATE AND HOUR NOV 22, 1963 DOCTOR: BAXTER

Note of Attendance to President Kennedy

*I was contacted at approx 12:40 that the President was on the way to the emergency room having been shot. On arrival there, I found an endotracheal tube in place with assisted respirations, a left chest tube being inserted and cut downs going in one leg and in the left arm. The President had a wound in the mid-line of the neck. **On first observation of the remaining wounds the rt temporal and occipital bones were missing and the brain was lying on the table, with extensive lacerations and contusions.** The pupils were fixed and deviated lateral and dilated. No pulse was detectable and respirations were (as noted) being supplied. A tracheotomy was performed by Dr. Perry and I and a chest tube inserted into the right chest (2nd intercostal space anteriorly). Meanwhile, 2 pts of O neg blood were administered by pump without response. When all of these measures were complete, no heart beat could be detected. Closed chest massage was performed until a cardioscope could be attached which revealed no cardiac activity was obtained. **Due to the excessive and irreparable brain damage which was lethal,** no further attempt to resuscitate the heart was made.*

*Charles R. Baxter M.D.
Associate Prof of Surgery
Southwestern Medical School*

(Note: Baxter's statement is a bit strange. If "the rt temporal and occipital bones were missing", as Baxter claimed, there would be a huge hole on the side and back of Kennedy's head. Perhaps then, he meant only that parts of the temporal and occipital bones were missing. Baxter's testimony is even more intriguing. When he testified before the Warren Commission, at a time long before anyone was talking about the difference in the wound descriptions of those viewing Kennedy in Parkland and Bethesda, he testified that he observed a "*temporal parietal plate of bone laid outward to the side,*" and that "*the right side of his head had been blown off.*" He was also asked to read his earlier report into the record. While doing so, however, he read the line "*the rt temporal and occipital bones were missing*" as the "*temporal and parietal bones were missing.*" This, in effect, moved the wound from the side and back of the skull, to the side and top of the skull. Now, while some might claim he was pressured into doing so by Warren Commission Counsel Arlen Specter, who took his testimony, this seems a bit far-fetched seeing as none of the other doctors recalled receiving any similar pressure regarding their own descriptions of the head wound. The probability, then, is that Baxter was "correcting" his earlier statement on his own. If so, then he was relatively consistent from that point onward. In 1992 alone, he is reported to have told writer Gerald Posner that "*The wound was on the right side, not the back,*" to have told a writer for the Journal of the American Medical Association that he defers to the findings of the autopsy report, and to have told Tom Jarriel on the news program 20/20 that it was impossible to

tell the direction of the bullet from what he observed. He would eventually tell the ARRB, while sitting with some of his fellow Parkland witnesses, that *"None of us at that time, I don't think, were in any position to view the head injury. And, in fact, I never saw anything above the scalpline, forehead line, that I could comment on."* And should that seem too clear, Baxter wrote single-assassin theorist Francois Carlier in 1997 and once again revealed his confusion. While answering a series of questions (the same questions Carlier asked Perry) Baxter told Carlier both that the wound was in the "occiput" and that his initial suspicion was that the shot came *"from the rear."* He then clarified his position, forevermore, by insisting that Lifton's theory the wounds were altered was *"Bull!"* Now, that's three for three. Three Parkland doctors. Three men who failed to believe the wounds they saw indicated Kennedy was shot from the front.

Well, that settles it. While David Lifton, in the 2011 forum post cited in chapter 18c, presented Baxter as one of two Parkland witnesses suggesting the head wound was low on the back of the head, and that the Harper fragment was occipital bone, it's clear Baxter, based on his testimony and subsequent statements, would NEVER agree to such nonsense. As Dr. Paul Peters, the other doctor cited by Lifton, repeatedly pointed out the location of the wound at points higher than the occipital bone (as shown in *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*, [here](#)), it's clear Lifton has carefully selected statements and testimony to convince himself of something that the people making these statements never believed was true. While all researchers willing to think outside the box, including this one, are at risk to wind up in this position, it is at least a wee bit hypocritical for Lifton to claim *"the primacy and importance of the Dallas doctors observations cannot be overemphasized,"* while ignoring observations, such as Baxter's observation of a 'temporal parietal plate of bone laid outward to the side,' and demonstrations, such as Peters' demonstration of the wound location, that contradict his theory.

Kurtz score: by his inclusion of the temporal bone, it is clear Baxter was describing a wound on the side of the head, not the rear of the head. While he mentioned cerebellum in his 3-24-64 testimony, he made no mention of cerebellum oozing from the wound in his original report, nor that this wound was an exit wound. Kurtz's summary of Baxter's statements therefore is **inaccurate on all 3 points.**

Misleading.)

DATE AND HOUR 22 Nov 1963

12:20pm to 13:00 hrs

*Called by EOR while standing in (illegible) Laboratory at SWMS. Told that the President had been shot. I arrived at the EOR at 1220 - 1225 ~~and~~ .The President was **bleeding profusely from the back of the head. There was a large (3 x 3cm) amount of cerebral tissue present on the cart. There was a smaller amount of cerebellar tissue present also.***

A tracheostomy was being performed by Drs. Perry, Baxter and McClelland. Exam of the President showed that an endotracheal tube was in place and respiratory assistance was being given by Dr. Akins and Jenkins. The pupils were dilated, fixed to light and his eyes were deviated outward and the right one downward as as well .

The trach was completed and I adjusted the endotracheal tube a little bit. Blood was present in the oral pharynx. Suction was used to remove this. Levine Catheter was passed into the stomach at this time.

He was (illegible) that I (illegible) no carotid pulse. I immediately began closed chest massage. A pulse was obtained at the carotid and femoral pulse levels.

Dr. Perry then took over the cardiac massage so I could evaluate the head wound.

There was a large wound beginning in the right occiput extending into the parietal region. Much of the skull appeared gone at brief examination. The previously described lacerated brain was present.

By this time an EKG was hooked up. There was no electrical activity of the heart and no respiratory effort - He was pronounced dead at 1300 hrs by me.

W. Kemp Clark

22 Nov 1963 1615 hrs -

(Note: although Clark describes cerebral and cerebellar tissue on the cart, a number of his colleagues would subsequently come to claim that macerated brain tissue is difficult to distinguish from cerebellar tissue, and that he, as they, could have been mistaken. His statement that "much of the skull appeared gone" is problematic, moreover, for those who try to make the Dallas doctors' descriptions of a wound on the back of the head jive with the Zapruder film and autopsy photos' depiction of a wound on top of the head by speculating that the Dallas doctors did not see the large head wound on top of the head because Mrs. Kennedy had put the bones back in place, and that they instead saw the posterior aspect of this wound behind the ear, which was not recorded in the autopsy photos due to the autopsists' closing of the bone flaps on back of the head. Clark claimed to see a large hole in the skull, and not a hole beneath some bone flaps. This means that either the large head wound was on the top of the head and Clark was mistaken as to its exact location, or it was on the back of the head as described by Clark and the Zapruder film and autopsy photos have been faked. I select the first alternative.

Clark's March 21, 1964 testimony for the Warren Commission offers some support for this selection. He testified: "I then examined the wound in the back of the President's head. This was a large, gaping wound in the right posterior part, with cerebral and cerebellar tissue being damaged and exposed." Later, however, when Warren Commission Counsel Arlen Specter referred to this wound as a wound "at the top of the head," and asked if Clark saw any other wounds, he replied "No sir, I did not." When then asked if his recollections were in conflict with the autopsy report's description of an entrance wound slightly above and an inch to the right of the EOP, he replied "Yes, in the presence of this much destruction of skull and scalp above such a wound and lateral to it and the brief period of time available for examination--yes, such a wound could be present." He had thereby claimed the wound he examined was *entirely* above the EOP, and more than an inch to its right. Well, this would be well above and to the right of where so many theorists propose the wound to have been located. It would, in fact, rule out the Harper fragment's being occipital bone. Clark was then asked if his observations were consistent with the autopsy report's conclusion of a bullet entering near the EOP, and "exiting from the center of the President's skull." He replied: "Yes, sir." When brought back four days later, and asked about a February 20 article in the French paper L'Express, where it was claimed he'd told the New York Times the first bullet entered at the knot of Kennedy's tie and penetrated Kennedy's chest, and that the second bullet hit "the right side of his head" and caused a "tangential" wound of both entrance and exit, furthermore, Clark disagreed with its characterization of his statements regarding the first bullet, but said nothing about its characterization of the second. In sum, then, while Clark's report and testimony suggest he saw a wound on the back of the head, a closer look at his testimony shows he was agreeable that this wound was at the top right side of the head, and consistent with the wound described in the autopsy report.

While some might take from this that Clark had sold out, and had testified in opposition to his original report, they would be undoubtedly wrong to do so. Before writing his report, we should remember, Clark had spoken to the press...twice. In the official press conference, he had claimed the wound was "principally on the right side." While speaking to Connie Kritzberg, about an hour later, moreover, he reiterated that it was on the 'right rear side.' He had never claimed, nor would ever claim, the wound was on the far back of the head, below the top of the ear, in the location depicted in the "McClelland" drawing. This was something many had assumed based upon his mention of cerebellum. But it was

never supported by the sum total of his statements.

While some have taken Clark's post 1964 silence as confirmation he believed the fatal shot exited from the far back of Kennedy's head, furthermore, a more complete look at the record suggests otherwise. A November 22, 1983 UPI article (found in the Ellensburg Daily Record) boasts an interview with Clark, and he claims "The only regret I have is that I'm constantly bothered by a bunch of damn fools who want me to make some kind of controversial statement about what I saw, what was done, or that he is still alive here on the 12th floor of Parkland Hospital or some foolish thing like that. Since these guys are making their money by writing this kind of provocative books, it annoys me, frankly." This was, strikingly, less than a year after Clark at first expressed interest in looking at the autopsy photos in David Lifton's possession, and then refused to even open the envelope containing these photos when Lifton arrived at his office. This was, just as strikingly, more than a decade after Clark first consulted with single-assassin theorist John Lattimer, and helped Lattimer develop a scientific and "innocent" explanation for Kennedy's back-and-to-the-left movement in the Zapruder film. It follows, then, that Clark was no friend of conspiracy theorists, and that he'd picked his side on the matter--the side in which Oswald acted alone. Well, for me, it's hard to believe he'd have done this if he'd actually felt certain Kennedy's head wound was an occipital wound oozing cerebellum. But the reader may wish to think otherwise.

Kurtz score: by mentioning the parietal bone, Clark was describing a wound higher on the skull than the one implied by Kurtz, and depicted in the McClelland drawing. Even so, Clark does mention the occipital bone, and the oozing of cerebellar tissue from the wound. He does not, however, describe the wound as a wound of exit. In fact, Clark, a man from whom all the other doctors would take their cue, made clear in the initial press conference that the wound could be either an exit for a shot fired from the front OR a wound of both entrance and exit for a shot fired from the rear. Kurtz's summary of Clark's statement, then, is **accurate on 2 of 3 points. Somewhat misleading.**)

PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

ADMISSION NOTE

DATE AND HOUR Nov. 22, 1963 4:45 P.M. *DOCTOR:* Robert N. McClelland

Statement Regarding Assassination of President Kennedy

*At approximately 12:45 PM on the above date I was called from the second floor of Parkland Hospital and went immediately to the Emergency Operating Room. When I arrived President Kennedy was being attended by Drs Malcolm Perry, Charles Baxter, James Carrico, and Ronald Jones. The President was at the time comatose from a **massive gunshot wound of the head** with a fragment wound of the trachea. An endotracheal tube and assisted respiration was started immediately by Dr. Carrico on Duty in the EOR when the President arrived. Drs. Perry, Baxter, and I then performed a tracheotomy for respiratory distress and tracheal injury and Dr. Jones and Paul Peters inserted bilateral anterior chest tubes for pneumothoraxis secondary to the tracheomediastinal injury. Simultaneously Dr. Jones had started 3 cut-downs giving blood and fluids immediately, In spite of this, at 12:55 he was pronounced dead by Dr. Kemp Clark the neurosurgeon and professor of neurosurgery who arrived immediately after I did. **The cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple.** He was pronounced dead after external cardiac massage failed and ECG activity was gone.*

Robert N. McClelland M.D.
*Asst. Prof. of Surgery
Southwestern Med.*

(Note: in this, his earliest statement on the assassination, Dr. McClelland reveals that he was easily confused and prone to speculation. First of all, he gets himself all turned around and mistakenly says there was a wound in the left temple. He says nothing of a wound on the back of the head or behind the ear. As but one head wound was noted at Parkland, and as no competent doctor would mention a wound he did not see while failing to mention the one he did, it seems probable McClelland meant to say this wound was of the right temple, not left. Second of all, he states, without offering any supporting evidence, that the throat wound was a fragment wound. This shows he was prone to speculation.

In light of the fact many conspiracy theorists cite McClelland as the most reliable of the Parkland witnesses, McClelland's next statements are even more intriguing. McClelland was the prime source for the 12-18-63 article by Richard Dudman published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, in which the Secret Service's visit to the Parkland doctors, and its attempt to get them to agree Kennedy's throat wound was an exit, was first revealed. And yet McClelland told Dudman that after being told of the wound on Kennedy's back *"he and Dr. Perry fully accept the Navy Hospital's explanation of the course of the bullets."* And yet he told Dudman *"I am fully satisfied that the two bullets that hit him were from behind."* And yet he told Dudman *"As far as I am concerned, there is no reason to suspect that any shots came from the front."* Repeat...NO reason to suspect *any* shots came from the front... That's right...in the very article most conspiracy theorists believe first exposed the government's cover-up of Kennedy's wounds, Dr. McClelland, the man they consider the most credible of the Parkland witnesses, spelled out--and made CRYSTAL CLEAR--that he did not think the large head wound he observed was an exit wound on the far back of the head.

This is confirmed yet again by the first article on the wounds published in a medical journal. Three Patients at Parkland, published in the January 1964 Texas State Journal of Medicine, was based upon the Parkland doctors' 11-22 reports, and repeated their descriptions of Kennedy's wounds and treatment word for word. Well, almost. In one of its few deviations, it changed Dr. McClelland's initial claim Kennedy was pronounced dead "at 12:55" to his being "pronounced dead at 1:00." This was an obvious correction of an innocent mistake. In what one can only assume was another correction of an innocent mistake, moreover, it re-routed Dr. McClelland's initial claim *"The cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple"* to the more acceptable *"The cause of death, according to Dr. McClelland was the massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the right side of the head."* Right side of the head. Not back of the head. While some might wish to believe the writer and/or editor of this article took it upon himself to make this change without consulting Dr. McClelland, and that he'd changed it to fit the "official" story, the fact of the matter is there was NO official story on the head wounds at this point, beyond the descriptions of the wound in the reports of McClelland's colleagues published elsewhere in the article. And these, in sum, described a wound on the back of the head. It seems likely, then, that McClelland himself was responsible for this change.

In any event, on March 21, 1964, Dr. McClelland, testified before the Warren Commission. In contrast to his earlier statements, he now claimed: *"As I took the position at the head of the table that I have already described, to help out with the tracheotomy, I was in such a position that I could very closely examine the head wound, and I noted that the right posterior portion of the skull had been extremely blasted. It had been shattered ... the parietal bone was protruded up through the scalp and seemed to be fractured almost along its right posterior half, as well as some of the occipital bone being fractured in its lateral half, and this sprung open the bones that I mentioned in such a way that you could actually look down into the skull cavity itself and see that probably a third or so, at least, of the brain tissue, posterior cerebral tissue and some of the cerebellar tissue had been blasted out."*

Since Kennedy was by all reports lying on his back, it is impossible to understand how McClelland could look down into a wound on the back of Kennedy's head. It seems likely then that McClelland, as Clark, was confused by the rotation of Kennedy's skull.

And it seems just as likely McClelland is not the man many if not most conspiracy theorists assume him to be. Notes on a 12-1-71 interview of McClelland by researcher Harold Weisberg reveal that McClelland *"volunteered at some length about Garrison's men, describing Garrison as a psychopath, and seemed proud that he had talked them out of calling him as a witness...McC was quite bitter about Garrison and Lane, but he was without complaint about Specter and the Warren Commission..."*

So there it is. Dr. Robert McClelland--whom many conspiracy theorists believe an unshakeable truth-teller--was a supporter of the Warren Commission's for years and years after the assassination--to such an extent even that he refused to cooperate with Jim Garrison's attempts to re-open the case. Well, is it any wonder then that McClelland, while continuing to insist he saw a wound on the back of Kennedy's head, repeatedly defended the legitimacy of the autopsy photos? And that he told the producers of the television show Nova in 1988 that *"I find no discrepancy between the wounds as they're shown very vividly in these photographs and what I remember very vividly?"* And is it any wonder then that in both his Nova appearance and ARRB testimony McClelland ventured that the back of the head photo depicts sagging scalp pulled over a large occipito-parietal wound? I mean, the man clearly has problems separating fact from fiction. (McClelland's assertion a large hole on the back of Kennedy's head could be covered up by stretched scalp is, of course, utterly fantastic and unsupported by every book on wound ballistics I have ever come across. Scalp overlying explosive wounds to the skull does not stretch and sag, it tears. No such tears were noted on the back of Kennedy's head at autopsy, and none are shown in the autopsy photos whose legitimacy McClelland defends.)

Kurtz score: McClelland's original statement said none of the things Kurtz claims it did. Kurtz's summary of McClelland's statement is therefore **inaccurate on all 3 points. Misleading.)**

PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

ADMISSION NOTE

DATE AND HOUR Nov. 22, 1963 4:45 P.M. *DOCTOR:* BASHOUR

Statement Regarding Assassination of the President of the U.S.A., President Kennedy At 12:50 PM, we were called from the 1st floor of Parkland Hospital and told that President Kennedy was shot. Dr. D ?? and myself went to the emergency room of Parkland. Upon examination, the President had no pulsation, no heartbeat, no blood pressure. The oscilloscope showed a complete standstill. The president was declared dead at 12:55 P.M.

F. Bashour M.D.

*Associate Professor of Cardiology
Southwestern Medical School Dallas, Texas.*

(Note: there is not much to say about Dr. Bashour's report. His Warren Commission testimony, in which he described the head wound as "massive," is not much better. But the next statement, in my analysis, holds the key.)

*THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS SOUTHWESTERN MEDICAL SCHOOL, DALLAS
November 22, 1963 1630*

To: Mr. C. J. Price, Administrator Parkland Memorial Hospital

From: M. T. Jenkins, M.D., Professor and Chairman Department of Anesthesiology

Subject: Statement concerning resuscitative efforts for President John F. Kennedy

Upon receiving a stat alarm that this distinguished patient was being brought to the emergency room at Parkland Memorial Hospital, I dispatched Doctors A. H. Giesecke and Jackie H. Hunt with an anesthesia machine and resuscitative equipment to the major surgical emergency room area, and I ran down the stairs. On my arrival in the emergency operating room at approximately 1230 I found that Doctors Carrico and/or Delaney had begun resuscitative efforts by introducing an orotracheal tube, connecting it for controlled ventilation to a Bennett intermittent positive pressure breathing apparatus. Doctors Charles Baxter, Malcolm Perry, and Robert McClelland arrived at the same time and began a tracheostomy and started the insertion of a right chest tube, since there was also obvious tracheal and chest damage. Doctors Paul Peters and Kemp Clark arrived simultaneously and immediately thereafter assisted respectively with the insertion of the right chest tube and with manual closed chest cardiac compression to assure circulation.

For better control of artificial ventilation, I exchanged the intermittent positive pressure breathing apparatus for an anesthesia machine and continued artificial ventilation. Doctors Gene Akin and A. H. Giesecke assisted with the respiratory problems incident to changing from the orotracheal tube to a tracheostomy tube and Doctors Hunt and Giesecke connected a cardioscope to determine cardiac activity.

During the progress of these activities, the emergency room cart was elevated at the feet in order to provide a Trendelenburg position, a venous cutdown was performed on the right saphenous vein, and additional fluids were begun in a vein in the left forearm while blood was ordered from the blood bank. All of these activities were completed by approximately 1245, at which time external cardiac massage was still being carried out effectively by Doctor Clark as judged by a palpable peripheral pulse. Despite these measures there was no electrocardiographic evidence of cardiac activity.

*These described resuscitative activities were indicated as of first importance, and after they were carried out attention was turned to all other evidences of injury. **There was a great laceration on the right side of the head (temporal and occipital), causing a great defect in the skull plate so that there was herniation and laceration of great areas of the brain, even to the extent that the cerebellum had protruded from the wound.** There were also fragmented sections of brain on the drapes of the emergency room cart. With the institution of adequate cardiac compression, there was a great flow of blood from the cranial cavity, indicating that there was much vascular damage as well as brain tissue damage.*

It is my personal feeling that all methods of resuscitation were instituted expeditiously and efficiently. However, this cranial and intracranial damage was of such magnitude as to cause the irreversible damage. President Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1300.

Sincerely, M. T. Jenkins, M.D.

The Trendelenburg Position



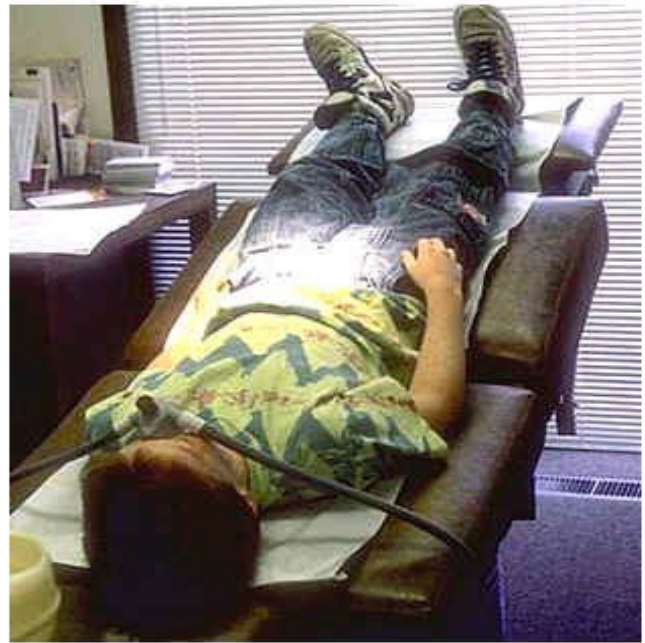
Above: a Groden autopsy photo, tilted to match the photo below. Notice that the large wound is in a similar relation to the ear as the wound in the McClelland drawing.



Above: the McClelland drawing, depicting the wound as recalled by the Parkland witnesses.



Above: an online depiction of the Trendelenburg Position.



Above: an online depiction of the Trendelenburg position. Would a doctor standing at the head of a patient in such a position be able to look down into the wound depicted in the McClelland drawing? Or would he be more likely to confuse the large wound in the autopsy photo at top left with a wound on the back of the head?

The Trendelenburg Position

At first glance, Dr. Jenkins' statement is not particularly eye-opening. As with Baxter, he describes the wound as "*temporal and occipital*." As with Clark he makes sure we know there is missing bone, describing "*a great defect in the skull plate*" incompatible with the "sprung-bone theory" so popular with so many conspiracy theorists and later pushed by McClelland.

But that's just the beginning of Jenkins's journey. Although an 11-10-77 report on an interview with Jenkins conducted by the HSCA staff specified that "*Dr. Jenkins said that only one segment of bone was blown out--it was a segment of occipital or temporal bone*" and that "*a portion of the cerebellum (lower rear brain) was hanging out*," he was soon thereafter shown the error of his ways (apparently by Dr. Lattimer), as a 3-4-81 transcript of an interview with the Boston Globe found in the Weisberg Archives has him saying both that the wound was "*above the ear, parietal...about the size of the palm of your hand*" and that he knew he hadn't actually seen cerebellum.

He continued in this vein ever after. In 1988, he told the producers of the television program NOVA that, upon finally viewing the autopsy photos, he'd come to believe his earliest descriptions of the wound location were incorrect, and that he did not see cerebellum protruding from the large defect. Four years later, in the 5-27-92 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association, moreover, he would reiterate this position, not only questioning his original descriptions of Kennedy's head wounds but those of his fellow Parkland witnesses. He declared: "*I was standing at the head of the table... My presence there and the President's great shock of hair and the location of the head wound were such that it was not visible to those standing down each side of the gurney where they were carrying out*

their resuscitative maneuvers."

And he didn't stop there. In 1992, in what was apparently a busy year for Jenkins, he is reported to have told writer Gerald Posner that *"The description of the cerebellum was my fault... When I read my report over I realized there could not be any cerebellum. The autopsy photo, with the rear of the head intact and a protrusion in the parietal region, is the way I remember it. I never did say occipital."* (Oh yes, you did.) A 6-6-92 article in the Dallas Morning News, reporting on a Dallas Forum on Kennedy's wounds, moreover, further claimed that Jenkins, along with Drs Carrico and Peters, had told those in attendance that they'd confused cerebrum for cerebellum *"in part because the brain was so mangled by the bullet."* Jenkins' exact words were printed in Harrison Livingstone's *Killing the Truth* the next year. He'd told the audience *"In my official report, I said the cerebellum was hanging out, and I thought it over after I turned it in. Well, I confused my three lums at times. I'd call one by the other one's name. I'd call cerebrum cerebellum. When I looked at the photographs again, I can see why we did that, because this coming out of the temporal-parietal area, brain was so convoluted right there, that the cerebrum had a cerebellum look. But it wasn't cerebellum..."*

Jenkins was thus not only not a back-of-the-head witness, as many claim, but an ardent defender of the authenticity of the autopsy photos.

Almost hidden in Jenkins' November 22, 1963 statement, however, is something which convinces me that my speculation on why so many of the witnesses made the same mistake is not just reasonable, but absolutely correct. When discussing Kennedy's early treatment, he reports: *"During the progress of these activities, the emergency room cart was elevated at the feet in order to provide a Trendelenburg position."*

I looked up the term "Trendelenburg Position", and found this description: "In the **Trendelenburg position** the body is laid flat on the back with the head lower than the pelvis in contrast to the reverse Trendelenburg position. This is a standard position used in surgery in gynecology. It allows better access to the pelvic organs as intestines move cranially by gravity. It was named for the German surgeon Friedrich Trendelenburg." Elsewhere, I found an even better description: "Tren·de·len·burg position *n.* A supine position with the patient inclined at an angle of 45 degrees; so that the pelvis is higher than the head, used during and after operations in the pelvis or for shock."

Well, this surprised me, as no one else had mentioned that Kennedy was not only flat on his back, but topsy-turvy. Perhaps they'd simply forgotten. If so, it may not have occurred to them that a wound on the top of the head slightly in front of the ear would appear posterior to the ear if the patient was in the Trendelenburg position. This problem with orientation, moreover, would help explain how Dr. Robert McClelland could testify he *"could actually look down into the skull cavity itself"* whilst simultaneously embracing the contradictory attitudes that the wound was on the back of Kennedy's head and that Kennedy was lying on his back. It would also be consistent with Dr. Ronald Jones' statements to researcher Brad Parker in 1992, where he is reported to have claimed both that the wound was behind Kennedy's right ear and that *"a lot of that injury was on the downside with him flat on the table."* It seems more than a coincidence, after all, that if the wound was on top of Kennedy's skull, as presumed, while Kennedy was in the Trendelenburg Position, as claimed by Jenkins, the wound would have been observed as claimed by McClelland, and would appear to have been behind Kennedy's right ear, on the downside, as claimed by Jones.

(FWIW, in 1981, in an interview with the Boston Globe, Dr. Paul Peters claimed *"the President was lying in the supine, slight Trendelenburg position,"* which both confirmed Jenkins' report and challenged it, in that it suggested Kennedy's feet were not raised as much as they would be if he were in the normal Trendelenburg position.)

Should one still be skeptical that the confusion over the location of Kennedy's head wound came from the rotation of his body when observed by the doctors, however, one should feel free to go back to the Lincoln/Kennedy comparison slide [here](#) , and take a closer look at the locations of the red stars over President Lincoln.

(In September 2008, I put this slide up on an online forum, and asked if anyone noticed anything. After a few days passed, and no one responded, I offered the hint that there was something odd about the red stars I'd placed on the images of President Lincoln. Finally, after more than 500 views, a member offered that the red stars were not in the same location on the images of Lincoln, and that one was above Lincoln's ear, and the other was on the back of his head. That it took so long for someone to state something so obvious, once one compares the red stars to the top of the ear, supports my suspicion that the majority of those viewing this slide did not perceive the red stars in relation to the top of the ear, but to the middle of the ear. This, in turn, supports my suspicion that the Parkland witnesses were similarly confused.)

"Well, hold on right there," you must be thinking, "is it really likely *every* doctor seeing Kennedy at the hospital on 11-22 would make this same mistake, and confuse a wound high on the head above the ear with a wound on the back of the head oozing cerebellum?" No, probably not. Which is why it's important to recall that *every* doctor didn't. As discussed, Dr. Burkley was aware of but one wound on Kennedy's head, a large wound by his temple. As far as the Parkland staff, well, Dr. Baxter testified before the Warren Commission that the wound was temporal and parietal, and thus near the ear, and not on the back of the head. Dr. Salyer, as well, testified that the wound was in the "right temporal area," and thus near the ear, and not on the back of the head. While Dr. Giesecke testified before the Commission that the wound was on the left side of the head, he also claimed that it was a large wound stretching from the vertex to the ear, and the brow-line to the occiput, and thus not the hole on the back of the head recalled by others. In fact, he later admitted to Vincent Palamara that although he *"did not examine the President's head and should never have said anything about the wounds,"* he had nevertheless concluded *"all entrance wounds were from the rear."*

And then there's the Johnny-come-latelys--doctors only marginally involved in Kennedy's treatment whose statements regarding the head wound location came many years later... While Dr. Don Curtis did in fact testify before the Warren Commission his recollection as to the head wound location was not recorded till many years later, when he at first told researcher Brad Parker the "McClelland" drawing was *"essentially"* correct, and then specified to researcher Vincent Palamara that the wound was on the *"posterior lateral surface of the skull,"* the side of the head. Dr. William Midgett's story is similar. While his presence in the emergency room was confirmed by the Warren Commission testimony of several nurses, his impressions were not recorded until decades later when he was interviewed first by Gerald Posner and then Wallace Milam. He is reported to have told Posner the wound was *"more parietal than occipital"* and to have told Milam it was an approximately 6 cm wound in the parietal area behind the ear. This is NOT a wound on the far back of the head oozing cerebellum.

Nor was the wound described by Dr. Donald Seldin. When contacted by researcher Vincent Palamara in 1998, Seldin is reported to have claimed that the bullet exploded the skull, and that the *"frontal, parietal, and temporal bones were shattered."* No mention of the occipital bone. While Seldin, apparently, was somewhat confused, telling Palamara the bullet struck Kennedy in the forehead (perhaps he meant upon exit), he was most adamant that his recollections not be used to spread doubts, telling Palamara *"I believe that the official story is accurate in all details."*

And then there's Grossman... While there is almost no record of Dr. Grossman's presence in Emergency Room One on 11-22-63, he emerged in 1981 with claims of having been at Dr. Clark's side when Kennedy's wounds were studied. His statements and articles not only reflect that he alone, of all the doctors to work on or inspect Kennedy at Parkland, noted an entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's

head in his hair, but that he also recalled seeing a large exit wound on the right side of Kennedy's head above his ear. Although this supports my conclusions regarding the wound locations, I nevertheless suspect Dr. Grossman is full of hooey. It just smells to high heaven that the only Parkland doctor claiming to see an entrance wound on the back of JFK's head was a doctor no one else remembered even being there, who failed to come forward for 17 years or more. There's also this: while Dr. Grossman reportedly told the ARRB in 1997 that the entrance wound he saw was *"a circular puncture in the occipital region...approximately 2 cm in diameter, near the EOP, centerline, or perhaps just right of center, through which he could see brain tissue which he believed was cerebellum"* (which is in the same location as, but much larger than, the wound described in the autopsy report), a November 22, 2003 article by Frank D. Roylance in the Baltimore Sun based upon an interview with Grossman reported that *"Grossman and Clark saw a small wound about an inch in diameter on the upper part of the back of his head, just to the right of the midline...filled with damaged brain tissue"* (which would appear to be a reference to the supposed cowlick entrance). So, did Grossman move the location of the entrance wound he and he alone "saw" to kiss up to those holding the wound was in the cowlick? I don't know but it's just hard to believe anything he says...

And that's not the end of the Parkland witnesses claiming the wound was NOT on the back of the head. Should one choose to look beyond Grossman, one can find Sharon Calloway. Calloway, an x-ray intern at Parkland on the day of the shooting, performed an oral history interview for the Sixth Floor Museum on 1-27-02, and claimed she saw the back of Kennedy's head in the hallway before he was moved into Trauma Room One. She claimed: *"The top of his head was gone... One of the doctors came down the hall shaking his head and he said it looked like someone had dropped a ripe watermelon on the floor. This is what the top of his head looked like. And we could see that. We could see his head. It wasn't draped yet."*

And should one still refuse to believe that there was no large exit wound low on the back of Kennedy's head and that the rotation of Kennedy on the hospital stretcher led to confusion about his head wound location, one should know that, no matter the explanation, such confusions occur. In the early 1990's, now Associate Professor Daniel Simons of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana created a video of six people passing basketballs back and forth, while moving around in a circle. Simons played this video to unsuspecting subjects, asking them how many passes were made, or whether the women in the video made more passes than the men. No matter. The passing was just a distraction. During the middle of the short video-taped passing demonstration, a man in a gorilla suit walked into frame and stood in the middle of the basketball players. What Simons really wanted to know was if anyone counting the number of passes would notice this man in the gorilla suit. He got his answer, which continues to confound people to this day. He found that, upon first viewing, only about 50% of those looking straight at--no, actually studying--a video of a man in a gorilla suit, had any recollection of seeing him, when their attention was drawn to unrelated details. One can view this video, here.

<http://viscog.beckman.illinois.edu/flashmovie/15.php>

The application of Simons' experiment to the Kennedy case should be obvious. From the failure of so many to note the gorilla in the room one can easily extrapolate that the team trying to save Kennedy's life was so focused on trying to save his life that the exact location of his head wound was only a fuzzy afterthought...prone to manipulation...

No, not deliberate manipulation, but accidental. As the testimony of the Parkland witnesses, which came after Dr. Clark's observation of cerebellum had been made public, reflected a greater degree of cerebellum sightings than the original statements of these witnesses, and as the location of the wound described by the witnesses coming forward in the 80's, which came after the publication of the so-called McClelland drawing showing an occipital wound, were centered on the occipital bone to a greater degree than the wound described previously, it's reasonable to assume that social pressures,

"groupthink," if you will, was in part responsible for so many of these witnesses thinking the wound was further back on the skull than as shown in the autopsy photos.

A study reported in the July 2011 issue of Science Magazine supports this probability. In this study, participants were 1) shown an eyewitness-style documentary in groups of five, 2) brought back individually three days later and asked questions about what they'd observed, 3) brought back four days later and shown the answers of those tested at the same time as them, 4) asked the questions again, 5) brought back again 7 days later and told that the answers of the others they'd been shown the week before had been random answers, and may or may not have been the actual answers of those with whom they'd originally viewed the documentary, and 6) asked the same questions again, after being told to rely on their original memories. The participants were then debriefed, with the results of those suspicious they were being manipulated thrown out.

The results were impressive. While some of the answers of others shown the participants a week after viewing the documentary were 100% wrong, and not even the real answers given by the others, 68.3% of the participants answered these questions in accordance with how they'd been told the others had responded, even though they'd answered these questions correctly only four days before. That this wasn't simply a failure of memory is proven by a control test, in which only 15.5% of those getting an answer right three days after viewing the documentary got it wrong 14 days after viewing the documentary. This suggests that over 50% of the participants changed their answers to fit in with the crowd.

That this wasn't just a change of answer, but an actual change of memory, for many of those tested, moreover, was demonstrated by the results of the final test. 40.8% of the participants who got a question correct, and then changed it to fit in with the crowd, stood by their incorrect answer after being told the answers of others they'd been shown had been randomly generated, and that they were now to rely exclusively upon their original memories. Disturbingly, this suggests that the memories of a significant percentage of the public can be changed, permanently, by being told what their peers remember, even if what they're told is something they at one time knew was untrue.

Memories are fragile. The recollections of the Parkland witnesses, co-workers who undoubtedly discussed what they saw with other co-workers, most if not all of whom would have been familiar with Dr. Clark's description of the wound, are just not as reliable as many would like us to believe.

And should this explanation not suffice, and should one still refuse to believe that the excitement of a trauma room can lead to mistakes in bullet wound identification (and/or that trauma room physicians are not properly trained to judge the direction of bullet wounds) one should know that Wake Forest University indirectly studied this from 1987-1992, by comparing the reports of trauma specialists with the corresponding reports of forensic pathologists. This study, as described in an April 28, 1993 article in the Journal of the American Medical Association, found that, with multiple gunshot wound victims, trauma specialists mistakenly identified the number of shots or the direction of fire 74% of the time, and that, even with single shot victims with through and through wounds, they were mistaken 37% of the time. Doctors make mistakes. Lots of 'em...

As do historians...

Kurtz score on Jenkins: The wound described by Jenkins was along the right side of the head, not back of the head. While Jenkins mentioned cerebellum, he did not describe the wound as a wound of exit. Kurtz's summary of Jenkins' statements is therefore **inaccurate on 2 of 3 points. Misleading.**

Final Kurtz score: Kurtz has misrepresented every initial statement to some degree. Four of the six doctors to comment on the head wound on 11/22/63 mentioned locations more to the side of the head and/or top of the head than the wound described by Kurtz. Others made no mention whatsoever of the

occipital bone or the cerebellum. None described the wound as an exit. Even worse, Kurtz has deliberately ignored Clark's and Perry's statements suggesting the wound could be a wound of both entrance and exit, and the likelihood that ALL the other doctors would defer to this analysis. By including Ronald Jones and Paul Peters in his list of doctors making these statements, moreover, Kurtz implied they'd made statements in the days after the assassination that could be considered "fresh" when, in fact, Dr. Jones' 11-23 handwritten report (Jones Exhibit No. 1) said merely that Kennedy had suffered a "severe skull and brain injury" and the earliest statements one can attribute to Peters were made several months later, after no doubt dozens of discussions on the assassination with his fellow Parkland physicians and nurses. Kurtz's summary, then, which was **accurate on only 6 of 18 points** in the initial statements of the Parkland doctors, can only be considered **misleading**.

Still, I wouldn't want to be accused of being unduly arbitrary, so let's see if adding Jones' and Peters' subsequent testimony into the mix improves things for Kurtz.

When Dr. Ronald Jones testified on 3-24-64 he said Kennedy had "a large wound in the right posterior side of the head" and then further described *"There was a large defect in the back side of the head as the President lay on the cart with what appeared to be some brain hanging out of this wound with multiple pieces of skull noted next with the brain and with a tremendous amount of clot and blood."* He later discussed *"what appeared to be an exit wound in the posterior portion of the skull."* He had thereby described the wound as a probable exit. But he'd failed to mention "occipital" and "cerebellum." Kurtz was therefore **inaccurate on 2 of 3 points. Misleading**. As discussed, Jones would later defer to the accuracy of the autopsy photos, and tell the ARRB that *"it was difficult to see down through the hair."* He then clarified his position to researcher Vincent Palamara, first admitting that he really didn't have *"a clear view of the back side of the head wound. President Kennedy had very thick dark hair that covered the injured area"* and then offering *"In my opinion it was in the occipital area in the back of the head."*

Which brings us once again to Dr. Peters...When Peters testified on 3-24-64 he described *"a large defect in the occiput"* and then explained *"It seemed to me that in the right occipitalparietal area that there was a large defect. There appeared to be bone loss and brain loss in the area."* He then described it as *"a large occipital wound,"* and admitted to wondering, as Jones, if the head wound wasn't an exit for the bullet creating the presumed entrance wound in the throat. Although Peters would later tell David Lifton that he looked down into the skull and saw cerebellum, he failed to claim that cerebellum was oozing from the wound, and, in fact, told the Bangor Daily News in 1980 that he'd come to believe the wound was a tangential wound of entrance and the Boston Globe in 1981 that the cerebellum had been intact. After being shown the autopsy photos for the Nova program in 1988, moreover, Peters asserted that he'd been wrong about both the location of the wound and his seeing cerebellum, and then offered that *"that shows how even a trained observer can make an error in a moment of urgency."* He then confirmed this position at a Dallas Forum put together by Dr. Lattimer in 1992, at which he, along with Dr.'s Carrico and Jenkins, were reported to have insisted that they'd confused cerebrum for cerebellum *"in part because the brain was so mangled by the bullet."* And this wasn't just Carrico speaking for Peters. For his 1993 book *Killing the Truth*, writer Harrison Livingstone obtained a copy of the tape of this forum, and revealed that Peters, when asked if he had changed any of his impressions over the years, had indeed admitted that after viewing the autopsy photos in 1988 he'd changed his mind about seeing damage to the cerebellum. In 1998, when testifying for the ARRB, however, Peters admitted that he, as McClelland, still thought the large wound observed at Parkland to have been at the back of Kennedy's head, and that it was covered in the autopsy photos by a flap of some sort. He covered himself, just in case, however, by explaining what he'd come to accept were mistakes by asserting *"We were doing a resuscitation, not a forensic autopsy."* Peters had thereby retreated from his statements to Lifton. Still, in his original statements, Peters had indeed described a presumed wound of

exit at least in part on the occipital bone, which means Kurtz was **accurate on 2 of 3 points**.
Somewhat misleading.

So, even with Jones and Peters added back in, Kurtz was **accurate on but 9 of 24 points**, and was undoubtedly **misleading**. While he, as Groden, as Lifton, as...you can pretty much fill in the blank...indicated that the original statements and testimony of the Parkland witnesses universally described an occipital wound from which cerebellum was flowing, this is a conspiracy myth, as pervasive and deceptive, in this writer's opinion, as the single-bullet theory, which some claim as a fact.

I'm serious about this. While many of those pushing the single-bullet theory claim their theory is in line with Governor Connally's statements and testimony, when it is not, conspiracy theorists pushing the "back-of-the-head blow-out" theory are no better, as they claim their theory is in "support" of the Parkland witnesses, when it is not. In fact, when one looks back through ALL the statements of the eight doctors most involved with Kennedy's treatment at Parkland, one finds that six of the eight (Perry, Carrico, Baxter, Jenkins, Jones, and Peters) let it be known that they deferred to the accuracy of the autopsy report and autopsy photos, and one (Clark) rarely spoke on the subject beyond his Warren Commission testimony, where he deferred to the conclusions of the autopsists. This leaves but one conspiracy theorist in the bunch (McClelland), and even he admitted he'd seen nothing at Parkland to convince him shots had been fired from in front of Kennedy, and that his suspicions stemmed largely from his interpretation of the Zapruder film.

Sadly, however, Kurtz's misrepresentation is typical of what one finds in the conspiracy literature. While I don't expect to change the minds of those utterly and permanently convinced there was an exit wound on the back of Kennedy's head, I do hope to curtail the spread of such smoke. ***Please help me in this cause.***

Chapter 19: Wrestling Over History

A hard look at the blind referee and the tag team in white

Guardians of the Truth



At left: a photo of the limousine en route to Parkland Hospital taken by David Miller, as presented in the Dallas Morning News on 11-24-63. Note that the caption says the white arrow points to Kennedy's *left* foot. The Associate Press later decided it was Secret Service Agent Clint Hill's *right* foot. Did they get it right the second time?

HORROR AND FEAR IN THE PRESIDENTIAL DEATH CAR

As President Kennedy's left foot, white arrow, hangs limply over the side of the speeding death car, Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Connally crouch against the seats in horror and fear. Gov. Connally,

black arrow, lies in pain as the auto hurtles at 70 miles per hour toward the Oak Lawn Avenue exit on Stemmons Freeway, en route to Parkland Hospital.



At left: a James Altgens photo of Clint Hill on Houston Street, revealing his shiny black shoes.

At right: the Justin Newman photo of Clint Hill during the limousine's race to Parkland Hospital. Note that Hill's leg is stretched across the back of the car and his foot is behind the tire. Note also his black socks.



Guardians of the Truth

After spending the last several hundred pages arguing that the autopsy photos and x-rays have not been altered, I will now discuss a photo I believe has been altered. The story of this photo and its alteration is, in my opinion, symbolic of the mainstream media's approach to the assassination.

The photo in question is the Miller photo, a photo taken by a high-school student of the President's limousine as it sped towards Parkland Hospital. This photo was published world-wide beginning on 11-24-63 and still shows up regularly in books on the assassination. The most memorable (and marketable) thing about this photo is that it shows an object sticking out of the back seat. This object was initially identified as President Kennedy's left foot. This confused at least one eyewitness. S.M. Holland ended up telling Mark Lane he SAW Kennedy's foot fly up onto the side of the car.

Years later, however, the Associated Press, who'd quickly purchased the photo from Miller, decided the object was not Kennedy's foot at all, but secret service agent Clint Hill's right foot. (Of course, this didn't stop a whole slew of books, including those by veteran newsmen Robert MacNeil and Wilborn Hampton, from continuing to claim the foot was Kennedy's.) As Clint Hill was upright and faced forward in the back seat, however, this changing-of-the-foot never made much sense to me.

In June, 2006, I went public on the JFK Lancer Forum with my suspicions that the foot in the photo had in fact been drawn in. One defender of the AP's story cited another photo of Hill on the back of the limousine, the Newman photo, as proof that the object in the photo was in fact Hill's foot. This photo, however, showed Hill's leg draped across the trunk of the limousine, and his foot hanging off the side of the car behind the tire. As the Miller photo showed Hill's legs angled down into the rear seat, the Newman photo only confirmed for me that something was odd with the Miller photo. When asked why someone would alter the photo I said that perhaps the photographer and/or the original paper to publish the photo, The Dallas Morning News, was aware that there were other photos of the limousine, and cynically added the foot so that they could sell the photo as including Kennedy. This brought a rapid response from Gary Mack, the curator of The Sixth Floor Museum, and a recognized expert on the photographic evidence:

From a 6-19 e-mail: "Pat, David Miller's photo wasn't faked! Do you know anything about him or his picture, how it came to the attention of the news media, or when? Have you ever seen his original photograph or a first generation print? Or the AP copy negative, or The Dallas Morning News copy negative. Wait, I'll answer for you. You don't know anything about that information. Have you listened to Clint Hill talk about how he hung his foot over the side to steady himself while hovering over JFK as they roared down the highway at 80mph?????"

Why DO you people make up such ridiculous stories?!?!?!?!?!?"

Mack's fervent response unnerved me a bit. I had been an ally of his as long as I was arguing for the authenticity of the Zapruder film, but once I switched teams and implied that any piece of the photographic history was faked, I had become a "you people."

Another Forum member posted Clint Hill's Warren Commission testimony indicating that the foot was indeed his own.

Mr. SPECTER. And where were the President's legs at that time?

Mr. HILL. Inside the car.

Mr. HILL. It is a little bit hard for me to judge, since I was lying across the rear portion of the automobile. I had no trouble staying in that particular position--until we approached the hospital, I recall, I believe it was a left-hand turn and I started slipping off to the right-hand portion of the car. So I would say that we went 60, maybe 65 at the most.

Mr. SPECTER. Were you able to secure a handhold or a leghold or any sort of a hold on the automobile as you moved forward?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir. I had my legs--I had my body above the rear seat, and my legs hooked down into the rear seat, one foot outside the car.

After reading Hill's testimony, I thought, "okay, well maybe I'm wrong, maybe it is Clint Hill's foot in the photo..."

From Hand to Foot?



At left: Yarborough Exhibit A from Volume 22 of the Warren Report. The Miller photo as shown in the 12-14-63 Saturday Evening Post.

Below: three versions of the "shoe." From L to R, the shoe as seen in the 12-14 Post, the 11-24 Dallas Morning News, and the 1963 book The Torch is Passed.

Below: the Skaggs photo, taken in Dealey Plaza. Note the elevation of the seat.



From Hand to Foot?

Only a few days after my "drawn-in foot theory" was shot down, however, I discovered the Yarborough Exhibit, a 12-14-63 article in the Saturday Evening Post entered into evidence by the Warren Commission. In this article a version of the Miller photo was published. Shockingly, however, the "foot" in the photo, which was once again described as a foot, looked nothing like the "foot" shown in the newspaper articles. Upon close inspection, in fact, it seems clear that the Associated Press gave The Saturday Evening Post access to the original photo or negative. If so, this photo proves that the "foot" in the newspaper versions of the photo was drawn-in.

After this discovery, I quickly posted links to the Yarborough Exhibit on the Education Forum. I also sent another e-mail to Gary Mack, who I thought should know that the photo in the Dallas Morning News, as well as the one re-printed in such esteemed books as Richard Trask's Pictures of the Pain, had been altered. His response surprised me. He continued to insist that the version of the Miller photo in the Yarborough Exhibit matched the early newspaper versions, something I believed I'd just demonstrated to be untrue...

From a 6-27-06 e-mail from Gary Mack:

(In answer to my assertion that the foot in the Miller photo failed to match the “foot” in the Yarborough Exhibit.) *“Yes, it really does, especially when you look at a first generation, from the negative, print as Richard Trask and others have done over the years. Miller developed the film at school himself that afternoon and let The Dallas Morning News copy his original negative that night. The News ran it two days later after sending it out to the AP and its subscribers on 11/23. Are you suggesting that David altered his own picture? That's the only way your theory can work, Pat. Miller's picture ran on page 11 in the Dallas Morning News on 11/24. News chief photographer Tom Dillard PRINTED the News' copy directly from Miller's negative. Dillard sent a copy negative to the AP, which sent it all over the world on 11/23. The AP's photo distributor, Wide World, licensed the photo to the Saturday Evening Post, which ran it on page 24 of its 12/14/63 issue (that's the source of the Yarborough exhibit). ALL of them look the same. The best book/magazine/newspaper reproduction version is the Post issue. NONE are as good as first generation prints from Miller's negative. Trask has one. Other researchers have them. I have seen the Dallas Morning News' copy. They ALL show the same thing - a shoe and pant leg that cannot possibly be Kennedy's. A shoe that can only belong to Clint Hill. Miller misidentified the foot and the news media, beginning with the Dallas Morning News, repeated his account until it was later corrected. I have seen the AP's correction notice, which came later that year. They notified their subscribers, but not all members made the notations on their file copies of the photo, which is why, years later, some were still saying it was Kennedy's foot. Why don't you write to AP/Wide World Photos and buy a print. Or buy the 12/14/63 Saturday Evening Post on eBay?....Or call Trask and ask him. Or call Miller's widow. Do something other than make up a bogus explanation.”*

I was dumbfounded by this response, and asked Gary to look at the two versions of the Miller photo I'd posted online. He once again responded by insisting that the original photo was the photo published in the Dallas Morning News and that, if anything, the Saturday Evening Post version of the photo was the one that was retouched.

From a 7-6-06 e-mail from Gary Mack. *“Let me summarize. David Miller developed and printed his photos the afternoon of 11/22. He and his father met with Tom Dillard of the Dallas Morning News that evening and they allowed the News to make a copy of David's original negative. The News made a copy for the Associated Press, which sent the picture to its worldwide subscribers the next day. David Miller is the apparent source of the belief that the object was JFK's foot. The News passed that story along to the Associated Press, which repeated the information. Many AP subscribers, following normal procedures, kept the photo in their files and published it on occasion. The AP routinely sent out the picture to subscribers and others wishing to license the image for various publications. All AP source images are the same and all contained the misinformation about JFK's foot. Some publications, both newspaper and magazine, may have retouched the foot to make it reproduce clearer for the reader. Not until the late 80's did someone check with Clint Hill about whether or not that was JFK's foot. Hill officially set the record straight saying that the foot was his, not Kennedy's, and the information was passed along to the AP. The AP corrected their own caption as early as 1963 or 1964, but all those earlier AP images and incorrect information remain on file in newsrooms and other places around the world; therefore, the erroneous assumption that the foot belonged to Kennedy still gets repeated. The version in the Saturday Evening Post came from the same source material as the picture in Trask's Pictures of the Pain and the Dallas Morning News' Sunday edition. Whether the Post retouched their picture or not, I do not know. Such photo retouching/enhancement was routine in the newspaper business then because the reproduction clarity of photographed images was often rather poor. The Museum does not have a print of the Miller picture, though I have seen Trask's print, one in the Dallas Morning News files, and one or two others, including an original 11-24-63 Dallas Morning News newspaper. All show the same thing: a foot hanging over the side of the Kennedy limousine.”*

When Zapruder-film alteration theorist Jack White entered the online fray and stated that in his opinion the “foot” in the photo was really a hand resting on the top of the back seat, and I said he might be onto something, all hell broke loose. Post after post came claiming I was intellectually dishonest and Jack White was senile. “How could it be a hand?” “The shadows over the chrome on the side of the car prove it was a foot.” From this, I learned firsthand what it was like to be an alterationist and have the “guardians of the truth” attack your every word. While the defenders of the Clint Hill foot story (aside from Gary Mack) agreed that the “foot” had been altered to look more like a foot, they just couldn’t accept that the original object could be anything but a foot. When I pointed out that the “foot” appeared to have white socks and Clint Hill was wearing black socks, they said that was just the reflection of the sun. When I pointed out that the Miller photo was taken while Clint Hill was still on the Stemmons Freeway and that he’d testified to hooking his foot over the door after they pulled onto the off ramp, it brought nothing but guffaws. When I pointed out that it really didn’t matter whether it was Hill’s foot or not, since the Dallas Morning News initially altered the photo thinking it was Kennedy’s foot, and the Associated Press continued publishing the altered version of the photo, most prominently in their photo book *The Torch is Passed*, knowing full well the photo failed to match the original photo, it brought nothing but a “so what?” Few seemed to care that the Dallas Morning News and the AP made the shape in the photo look like a foot without ever attempting to find out whose foot it was, or even if it really was a foot. No one seemed disturbed that the AP gave an altered version of the photo, with the incorrect claim the foot was Kennedy’s, to the U.S. Secret Service, and that the Secret Service accepted their claim and presented this photo to the Warren Commission with the incorrect caption on January 8, 1964 (CD87, p504). No one even cared that this altered foot photo, with its incorrect caption claiming the foot belonged to Kennedy, made its way into the Doubleday version of the Warren Report, the book supposedly designed to tell the public the ultimate truth on the killing of President Kennedy. The photo of the dead man’s foot sold newspapers, magazines, and books. And evidently that was what mattered to the press in 1963.

Accessories Not After the Facts



On 12-2-10, the Discovery Channel premiered *The Kennedy Detail*, a 2 hour program telling the story of the assassination through the eyes of several members of Kennedy's Secret Service detail, one of whom, Paul Landis, can be seen to the right of Mrs. Kennedy in the photo at left, taken just after President Johnson was sworn into office. While the program could have broken new ground, and asked Landis such questions as 1) why he went out drinking until 5 o'clock in the morning on the day of the shooting, and 2) whether he noticed Rep. Albert Thomas winking to Johnson in the photo at left, and whether he found it as "sinister" as the photographer taking the picture, Cecil Stoughton, it did little digging, and focused mainly on the grief of the agents.

This was all too typical of the media's approach to the assassination: focus on the tragedy, and avoid the real questions. As first observed by Randy Owen, however, this program's producers crossed a line. When discussing the aftermath of the assassination, they presented three of Stoughton's photos of the swearing in, including the photo above. While doing so, however, they presented the key figures in the photos separately, and moved them slowly about. This created a jarring 3D effect, that, unfortunately, was not the only effect. In something straight out of Orwell, and as shown at right, Rep. Thomas' "sinister" wink was thereby concealed beneath Mrs. Johnson's slowly moving head. Hmmm...



Accessories Not After the Facts

And still matters. In 2003, I witnessed the media's treatment of the 40th anniversary of the assassination. Of the various television specials, the most anticipated and watched was the one on ABC, *Beyond Conspiracy*, hosted by anchor man Peter Jennings. The show opened on a discouraging note. Jennings boldly stated that he would present new evidence which established beyond a doubt that Oswald was a lone assassin. He then predicted that only those "beyond the pale" would doubt his evidence. Well, his "new" evidence turned out to be the same old half-truths from Gerald Posner and John Lattimer, spiced up by Dale Myers' blatantly deceptive animation. As bad as this was, Jennings saved the most insulting part of his program for the end. In summing up, Jennings quoted William Manchester on the ongoing attraction of conspiracy theories: "... if you put the murdered President of the United States on one side of a scale and that wretched waif Oswald on the other side, it doesn't balance. You want to add something weightier to Oswald. It would invest the President's death with meaning, endowing him with martyrdom. He would have died for something. . . . A conspiracy would, of course, do the job nicely." This statement of course grossly overstates both modern America's emotional attachment to JFK and the "wretched" status of Oswald, who was in fact quite an interesting young man. (After all, in 1963, how many 24 year-old ex-Marines had lived in Russia? Had lectured on the differences between the U.S. and Russia? Had discussed American foreign policy on radio and TV?) No, unfortunately for the late Mr. Jennings the reality seems more and more the reverse—that those who've continually *denied* there was a conspiracy are the ones doing the rationalizing and the ones unable to accept an inconvenient truth.

Consider the words of legendary lawyer Louis Nizer, in his introduction to the Warren Report: "*No one is as blind as those who will not see, and sight can be blocked by neurotic adherence to a conviction in which one has an investment of pride or a more sordid interest. We may expect therefore, that those*

who cannot be dented by information will continue to carp and propagandize...In this sense the report will not end all speculation. But in the historic sense, now that all the facts available have been quarried and justly evaluated, the report will dispose convincingly of the major questions. This is the incalculable service rendered by the Commission. This is its achievement in effectuating domestic tranquility and overcoming foreign skepticism. This is its contribution to history." Unfortunately for Nizer, the subsequent decay of the Report's reputation has led some to conclude that one of the closed minds he described in the introduction was his own. Certainly, his assertion that the flawed report had justly evaluated all the available facts, disposed convincingly of the major questions, effectuated domestic tranquility and overcame foreign skepticism reflected his own "investment of pride" in his conviction, and demonstrated his own willingness to "propagandize." But why would a man such as Nizer risk his reputation defending such a whitewash?

For that answer, let's consult with Chief Justice Earl Warren. From his memoirs, written shortly before his death: *"Practically all the Cabinet members of the Kennedy Administration, along with Director J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I. and Chief James Rowley of the Secret Service, whose duty it was to protect the life of the President, testified that to their knowledge there was no sign of any conspiracy. To say now that these people, as well as the Commission, suppressed, neglected to unearth, or overlooked evidence of a conspiracy would be an indictment of the entire government of the United States. It would mean the whole structure was absolutely corrupt from top to bottom, with not one person of high or low rank willing to come forward to expose the villainy..."* That so much depended on the Warren Commission's being right and on Oswald being the lone assassin might seem inconceivable today, when so many argue the merits of the case against Oswald as a purely intellectual exercise, but to men like Nizer and Warren this was a deeply serious matter. They *couldn't* be wrong. They couldn't even think about it without questioning the basis of their lives. Well, if life has taught me anything, it's when you're desperate for something to be true, it usually means you're afraid it isn't, and are too afraid to give it an honest look. And being afraid to look is no way to run an investigation.

As to why the controversy continues, long after men such as Nizer and Warren have passed, let's consider the words of newsman Jim Lehrer, from his own memoirs. Lehrer's words articulate the news media's ongoing resentment towards the "research" community, and reveal a possible motive for the likes of Peter Jennings when they attempt to discredit the believers in a conspiracy, and, in particular, Oliver Stone. Lehrer, who acknowledges a conspiracy is possible, nevertheless says of Stone's JFK, *"The movie, directly or indirectly, alleges that hundreds, thousands, of working CIA, FBI, and other agents; police officers, deputy sheriffs, Warren Commission staffers and congressional investigators; and reporters from news organizations of all sizes, persuasions, and resources were not interested in finding out who killed Kennedy, or worse, were either involved in the assassination, and/or the cover-up or manipulated by evil higher-ups who were. It is an absurdity beyond all honest imagination to claim people of such independent minds and spirits could be so involved or so used in killing a President of the United States...Only in a never-never land of the ignorant and the careless would such an idiotic conspiracy be taken seriously. It is a blood libel to repeat it in public, particularly in a large-screen \$40 million movie. And it says more about the people who make, finance, and appear in movies these days than it does about who killed John F. Kennedy."*

What Lehrer leaves unsaid is that researcher Harold Weisberg, working with attorney Jim Lesar, dug up more evidence on the assassination via the Freedom of Information Act than all the newspapers and news agencies in the country combined, and that this says something about the people who run the corporations who make, finance, and distribute newspapers in America these days. Mr. Lehrer also failed to note that, to this day, no network news division has ever done a special on the assassination that remotely details the evidence for the CIA's involvement in the conspiracy, and that maybe this says something about the people who run the media conglomerates who own the airwaves as well.

But Lehrer was far from alone. Most every icon of the American news industry has marched in lockstep on this point, arguing out one side of their mouths that they did everything they could to uncover the truth, whilst simultaneously spewing nonsense from the other side that indicates they were really too lazy or cowardly to even look for it.

A November 21, 1966 article by Wayne Thomis of the Chicago Tribune Press Service helps demonstrate this point. This article, written as a defense of the Johnson Administration and Warren Commission at a time when the public was just learning about a lot of the problems with the evidence against Oswald, claimed, in part:

- *"the commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren had at its disposal all the facilities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Had there been any basis for finding that a foreign power or agency was involved in the assassination, one or more of these federal investigative groups--all of whom were decidedly on a public hot seat because of the presidential murder--would have said as much." (This, of course, was utter hogwash. It turned out that both the CIA and FBI had knowledge of the CIA's assassination attempts on Castro--and of Oswald's supposed devotion to Castro--and yet neither thought it important to apprise the Commission of this fact.)*
- *"As to the shots, a point always debatable: Dallas police who were beside the presidential car and Secret Service men who were in and around it, have never had any doubts. All are convinced that three shots were fired and that all three were from an upper floor of the Texas School Book Depository building where the death rifle and three spent cartridges were recovered." (This is more hogwash. Two of the four Dallas policemen beside the presidential car--Chaney and Jackson--had not been interviewed by any official body or newspaper by 1966. A third--Hargis--only heard two shots. So only 1 of the 4--Martin--and not "all" of the Dallas police riding beside the limousine, as Thomis claims, heard three shots and thought they all came from behind. A number of Secret Service agents also had their doubts. Two--Hill and Landis--made it clear they only heard two shots. Landis also said he at first suspected that the last shot came from in front of the limousine. Even more problematic, however, was that all 8 of the agents claiming to have heard three shots said they heard the last two shots come in quick succession, which was inconsistent with Oswald having fired all the shots with his bolt-action rifle.)*
- *"There is a photograph in the Kennedy file taken at the time of the shooting. This shows a rifle muzzle protruding from the sixth floor window of the building." (It appears Thomis made this up from whole cloth. Perhaps he was thinking of photographer Robert Jackson's testimony that he saw the rifle but was out of film.)*
- *"On that same day (note: he means the day of the shooting) doctors also said that one of the bullets that pierced President Kennedy had continued on to wound Gov. Connolly, and they added that this bullet was found on the car's jump seat where the governor had been riding." (This is another fabrication. The doctors speaking in Dallas on the day of the shooting not only never mentioned the possibility that the bullet piercing Kennedy went on to hit Connolly, they discounted the possibility in their testimony before the Warren Commission. Their resistance to this theory was so great, in fact, that Connolly's doctor Robert Shaw never came to accept it. Even worse for Thomis, NO ONE, on the day of the shooting or even in the years immediately afterwards, had suggested that the magic bullet was found on the jump seat of the limousine. This then would appear to be a half-assed recollection conjured up for a half-assed article by what is apparently a half-assed journalist.)*
- *"Many desk and typewriter types doubt that a bolt-arm could be sighted and fired three times in five to six seconds. Rifle experts around the world know that this is easily possible. Also they*

recognize that the President's attacker fired from point blank range (as far as the high-velocity military rifle was concerned) at a no-deflection target, so the shooting was good but not sensational." (This is a gross exaggeration. Shooting at a moving target from almost a hundred yards away can never be considered shooting at "point blank range.")

- *"Oswald walked down the street and boarded a bus that took him, with many leisurely stops, out to Oak Cliff, a Dallas suburb. Then he dropped off and took a taxi (The reaction was beginning to set in) to his solitary in-town room in that area. Once there he hastily changed his shirt and jacket and stuffed a revolver and handful of cartridges into his pocket." (This would be funny if it weren't so annoying. The Warren Commission determined that Oswald got off the bus long before it reached Oak Cliff. It determined, furthermore, that Oswald DID NOT change his shirt at his "in-town room." This was important because they used the fibers from the shirt Thomis claims Oswald changed into only after the shooting to link Oswald to the gun found on the sixth floor. By suggesting that these fibers were somehow planted after the fact, Thomis thereby fuels the conspiracy theories he is set upon refuting. OOPS.)*

An August 25, 1993 article by columnist Jimmy Breslin suggests that Thomis was far from alone in his desire to report the story as he wanted it to be, rather than as it was.

AT LAST TRUTH ABOUT THE SHOTS

"Case Closed" is a book that tells the truth. It was written by Gerald Posner and published by Random House. Posner shows that Lee Harvey Oswald killed President John F. Kennedy by himself. Case closed.

Then there is Oliver Stone, whose movie "JFK" was what my friend Fred Dannen of the New Yorker magazine calls, "An intellectual snuff film. Literal truth is murdered on screen."

I was in Dallas on the day Kennedy was shot and spoke to the doctor who was doing the chest-thumping at the end. He knew two bullets had hit Kennedy in the back. Which meant Oswald. And I had been with the Dallas police, who had just lost officer J.D. Tippit. He had been killed by Oswald, who, completely alone, was trying to get away and had no idea where to go.

Now Oliver Stone sends the video of his movie to schools around the country so they can show it in years to come. But finally, here is Gerald Posner, who worked like a ditchdigger and documented every paragraph of "Case Closed" and can tell us: "But for those seeking the truth, the facts are incontrovertible. They can be tested against credible testimony, documents and the latest scientific advances. Chasing shadows across the grassy knoll will never be the substitute for real history. Lee Harvey Oswald, driven by his own twisted and impenetrable furies, was the only assassin at Dealey Plaza on Nov. 22, 1963. To say otherwise, in the light of the overwhelming evidence, is to absolve a man with blood on his hands and to mock the president he killed."

"Case Closed" shows that Lee Harvey Oswald's palm prints were all over boxes he used to put up a sniper's nest, and all over the gun and the paper it was wrapped in when he brought it to work.

In the movie, they had the FBI taking Oswald's hand, after he was shot, and slapping it on the gun to provide a handprint. And in the movie, Stone never had Oswald firing a shot.

After the shooting, Oswald ran out of the Texas School Book Depository building and had to get on a bus, get off the bus, then murder Tippit in broad daylight in the street and run into a movie without paying and try to hide.

In the movie, the shooting of the officer, Tippit, simply did not happen. Posner shows that what this Stone did was to take two big best-selling conspiracy books, one by Jim Garrison, the New Orleans district attorney who was crazed, and the other by Jim Marrs, who wrote that Kennedy was shot by a world-class assassin who was hired by the world crime syndicate, the CIA, the anti-Castro people and the right wing and the U.S. military. Both of these books made a lot of money and covered the shelves with slime.

I sat in an office at Parkland Hospital with Dr. Malcolm Perry a few hours after President Kennedy was killed. Perry had been one of the first two medical people in the trauma room when Kennedy was brought in. Perry was elated when Posner came around and asked for the truth.

That day in 1963, Perry had been eating salmon croquettes in the cafeteria when the call came that they were bringing the president in. He cut Kennedy's throat to insert a tube for breathing. The cut was directly over an exit wound from a shot that had hit Kennedy in the back of the neck. Dr. Pepper Jenkins, who had done the most gunshot wounds, felt the entrance wound in the back of the neck. Perry began massaging Kennedy's chest, and the guy working with him, Kemp Clark, said, "It's too late, Mac."

In all conspiracy theories, they demand to know why Kennedy's body hadn't been turned over so they could look for a wound in the back.

Kennedy was dead and his wife was standing over him. And the doctors said they didn't turn him over because they "didn't have the heart."

There was a morning in my memory when the late John Connally, who had been in front of Kennedy in the car in Dallas, walked into the unopened bar of the Regency Hotel on Park Avenue and with busboys and cleaning men looking at him, he pulled off his jacket and shirt and showed a long wound behind his right shoulder. Connally said it showed that the bullet had been tumbling over as it hit him because it already had gone through Kennedy's shoulder and neck.

Connally then showed the big exit wound in his chest, then held up his right wrist. There was another dark brown bullet hole. The bullet, tumbling out of his chest, had taken clothing with it into the wrist wound.

He tapped his left thigh. "It wound up here," he told the busboys, "One bullet did that. Through the president first and then right through me."

Now we have Gerald Posner, who cares about telling the truth, which is the job of a true writer.

Breslin is a syndicated columnist based in New York City.

Breslin's article is wrong on almost every key point, beginning with its over-all thesis--that Posner was a reliable truth-teller, and a "true writer." Posner's research was, in fact, so shaky that his fellow single-assassin theorist Vincent Bugliosi felt it necessary to dis-own Posner's dishonest presentation of the evidence. Breslin's attacks on Garrison are equally biased and over-stated.

Where Breslin really falters, no, scratch that, falls, however, is when he injects his personal experiences to support his position. Breslin at first claims that Dr. Perry "knew two bullets had hit Kennedy in the back" but then later acknowledges that Kennedy's body wasn't even turned over in Perry's presence. He thereby contradicts himself, and reveals himself to be far less than a "truth-teller." (Was Breslin thus, not a "true writer"?). Even worse, Breslin fails to tell his readers that when he interviewed Dr. Perry in 1963 Dr. Perry was unaware of any wound on Kennedy's back, and believed Kennedy had been shot from the front. Breslin also fails to tell his readers that his article on Perry, which was widely circulated in the Saturday Evening Post, convinced many that the Government was lying when it later told them that the shots came from behind, and that his own reporting had thereby fed the earliest conspiracy theories, and the subsequent theories of Garrison, Marrs, and Stone.

But Breslin's presentation of Connally as a supporter of the official story is even more egregious. Here, Breslin insists he saw Connally showing his scars off, and claiming that the bullet striking him had come through the President. Well, if Breslin had actually seen this, he should have reported it, because it would have made HEADLINES AROUND THE WORLD. Connally insisted until his dying breath that he was not struck by the same bullet that struck Kennedy and that he NEVER subscribed to the single-bullet theory, not even for a second.

Now, do I believe Breslin deliberately lied about Perry and Connally? While it seems an incredible coincidence that Breslin presented two public figures to support his position that conspiracy theories

are hogwash, and chose two public figures whose statements have long fed conspiracy theories, and LIED about both of them, I actually doubt his lies were deliberate. Instead, I suspect he just remembered things in a manner convenient to his pre-dispositions. He'd just read Posner's book and was anxious to pile on Stone.

But whether or not Breslin lied by design is not the point. The point is that a newsman remotely concerned about the truth, and who'd done one lick of homework, would have known that Perry initially believed the shots had come from the front, and would have known that Connally never stopped disputing the single-bullet theory. Years later, in the November 16 2003 Newsday, Breslin presented another article on Perry. This time he noted that Perry had originally described the throat wound as an entrance wound, and that this had fed conspiracy theories. Perhaps, for this article, Breslin had done his homework.

Breslin's lies at worst, or sloppy misrepresentations at best, are nevertheless informative. It's undoubtedly significant that none of the writers upset over the deceptions in Oliver Stone's admittedly fictional film expressed any concern over Breslin's deceptions about Connally in a supposedly non-fiction article, or similar deceptions in similar articles attacking Stone's film. Evidently, they saw lying as something that "conspiracy theorists" did to stir up controversy, and failed to take note of the lies designed to shut down controversy... Or maybe they took note of these lies, but decided to overlook them due to "professional courtesy."

This latter possibility is undermined by the sad fact that this "professional courtesy" is extended way beyond the realm of their fellow scribes, and is extended to most anyone choosing to say Oswald did it, even those who should be held to a higher standard. When former LBJ aide and MPAA chief Jack Valenti published his memoir *This Time, This Place* in 2007, shortly before he died, not one reviewer of whom I am aware commented on the audacious lies Valenti chose to print as his final words on the assassination. After denouncing Oliver Stone's movie *JFK* as "a piece of beguiling crap, replacing reason with noisy lie from first scene to last," Valenti closed his book with the suggestion he was still haunted by the events of November 22, 1963. He then described a visit to the sixth floor sniper's nest, which purportedly put things in perspective.

He wrote: *"Then I moved toward the sixth-floor window through which four decades ago Lee Harvey Oswald peered, aiming his bolt-action Mannlicher rifle. When I gazed out the window, I saw for the first time how terribly close the depository was to the traffic that swung around the bend onto Dealey Plaza. I could have thrown a baseball and hit a car moving below. I imagined a motorcade, cars moving slowly at 8 miles an hour; and Oswald, a marine skilled with a Mannlicher rifle, at the ready on the windowsill. I thrust my hands together as if I were holding a rifle, aiming at the cars below. Then my hands began to tremble. Angry lizards started crawling over my flesh. A marksman would have no trouble in sighting and shooting, the target was so close."*

This dramatic passage, of course, conceals that 1) the first shot wasn't fired when Kennedy was beneath the sixth-floor window, but when he was more than 50 yards past the window; 2) the motorcade wasn't traveling 8 miles an hour during the shooting sequence, but over 11 miles an hour; 3) Oswald was not a marine at the time of the shooting, but a former marine, 4 years removed from service; 4) Oswald was not only not skilled on the Mannlicher rifle, as far as is known, but there is no record of him having fired it; and 5) Oswald was not a Marine Corps marksman at the time of the shooting, as he'd barely qualified as a marksman in 1959, and had not kept in practice.

But did anyone in the press call Valenti to task for such nonsense? Of course not.

And this wasn't just a courtesy paid an established media icon near the end of his life. In 2010, the History Channel helped create a mini-series on the Kennedy family entitled *The Kennedys*. Word got out that this series was gonna focus on JFK's womanizing and drug use. As a result there was a

backlash against it even before there was a forward lash for it, and the History Channel chose to drop the series. It was finally broadcast on the Reelz Channel, to mostly negative reviews, in 2011. While these negative reviews questioned the over-all historical accuracy of the program, however, few if any noted that the series' depiction of Kennedy's assassination was misleading nonsense seemingly designed to sell Lee Harvey Oswald as Kennedy's assassin. Consider:

- 1) When first shown, Lee Harvey Oswald is sitting in a house cleaning his rifle, presumably preparing for his attempt on Kennedy. In reality, there was no credible evidence Oswald had handled his rifle for months before the shooting, and the rifle found in the school book depository had not recently been cleaned.
- 2) When next shown, Oswald is getting into a car driven by his co-worker, Buell Wesley Frazier. Frazier asks him about the long paper package holding Oswald's rifle, and Oswald tells him it's curtain rods. In reality, or at least the Warren Commission's reality, Frazier did not pick up Oswald, as shown in the series, but met Oswald outside his own house after Oswald had thrown his package into the back of Frazier's car. The significance of this change is that it removes a second witness to Oswald's package--Frazier's sister, who saw Oswald walk across the street and put the package in her brother's car--from the story. Not surprisingly, Frazier's sister, Linnie Mae Randle, agreed with her brother that the package she saw in Oswald's possession was far smaller than the large bag necessary to hold Oswald's rifle, even when the rifle was dismantled.
- 3) It next shows Oswald take his package up to the sixth floor sniper's nest and put it on a box by the window. No one saw him with the package in the building. There is no evidence this happened.
- 4) Soon after, it shows Oswald's co-workers tell him they're heading out to lunch, and that he should meet them down on the grassy knoll. He says he'll be down in a minute. This is totally inaccurate in that none of Oswald's co-workers had their lunch on the knoll. It clearly replaces a real incident, moreover, where a number of Oswald's co-workers heading down from the sixth floor in an elevator heard him yell out from the fifth floor and ask if they could shut the gate on the elevator (and thereby make it accessible to him) when they reached the bottom. Why was this changed?
- 5) The next scene featuring Oswald gives us a clue. It shows Oswald eating fried chicken and sipping a Coke on the sixth floor while waiting for the motorcade to arrive. This is repulsive. While fried chicken and a Dr. Pepper bottle were found near the sniper's nest, and initially attributed to the shooter, it was soon discovered that these belonged to Bonnie Ray Williams, and that Bonnie Ray Williams had eaten his lunch just yards from the sniper's nest at the very time the Warren Commission assumed Oswald was putting his rifle together in the sniper's nest. By having Oswald eat the chicken, of course, Williams' problematic presence could be avoided...as could the almost certain fact that Oswald ate his lunch downstairs. (Four of his coworkers--James Jarman, William Shelley, Eddie Piper, and Carolyn Arnold--made statements indicating that they'd seen him downstairs after the elevator incident in which he'd been heard on the fifth floor.)
- 6) But if there was any doubt the creators of the series were out to deceive, the next scene pretty much kills it. They show Oswald pull his rifle--intact--from the paper package he'd brought into the depository. This conceals that the paper package purportedly found in the building--which was already far too large to be the bag described by Frazier and Randle--was still too small to contain the intact rifle, and that the rifle would have to have been dismantled to have been carried in the bag. Perhaps the creators of the show thought a shot of Oswald putting his rifle together with a dime, as proposed by the Warren Commission, would be too confusing to its viewers.
- 7) Oswald then puts a full ammunition clip in his rifle. Three shells were purportedly found in the sniper's nest, and one bullet in the chamber. That's four. A clip holds six. This was probably just lazy film-making, but perhaps the creators of the series were trying to hide that Oswald supposedly set out

to kill Kennedy with the last four bullets in his possession, and that the Warren Commission could never even figure out where these bullets came from.

8) Alas, the assassination scene finally arrives, and doesn't disappoint, in its inaccuracy... Three shots are fired in about three seconds. It seems more than a coincidence that this makes the shooting look relatively easy, when the experts to test Oswald's rifle claimed the bolt was fairly stiff and that as a result it was difficult to fire more than once every two seconds.

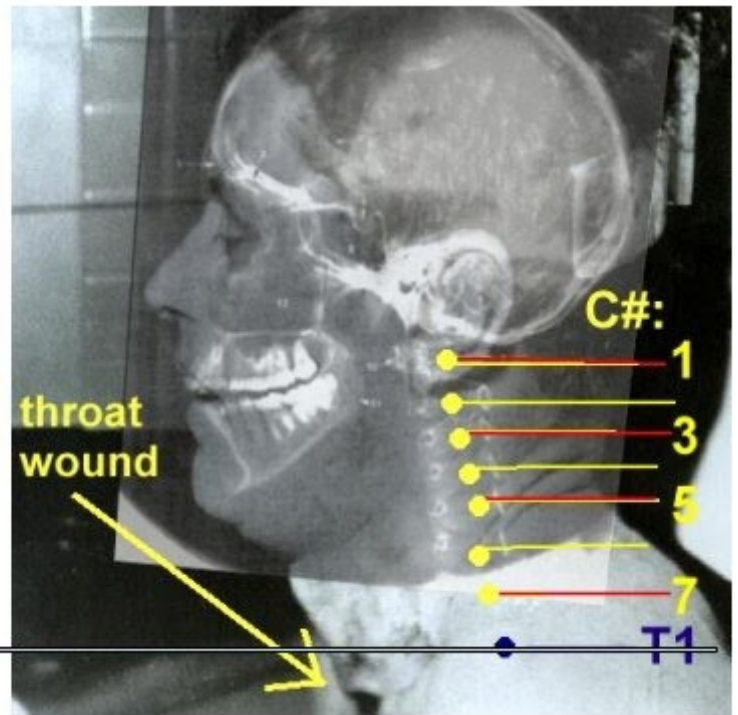
In short the series depicted a straightforward shooting--a man in a building killed a man in a car--and hid from its audience that many questions remain about the man supposedly performing the shooting and how the shooting was performed. But this was nothing new.

In the 2003 book *Four Days in November*, Tom Wicker, the long-time White House correspondent for the New York Times and a witness to the chaos of Dealey Plaza from behind the windows of a press bus, offered a mea culpa of sorts, explaining how those so close to a big story like the assassination might miss it. He wrote: *"After long and unhappy consideration of my own and others' failure, I believe we didn't work hard enough to get behind the surface to reality. In the early 1960's, in what still was basically the Washington of the 1950's, still under the spell of Eisenhower the father figure, White House reporters, including me—were not skeptical enough, challenging enough, diligent enough, dedicated enough to the watchdog function of the press, its best reason for First Amendment protection. We didn't work hard enough to find out the facts, and that meant we didn't do our duty as reporters. Many critics—of the press...believe that reporters... 'covered up'...I believe the greater fault was a complacent belief among reporters like me that we were being told what we needed to know and that what we were being told was the truth. 'Handout journalism' still was the custom of the day, until dislodged by the lies of Vietnam and Watergate—dislodged, at that, only among those willing to learn the lesson."*

Pretty powerful words...about as scathing an attack on the complacency of the White House press as one will find from a long-time journalist. Sadly, however, Wicker was not talking about the failure of the Washington press to accurately report the assassination and its subsequent investigation, but its failure to tell the world the sordid details about President Kennedy's sex life. Feel free to scream.

The mainstream media's refusal to take a serious interest in the assassination, and Academia's failure to correct the false history created by the Warren Commission, has helped spark a new battleground for those wishing to expose young minds to alternative perspectives on history: the internet.

Wrestling Over History



The now-defunct website of Dr. Chad Zimmerman and the website of his fellow single-assassin theorist Paul Seaton used to feature nearly identical exhibits. A close comparison of these exhibits, however, revealed that Zimmerman's C7 was at the same level as Seaton's T1. Seaton's less accurate exhibit lives on.

Wrestling Over History

One of the saddest conclusions I've come to as a result of my journey through JFK-land is that the search for truth is really more like a wrestling match. Few of those considered "experts" by the media are open to new ideas. Many would rather rattle off a ten-page article repeating what they think they know than read a five page article expressing a new perspective. I suppose this is only natural. Not knowing what happened in 1963 means one can not be entirely sure what happened afterward. Once one takes their stand, whether it's "the entire government teamed up to kill Kennedy" or "Oswald killed Kennedy and a bunch of America-hating wackos are trying to make us think he didn't," one has ground to protect. In order to protect that ground, many short-cuts are taken.

One of the biggest surprises for me was that there are virtually NO government defenders active in the assassination research community. I didn't come across one person who would say without hesitation that the HSCA got it right. Not one. There were some who claimed to defend the Warren Commission, but even these defenders contend the first shot missed or that Kennedy was first struck at frame 224, conclusions the Warren Commission correctly refused to reach. They would also say they stood by the original interpretations of the autopsy doctors, but then ignore that the doctors initially decided the bullet creating the back wound had fallen out, or that the doctors initially interpreted the "mystery" photo as a depiction of an entrance wound in the posterior scalp. In sum, I found that the supposed

defenders of the status quo are really Lone-Nut Theorists--LNTs. They have their own theories on what happened and why. Some of them even acknowledge there was a cover-up. These men hold that Oswald killed Kennedy, but that LBJ thought it was Castro, so LBJ covered it up even though he didn't need to. Anything but admit the possibility there was a second shooter... that's crossing the line.

Another important point about LNT's... They are not in the habit of correcting one another. As demonstrated on the slide above, they will create contradictory exhibits and offer contradictory opinions on certain subjects. But they rarely publicly disagree, even when one of them knows that what the other one is pushing is terribly deceptive or misleading.

They are also very human, and thus not in the habit of admitting they themselves are wrong... about anything. On January 26, 2010, LNT Paul Seaton finally got wind that I was using one of his images on the slide above to demonstrate the inconsistency of he and his brethren, and had a fit. On the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, he wrote:

"I also found on Pat Speare's website, much to my surprise, a jpg which I myself created , about 10 years ago - involving some vertebrae, - that Mr Speare seems to have lifted wholesale from my website. (Can't say I recall him ever stooping to TELL ME he had done so.)

Here's the image :

<http://www.patspeer.com/wrestling.jpg/wrestling-full.jpg>

Here's the page it's on :

<http://www.patspeer.com/chapter19:wrestlingoverhistory>

Spear pontificates :

"By lifting T1 to C7 & C7 to C6 Seaton has misrepresented the level of the back wound in comparison to the throat wound" ...making me sound for all the world as if I were part of some global back wound misplacement conspiracy.

Spear conveniently leaves out the annotation I put next to the damn picture where it appears on my website that: "This diagram - at right - does not use JFK's own xray. I don't know of one that shows the vertebrae. So this is a guide merely to where one might expect to find T1 'on average'.)" Here's the page :

http://www.paulseaton.com/jfk/diagrams/kennedy_graphics2.htm

*I really can't say I have any respect for any individual who uses a graphic of mine *without informing me or asking permission* , leaves off the annotation which explains quite clearly it's just a ball park estimate , & proceeds to spin me as 'misrepresenting' evidence.*

Consequently Mr Spear, I would ask you EITHER to insert the annotation above, ie that " Paul Seaton has clearly stated, on his website, for about the last ten years, in plain English, that this diagram that I, Pat Spear , have so egregiously stolen & misrepresented without so much as bothering to inform him, does not use JFK's own xray. It is, was & always will be merely a guide merely to where one might expect to find T1 'on average'.)" AND ALSO to include a statement to the effect that you apologise for accusing ME of 'misrepresenting' evidence (when in fact it was YOU who was misrepresenting what was clearly stated on my website) OR REMOVE THAT IMAGE FROM YOUR WEBSITE PRONTO.

I have spent many a happy hour here arguing with people of all shades of opinion. I may disagree with their views but in just about all cases come away not doubting their sincerity or good faith.

Just about all cases, Mr Spear."

I present Seaton's reprimand in total, so the reader can see what we're dealing with. Here, he admits that an image posted on his website for 10 years is just a ball park estimate, but wants me to feel bad for demonstrating its inconsistency with other more accurate images. He wants us to believe, furthermore,

that the inaccuracy of this image, which he asserts shows the location of the vertebrae "on average", and his apparent reluctance to establish a more accurate depiction of the vertebrae, has nothing to do with his fervent belief a bullet striking Kennedy in the back from above descended in Kennedy's neck, and is all just a big coincidence. Apparently he, like all too many LNTs, believes he deserves the benefit of the doubt on these issues.

But, after years online arguing with LNTs like Seaton, I feel quite certain no such benefit is deserved.

I reprint below the actual caption to the image on Seaton's website:

Where is T1?

Clearly, above the throat wound.

(This diagram - at right - does not use JFK's own xray. I don't know of one that shows the vertebrae. So this is a guide merely to where one might expect to find T1 'on average'.)

See also

<http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/angle.jpg>)

...where it can be seen how well this lines up with the back wound location.

Hmm... The caption demonstrates that Seaton was most definitely not just using his image to show those reading his website where T1 was on average, as claimed, but was using it to try and convince his readers that the throat wound was "clearly, above the throat wound." By showing his readers it was "clearly, above the throat wound", moreover, he was using it to convince his readers that the HSCA pathology panel, which claimed the throat wound was higher on the body than Kennedy's back wound, was incorrect, and that those "correcting" the pathology panel's trajectory and placing the throat wound far below the back wound, such as Robert Artwohl, are in fact correct. That Seaton actually LINKS to the thoroughly debunked Artwohl exhibit on the website of John McAdams (see chapter 12) only confirms this analysis.

So, while in the newsgroup post cited above Seaton mocked the notion he is part of a "*global back wound misplacement conspiracy*" the actual caption to the image he was so upset I didn't quote demonstrates that his admittedly "ballpark estimate" was in fact designed to support an easily debunked exhibit on a website designed to convince people Oswald acted alone. There is an expression for this: disinformation. Now, whether Seaton is a knowing agent in this disinformation and whether the small clique of LNTs actively and collectively pushing this disinformation is of a global nature or not, I don't know.

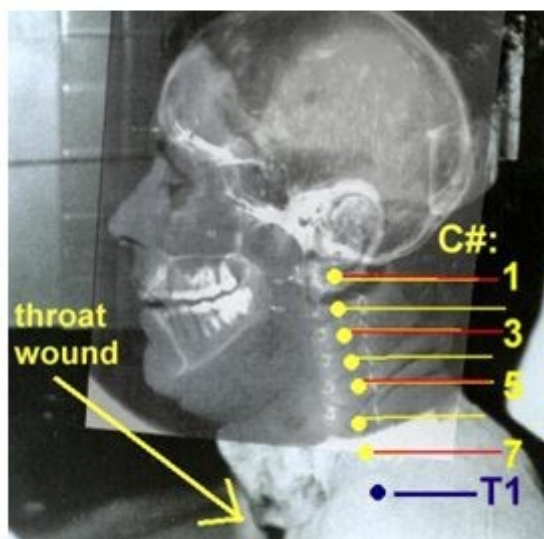
Still, even if he wasn't linking his image to McAdams' website, there'd be reason to doubt Seaton's objectivity. I have yet to come across one LNT whose "ballpark estimates" erred in favor of an argument suggesting a conspiracy. I have yet to come across one LNT who believes the back wound was at the level of Kennedy's spine determined by the HSCA Pathology Panel, let alone determined it to be lower than they asserted based upon a "ballpark estimate." LNTs, in fact, routinely misrepresent the back wound location, and routinely lie about it afterward. As a result, I strongly suspect Seaton's claim his image was just a "ballpark estimate" represents a cowardly attempt to evade responsibility for his ongoing deception re the back wound location.

Pretty harsh words, I know. But take a look at this: [Typical Neck X-Ray](#)

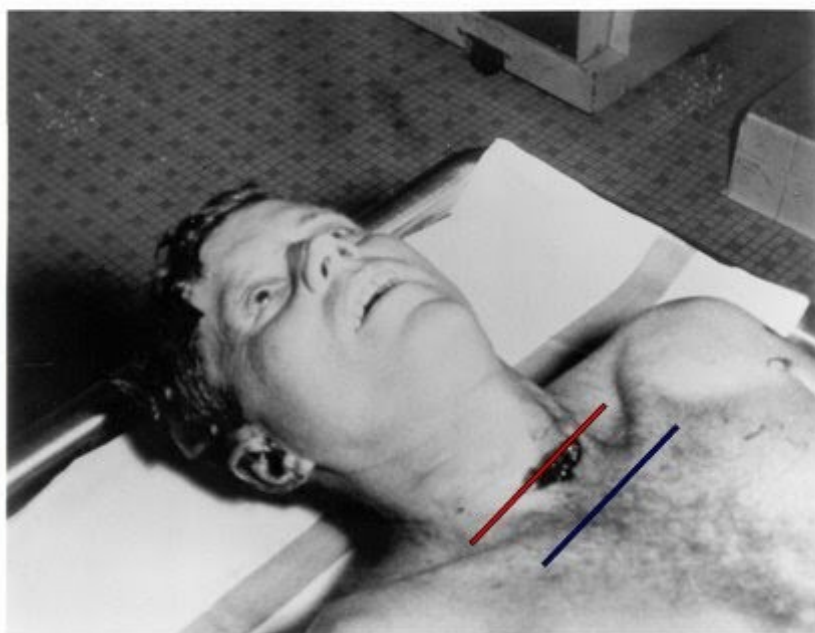
I found the x-ray at the link above in five minutes. It shows that the Adam's Apple is typically found at C5, and not C6, as in Seaton's image. It also shows the base of the throat, Kennedy's entrance wound location, to be adjacent to C7/T1, and not T2/T3, as in Seaton's image.

But perhaps this needs a closer examination...

Where Was the Throat Wound?



Above: an image created by Paul Seaton. Note that he places Kennedy's throat wound at T2 or below. The HSCA had it at C7/T1.



Above: the Kennedy "stare of death" autopsy photo. If the red line corresponds to T2 as on Seaton's image, the blue line signifying the top of the suprasternal notch would be at T4 or below.

At left, a chart in the March 2007 Diagnostic and Interventional Radiology. Only 3 out of 82 patients studied had a suprasternal notch at T4 or below. Most were higher than T3. This suggests that Kennedy's throat wound was at T1 or higher.

Level of the sternal notch in relation to the upper thoracic vertebral bodies in 102 consecutive cases, as determined by T2-weighted midsagittal MRI scans

Level of the sternal notch	Number of cases (%)
T1	3 (2.9)
T1-2	2 (2)
T2	16 (15.7)
T2-3	26 (25.5)
T3	28 (27.5)
T3-4	4 (3.9)
T4 and below	3 (2.9)
Not visible	20 (19.6)

Where was the Throat Wound?

The closer examination depicted on the slide above took about two hours to create. The basic "research" used to create it took about half that time. The ease with which I found this information, and the obvious conclusion drawn from it that Seaton's "ballpark estimate" was wrong and that Kennedy's throat wound was not at T2, suggests, then, that Seaton actually made no real effort to establish where T1 was "on average", but was just blowing smoke to hide his deception.

Still, even so, Seaton was correct about one thing... As I had no real evidence he'd ever actually studied anatomy long enough to establish the actual "average" location for T1 in a man's neck, my original caption claiming he "lifted T1 to C7" did overstate the case. And so on 1-31-2010 I changed the caption in order to smooth his ruffled feathers... Now, did I smooth them? Only time will tell. But last I read he was claiming copyright law protects his right to litter the internet with obviously inaccurate "ballpark

estimates", and that no one has the right use his "estimates" to prove them inaccurate, or inconsistent with the work of others, without his permission.

Apparently, he was unable to recognize the irony of his making these claims on a newsgroup moderated by John McAdams, whose own webpage is littered with dozens of images stolen from conspiracy books and programs, in order to demonstrate their deception. Apparently, he'd forgotten completely that the photos of the "back of the head" witnesses featured on his website were, by his own admission, "stolen" from Robert Groden's book, *The Killing of a President*.

In short, he seemed unaware of the legal concept of Fair Use, which, according to Wikipedia, a monument to Fair Use, holds:

Notwithstanding the provisions of sections [17 U.S.C. § 106](#) and [17 U.S.C. § 106A](#), the fair use of a copyrighted work, including such use by reproduction in copies or phonorecords or by any other means specified by that section, for purposes such as criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use), scholarship, or research, is not an infringement of copyright. In determining whether the use made of a work in any particular case is a fair use the factors to be considered shall include:

- 1. the purpose and character of the use, including whether such use is of a commercial nature or is for nonprofit educational purposes;*
- 2. the nature of the copyrighted work;*
- 3. the amount and substantiality of the portion used in relation to the copyrighted work as a whole; and*
- 4. the effect of the use upon the potential market for or value of the copyrighted work.*

Note further the irony that Seaton is claiming copyright to an image *he* almost certainly stole from someone else, the x-ray, superimposed atop an image he undoubtedly stole from someone else, the Kennedy autopsy photo.

Unfortunately, Seaton's disingenuity on this issue is pretty much par for the course in LNT-land.

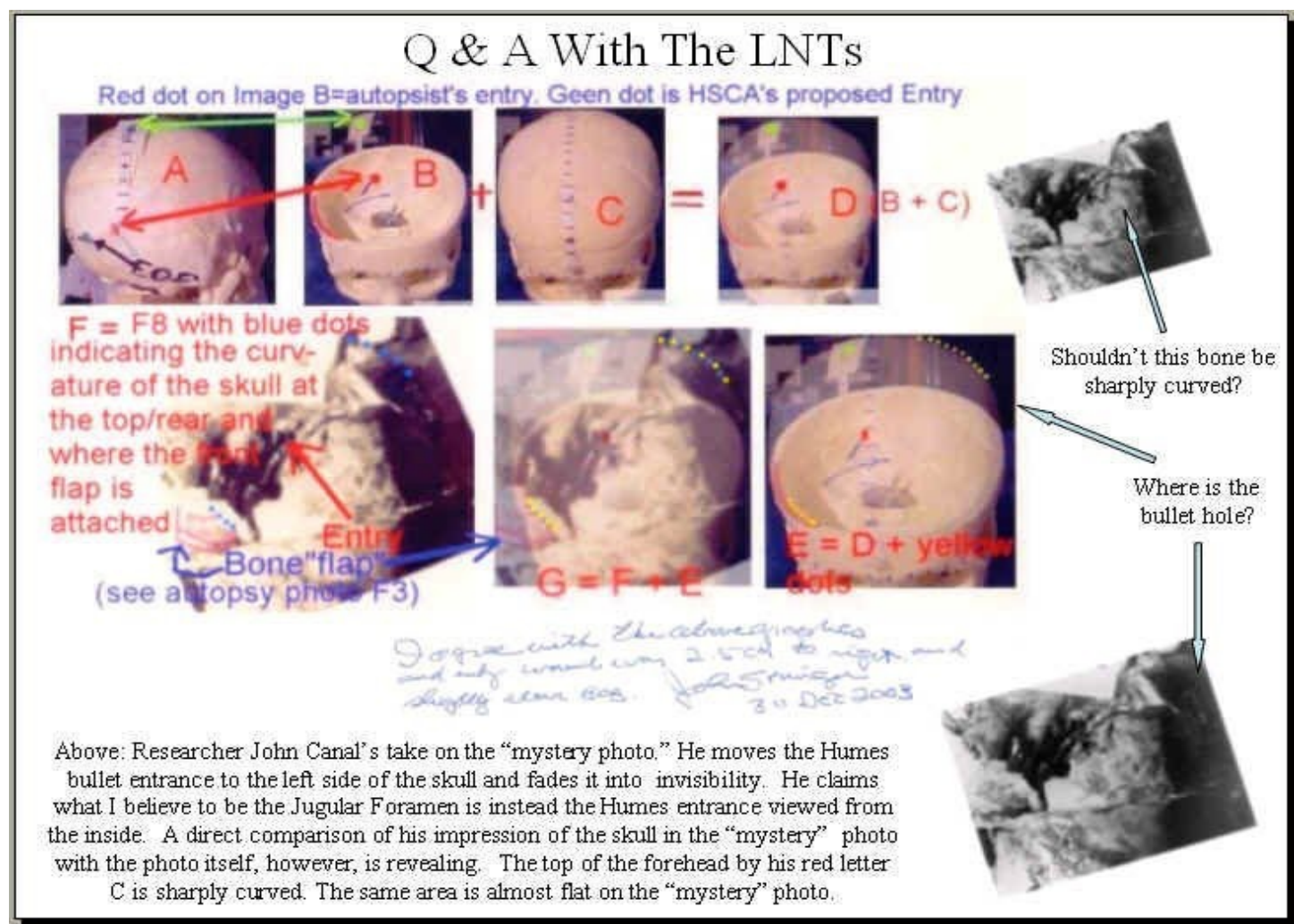
While my examination of Dale Myers' animation in chapter 12c makes it more than clear to most that his work can not be trusted, not one LNT has acknowledged that my work has proven anything. They recite like a mantra that Dale Myers' animation is the most accurate simulation ever done, blah blah blah. One prominent LNT, David Von Pein, after realizing that Dale Myers' response to my criticisms included his admission that the animation presented in *Beyond the Magic Bullet* was distorted, announced that he thought Myers--the creator of the original animation distorted by the program--was probably wrong about this.

Furthermore, while conspiracy theorists fight all day long over shadows on Polaroid photographs, LNTs usually present a united front to the public. From watching TV and frequenting single-assassin theorist websites, one might never know that Gerald Posner and Larry Sturdivan completely disagree on the head wounds, or that Dr. John Lattimer and Dale Myers disagreed on the entry wound on the neck/back. The media, in their well-intentioned attempts to present both sides of every story, have inadvertently propped up the LNTs as defenders of the status quo, a status quo they truly don't believe or represent. Accordingly, I've come to think of the LNTs as really a construct of the media, the anti-conspiracy theorist theorists. The tag-team in white.

Some believe the hype. On August 26, 2006, lone-nut theorist Tom Lowry boasted on alt.assassination.JFK that "I just love being part of gangbuster - team America." In May 2007, on alt.conspiracy.JFK he started a thread on my research which began with "Pat Speer=dufus" and ended up with him swearing "MAY YOU AND YOURS BURN IN HELL FOREVER."

And some just love to hate. One anonymous character on the IMDB forum for the film JFK responded to a 2008 post in which I mentioned the inability of most single-assassin theorists to make sense of the medical evidence with "Sorry. pal. You don't possess the intellect to warrant such pomposity... You are a classic doryphore, calling out petty complaints from the peanut gallery when your own "research" is far more pathetic and delusional than any of the errors made by the WC or the HSCA or even Lattimer. You also engage in uninvited attacks on researchers yourself, so you are no passive "above-it-all" observer of the foibles of others. You also lie about other researchers' work. You don't get off your ass to do a single bit of your own research; you plant yourself at your TV and your computer, getting hard ons from minor errors and disagreements among real researchers and run to your silly website to lie about what you've observed. Of all the conspiracy clowns around here, you are the most pathetic."

It seems I have a fan.



Q and A with the LNTs

When I first put my work online, in November 2005, I was prepared for the worst. I came to so many unique conclusions, I felt that a few of them must be nonsense. I fully anticipated that within days of my going public, I would find a thread on one of the JFK forums about what an absolute fool I was. Instead, I received a number of compliments on my work. Some conspiracy theorists disagreed with my basic approach, because I relied upon the Zapruder film and the autopsy photos, or trusted ___'s

word over ____'s, but few disputed my ability to understand information and come to valid conclusions.

Emboldened, I decided to risk the Lion's Den known as alt.assassination.JFK, a newsgroup dominated by single-assassin theorists and aggressive conspiracy theorists, each with his own take on the assassination and more than willing to argue about it. Here, I had numerous exchanges with long-time researcher John Canal, author of *Silencing the Lone Assassin*. Canal believes that Oswald acted alone, but that Lyndon Johnson, the Warren Commission, the Clark Panel and even the HSCA misrepresented the medical evidence to try and hide the possibility of conspiracy. Eventually, I sought common ground with Canal, and found it. While he adamantly believes that the "mystery photo" is of Kennedy's forehead, and has even persuaded autopsy photographer John Stringer and forensic pathologist Henry Lee of this, he agrees that the photo needs to be studied in more detail by a panel of experts, so that the matter can once and for all be put to rest.

Of course, like all true believers, Canal spent much of his energy trying to convert me to his cause. To that end he sent me his take on the mystery photo, which is depicted on the slide above. This, of course, led me to take an even closer look at the photo, and find more reasons to doubt its current official interpretation. You see, in Canal's analysis the bone to the right of the ruler is the left back section of the skull. Well... where is the scalp that covered this skull? Since the right back part of the skull has scalp apparent, why not the left? Did the doctors reflect the scalp down on just one side? The side of the skull said to be undamaged? My, that would be odd.

Anyhow, here are some typical encounters with Canal...

To dispute my contention that a full-metal jacket bullet shattering upon impact would create a larger entrance than one that did not, and that therefore the 6 mm entrance on the back of Kennedy's skull was too small for an entrance of a 6.5 mm bullet that shattered, Canal responded: "the major pieces couldn't have INSTANTANEOUSLY distanced themselves from the rest of the missile...even by half an inch or so...right? So if those major pieces took, let's say 100 microseconds to separate, the bullet would have been intact for that long...and, as I recall the bullet would probably have traveled about two inches in that time... Moreover, while the nose of the bullet was undoubtedly "deformed" by the time it cleared the INNER table of the skull, an "undeformed" bullet pierced the OUTER table of the skull...and the skull's elasticity, as little as there was, kept the hole in the outer table at the size noted in the report." *(I believe he's wrong. The fracturing of a bullet, or a skull, occurs faster than the speed of the bullet. A fracture is not caused by an impact, but by the deformity resulting from an impact. It's hard to see how this deformity would develop subsequent to the initial impact. When a baseball player hits a ball so hard it tears the cover off, does the cover tear when the ball is on the bat, or 100 microseconds later? Finally, wouldn't skull elastic enough to make bullet holes shrink be too elastic to shatter a bullet?)* At another point, when I mentioned that few forensic pathologists were willing to agree with Larry Sturdivan that the low entrance described at the autopsy is consistent with the brain injuries, Canal said "That's because no one considered a deflection of the bullet as it pierced the rear skull near the EOP...and dry human test skulls didn't reveal any deflecting bullets. The bottom line is that the bullet deflected just above the tentorium, and only bruised the cerebellum. Moreover, the longitudinal laceration is perfectly consistent with an EOP entry and coronal suture exit". *(I believe he's wrong again. In Larry Sturdivan's The JFK Myths he describes how all the bullets fired into the dry test skulls deflected, but only to the left. Canal's also wrong about the trajectory. A bullet entering one inch to the right of the EOP and traveling left to right within the skull is not consistent with a "longitudinal laceration" along the midline.)* But Canal, in his defense, makes no claims of being an expert. When pressed, he will frequently write something like "IMO, the results of the autopsy should be consulted if one needs to know how many rounds hit JFK in the head and the direction of fire... anything else is speculation, most likely based on examination of x-generation copies of autopsy photos

and x-rays and/or statements from witnesses who were at best only indirectly involved in the autopsy.” At other times, when a conspiracy theorist keeps bringing up facts he can’t counter, he calls for help.

Back then, the man who answered Canal’s calls for help was Dr. Chad Zimmerman. Dr. Zimmerman, whose flawed and misleading writings have been discussed in both the "Single-Bullet “Fact” and "Demystifying the Mystery Photo" sections of this work, presents himself as an expert on the medical aspects of the assassination, despite the fact he is not a doctor of medicine, but a chiropractor. (*Of course, I’m no expert either.*) I approached him seeking common ground. I asked him to take a look at the Believing is Seeing slide of my presentation, in hopes he would agree that the bullet fragment on the x-rays is the one seen at the autopsy. As this conclusion was in keeping with his stated beliefs that the autopsy doctors got most things right and that there was no alteration of the evidence, I felt sure he would agree. Instead, he looked at the Solving the Great Head Wound Mystery sections, took great offense that I dared to disagree with his interpretation of the mystery photo (often called F8), and refused to agree with any of my theories. Here are some excerpts from our exchanges...

On 1-29-2006, Zimmerman defended his and Sturdivan’s interpretation of the “mystery” photo: “We could undeniably see the right cheek, right upper trapezius, and the yellow adipose tissue. This was undeniable. Period. The scalp is being reflected down over the forehead, covering the eyes. Again, this was undeniable... The yellow adipose was not seen in all the pictures. If my memory serves correct, it was only seen in one. I’m not quite sure at this time which one showed it. However, make no mistake about it, it was definitely there. It was definitely the front of his face covered by the anterior scalp. The area that CT’s think the neck is located is where I could see the unmistakable blue and white cloth that was on the autopsy table beneath his head. We could see blood on it. It was not his neck, which it would have to be if it were to show the back of his head in the foreground... You think you’ve identified the neck line in the F8 photograph, but you are way off. In the actual photographs, that is the left parietal area. There is a fracture there and congealed blood. Just past that margin is the blue and white striped drop cloth beneath his head with blood smears on it... If you could actually see the photographs, you would need a large eraser and an apology.” When I mentioned that I wanted to seek common ground and would like his confirmation that the bullet slice was really behind Kennedy’s eye, he said “however Pat, you assailed my representation of F8, which is based upon sound viewing of ALL the autopsy head photographs at the archives. You blatantly disregard what can only be one interpretation of those photographs and recycle the same old CT orientation of the photograph... Common ground might only be attainable if you’d actually be able to explain to me why what I call adipose is not, why what is facial skin and cheek contour is not, why smooth upper back skin overlying the trapezius is not. Please do explain to me why Larry and I both agreed on those features without argument?”

On 1-30-2006, he continued his defense of his interpretation of the mystery photo: “Now, I’ve not come across any mention of adipose tissue anywhere. However, it was only seen in one photograph. My memory suggests it was 45. Our feeling at the time was that it was from reflected tissue after the Y-incision. However, it may be from reflected lower neck tissue following the examination of the right lung apex and neck structures. Either way, it is rather immaterial. The adipose tissue was certainly present and could not be anything else... What is important to consider is that the view with the adipose provided additional features not seen in the F8 photograph, particularly to the right side of the President’s head. In addition, we could see the blue and white drop cloth lying on the autopsy table, complete with smears of blood. This is where your neck is supposed to be, but isn’t. Therefore, your orientation can’t physically be. The adipose tissue, which was plainly evident, was not noted during other evaluations of the photographs in the record. I do not know why, but it would be rather immaterial, imo... Why is there such difficulty orienting the photograph? To this day, I do not

know. ...However, during the HSCA interview, they had it oriented properly. I have often wondered if (*HSCA photo-analyst Robert*) Groden ever looked at the color photographs (*Groden has; of course, not only seen the color photographs, but copied them; his color copy is the only one available to the public. Perhaps Zimmerman means specifically the color originals.*)... I can only adequately address the issue of that photograph as such; it is truly something you need to see for yourself. Otherwise, you cannot appreciate through printed words how easily identifiable structures such as the right cheek are. The adipose is not mentioned in the record, that I am aware of, but it exists quite clearly in the bottom left hand side of the photograph. My sketch of that photograph reflects that position.”

Since Zimmerman’s discovery of adipose tissue in the photo appears to have had an inordinate influence on his interpretation of the photo, I decided to do a little reading on adipose tissue. According to Gray’s Anatomy “Adipose tissue is the name given to tissue in which there is an accumulation of connective tissue cells, each containing a large vesicle of fat. In an obese individual these accumulations may occur wherever there is loose fibrous connective tissue. In all but emaciated individuals, however, they are found in certain areas where they act as packing or padding tissue. Examples of the latter are the *orbit* (the eye socket), perirenal fat pad, and various areas of the subcutaneous tissue.” The Encyclopedia of Sports Medicine states further that “White adipose tissue serves three functions: heat insulation, mechanical cushion, and most importantly a source of energy. Subcutaneous adipose tissue, found directly beneath the skin, is an especially important heat insulator in the body.” When one digs even further and actually looks through anatomy books one finds that one of the most prominent locations in which adipose tissue is stored is the Buccal fat pad, which Mosby’s Medical Encyclopedia describes as “a fat pad in the cheek over the main muscle of the cheek.” So, in opposition to Dr. Zimmerman’s contention that the adipose tissue in the photograph is conclusive evidence for his interpretation of the photo, the truth is that fat is stored behind a man’s eyes (which is why starving people have sunken eyes) and in his cheeks (which is why fat people have fat cheeks). In Oncolog, an online publication about cancer research, I found an article about the attempts to harvest the adipose tissue of one part of the body and re-use it in other parts. In the article Filling the Void, by Dawn Chalaire, there was one passage that was particularly noteworthy: “Researchers have been trying for years to develop a good method of repairing the soft tissue deficits that result from oncologic surgery, particularly in the head, neck, and breast. These contour deformities, as they are sometimes called, are typically caused by the removal or scarring of the dermis and adipose tissue.” Well, this confirmed for me that not only is there adipose tissue on people’s faces, but that the loss of this tissue can make one appear deformed. The appearance of adipose tissue in the photo, therefore, is not as significant as Zimmerman contends.

At another point in our exchanges, Dr. Zimmerman reviewed the evidence that led me to conclude the impact at 313 was on the top of Kennedy’s head. Not surprisingly, he dismissed all my evidence. He claimed that Spitz and Fisher’s assertion that missing scalp is indicative of a bullet’s entrance did not apply in this instance. He wrote: “The last paragraph about the missing scalp is not representative of the head injury. They’re referencing a normal entry hole and a normal exit hole, not a giant gaping wound from the explosion of tissue through the fractured skull. This was not a neat wound. It was terribly disrupted and much different from your sample pictures and the normal cases referenced in texts.” (*Spitz and Fisher wrote their book for forensic pathologists, men who are likely to see all kinds of wounds. Zimmerman has no way of knowing whether they intended their generalization about missing skin to apply to “giant gaping wounds.”*) Zimmerman then dismissed the significance of the interior and exterior beveling apparent on the Harper fragment by stating that “the bullet was already gone by the time that happened. The force was imparted by the bullet, but that expansion of tissue happens in all directions and through the weakest points-such as the exit hole (which wasn’t 13 cm).” (*Once again, he has no evidence for this whatsoever. There was beveling on the outside of the Harper fragment as well as the large fragment inspected at the autopsy; this beveling was believed by the*

forensic pathology panel to be related to the exit of the bullet itself, not to the explosion of the temporary cavity.) Finally, he dismissed my assertion that a slap wound to the skull could account for Kennedy's "back-and-to-the-left" movement apparent on the Zapruder film by stating "What you described is a normal phenomenon that cannot explain the rate of his acceleration backwards. It occurs when muscles have resting tone that resists gravity. However, it is not going to throw an entire torso backwards. The neuromuscular reaction is the only mechanism that explains this." *(This is interesting because Larry Sturdivan, to whom Dr. Zimmerman most always defers, no longer subscribes to the neuromuscular reaction theory.)* Finally, he declared "I don't know that I should continue... You've put a lot of effort into this, but I'd have to say that most ballistics experts would deny the possibility of this. Your work is peppered with gross assumption and contradicts much of the evidence. It is based on a patently false presentation of F8, etc..." *(Let the reader be the judge.)*

Later, when I asserted that the large fractures by the supposed exit were much too large to have come from the exit of such small bullet fragments, Dr. Zimmerman returned to his unsupported contention that the supposed exit fractures by the large defect were created by the temporary cavity surrounding the bullet fragments and not by the fragments themselves. He stated "You seem to be thinking that the bullet caused all the holes. The bullet causes directly and indirectly. The expansion of the pressure cavity creates much more damage than the actual bullet. Thus, you can not attribute direct damage from a bullet in that manner. The pressure cavity is secondary to the bullet's passage." He also returned to his contention that books written by experienced military surgeons and forensic pathologists are written about "normal" wounds and should not be applied to Kennedy's wound. Specifically, he dismissed Delorme's assertion that dural tears occur most frequently at entrance by stating: "You keep forgetting about the massive pressure build up of the pressure cavity's formation, which can cause dural tears, fractures, etc. It is an expansive pressure." When I asked him why, if the large defect was created by the explosion of a temporary cavity, there were no concentric rings surrounding this exit, as has been described in forensics journals, he wrote: "No, the bone was gone in that area." *(This ignores that the large bone fragment examined at the autopsy is believed to have been adjacent to the exit and yet showed no signs of concentric fractures.)* When I pointed out that neither the large fragment nor the Harper fragment showed signs of concentric fractures, he countered "The spider web effect isn't something that has to occur over a tremendous distance. Sometimes the radius is only an inch or two. In this case, much was missing for proper evaluation of such." *(This is in conflict with the belief of Dr.s Humes and Boswell that, with the discovery of the Harper fragment, virtually the entire skull had been recovered.)* When I pointed out that the bullet broke into multiple fragments and almost certainly exited in more than one location, and that having multiple exits along the top of the skull would decrease the skull's internal pressure, and thereby decrease the likelihood of the skull exploding from a temporary cavity, he asserted that the large bullet fragments would "exit in close proximity, but not necessarily through the same exit point." *(He ignores that there is a beveled exit on the Harper fragment several inches away from the beveled exit on what he interprets as forehead.)* When I pointed out that these bullet fragments appear to have struck the windshield several feet apart, he responded: "Point of divergence. When physical matter first splits, it is close together. Thus the bullet may not have begun to fully separate until just before the exit." *(This is unlikely since 1) the fragments found in the front of the limousine were the nose and base of the bullet, 2) a middle section representing half the bullet was never found, and 3) fragments from this missing middle were (according to Zimmerman himself) scattered across the skull).*

On 8-18-2006, my disputes with Zimmerman reached a new low. When I tried to point out an inconsistency in his attitude regarding the "mystery photo," in that he generally accepted the original statements of the autopsy doctors over the subsequent panels, and yet he rejected Humes, Boswell and Stringer's 11-10-1966 identification of the "mystery" photo as a photo taken from behind, he surprised me by playing word games. He claimed: "The 1966 inventory does not say that. It says the pictures are

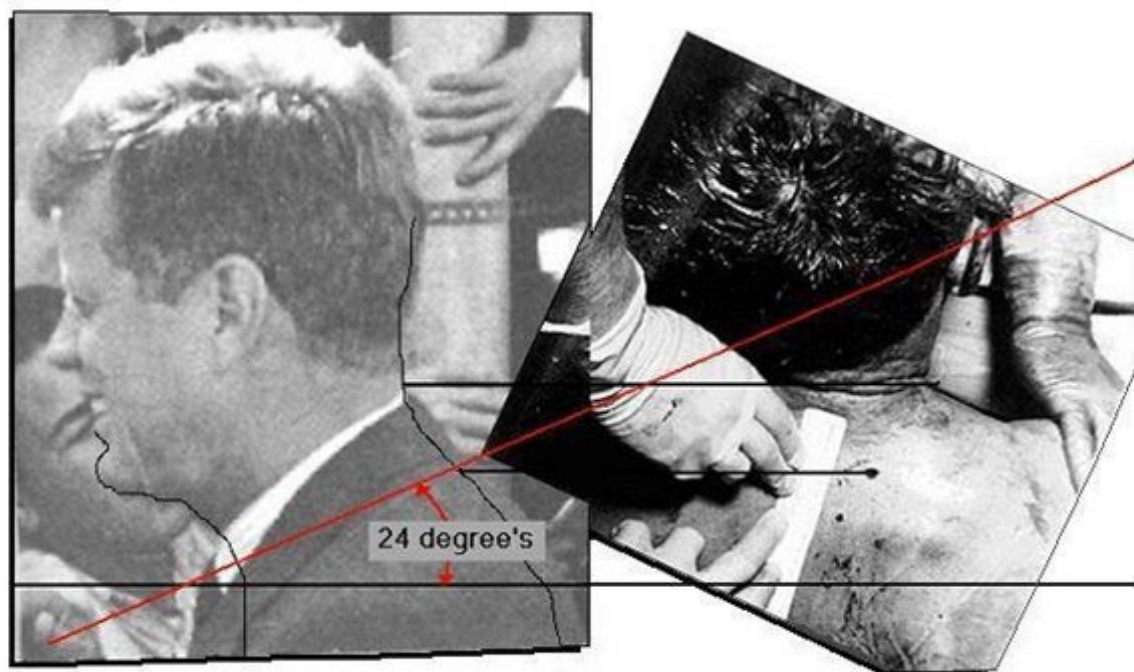
of the entry wound in the posterior skull, which that photo does show from the anterior view looking into the back of the head..." Yep. Zimmerman was thereby claiming that photos purportedly "depicting missile wound over entrance in *posterior* skull, following reflection of scalp" were in fact photos "depicting the anterior aspect of a wound of entrance in posterior skull, taken from the front of the skull, following reflection of scalp over the frontal bone" only the doctors forgot to mention the anterior aspect bit and the scalp reflected over the frontal bone bit. What rubbish! Similarly, he explained the change in interpretation of the photo from entrance to exit between 11-66 and 1-67 by stating "the photo DOES show an entry. It DOES show part of the probable exit. In one case, they call it entry. In another, it is called exit. It just depends on which one you're seeing. Again, the exit is far more readily seen than the entry is in those photographs. It is NOT a clear view of an entry, although it is there." He doesn't even try to explain why on the 11-10-66 inventory, which was, for all they knew, the only time the doctors would ever see the photographs, they failed to mention this exit, which "was far more readily seen" in the photograph, and only mentioned the entrance. He also offers no explanation as to why they failed to mention this entrance in the January 67 review.

My disputes with Canal became equally strange. On 10-8-2006 he asserted that "there was well-intended lying going on about the evidence, UNDOUBTEDLY IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE NATION. IOW, they didn't think it was best for the nation that the medical evidence "appeared" to indicate there was another shooter. Call it a conspiracy if you want, but what Baden and a few others did (again, well-intended) would have been nothing compared to the conspiracy to assassinate JFK that you believe in." Canal was thereby stating that it was somehow less paranoid to believe that a series of government experts deliberately lied to cover up evidence in the murder of the president than that Oswald had a still unidentified buddy or two in the Plaza. I fail to comprehend his logic. Perhaps he mistook me for a "massive conspiracy" involving the CIA and U.S. military theorist, a la Oliver Stone, instead of what I am, a "small conspiracy" of unknown origin theorist. In any event, Canal's words made me suspect that I am in fact less of a conspiracy theorist than he. (FWIW, by 2009, much of the single-assassin theorist community had come to agree with me on this point, and had taken to either ignoring Canal's posts on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, or treating his comments with as much derision as those of a conspiracy theorist.)

That people claiming to be "experts" by their nature stretch evidence to suit their needs is proven again and again on the various Kennedy assassination forums, where conspiracy theorist and lone-nut theorist alike distort the evidence to fit their theories and almost no one ever admits they're wrong about anything. That supposedly "official" experts can be guilty of this same behavior is perhaps best demonstrated by the behavior of Dr. Michael Baden, who used the fame gained from being the government's expert on the John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King killings to write a series of books, and star in a number of HBO specials. He also became an "expert witness for hire," cashing in on his experience by testifying in defense of the likes of O.J. Simpson and Phil Spector, at 100,000 dollars a pop.

After building his life around the case, we should ask ourselves, what are the chances Dr. Baden will ever admit he made an important mistake? Effectively zero. Correct? And the same could probably be said for conspiracy writers like Lifton and Groden and Lane. So where does that leave...us?

Keeping the Magic Alive



Above: an image posted online by single-assassin theorist Tom Lowry in July 2009, in an effort to prove that Kennedy's back wound was indeed well above his throat wound, as first proposed by Dr. Lattimer. Lowry is presumably oblivious to the fact that he has matched up the base of Kennedy's skull at left, with the base of Kennedy's neck at right. Apparently he, as Dr. Lattimer before him, believes Kennedy had no neck to speak of, even though the photo at left proves he did. Sadly, this kind of nonsense pollutes the internet, making it difficult for reasonable researchers and analysts to find common ground.

Keeping the Magic Alive

It leaves us with more argument than debate, with neither side of the argument particularly concerned with refining their arguments to make more sense, and be more in line with the accepted facts. Instead, each side has its own set of facts, and will fight to the end defending those facts, even though many of these facts are not remotely "facts". It's kind of like a staring contest, where both sides have lost their ability to read.

In July 2009, single-bullet theorist and Dr. Lattimer devotee Tom Lowry began posting an image online that thoroughly proves this point. His blind hatred of conspiracy theorists, and his blind worship of men like Lattimer, had led him to push a comparison of photos of Kennedy purporting to demonstrate the location of the wound on Kennedy's back. Lowry insisted this comparison proved the back wound was well above the throat wound in the location described by Lattimer. There was a HUGE problem with this comparison, however. In order to prove Lattimer right, the creator of this comparison had lined up the location of the base of Kennedy's skull on the photo of Kennedy while living, with the location of the base of Kennedy's neck on the autopsy photo. He had thereby created a thoroughly convincing argument against his own theory.

I realized later that this comparison had been posted elsewhere on the net by David Von Pein, a similarly-obsessed single-bullet believer, and Vincent Bugliosi's number one fan. Perhaps I'd seen it

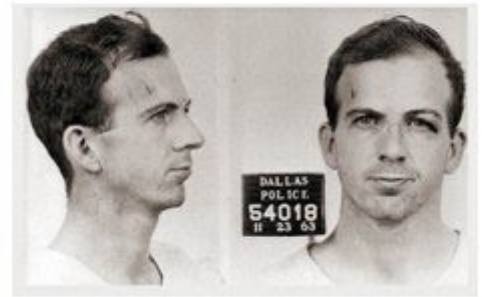
before, but had blocked it out of my mind. When confronted about this on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, Von Pein admitted that he, in turn, had first found the image in the 2006 online posts of Oswald's Game author Jean Davison. Von Pein said further that *"The comparison photo in question (linked below) looks just fine to me. The top black line is being drawn from HAIRLINE to HAIRLINE. So what's the big complaint? Granted, as I've mentioned previously on this newsgroup when talking about that very same photo montage, such comparisons of two-dimensional images that were taken from different angles and distances from the subject are always going to be problematic, and can likely never be ideal in a "Perfectly Lined Up To The Inch" sense (just ask Dale Myers about the difficulty or the impossibility of performing that photographic task). In addition, JFK's head is being tilted back somewhat in the autopsy photo on the right, which could be affecting the comparison to a small extent as well (since Kennedy's head isn't tilted back at all in the left-hand picture). But, in general, it looks like a fairly good comparison montage."*

So there you go... In the eyes of LN zealots, deliberately matching up hairlines in photos taken from different angles, without taking into account that one of the photos shows the head of the subject tilted back and little visible neck, makes for a "fairly good comparison", and a good way of establishing the vertical level of a wound on the back. This is sheer LuNacy. I mean, why not match up another feature--like the base of the neck--whose relative location is comparatively undistorted by the tilt of the head?

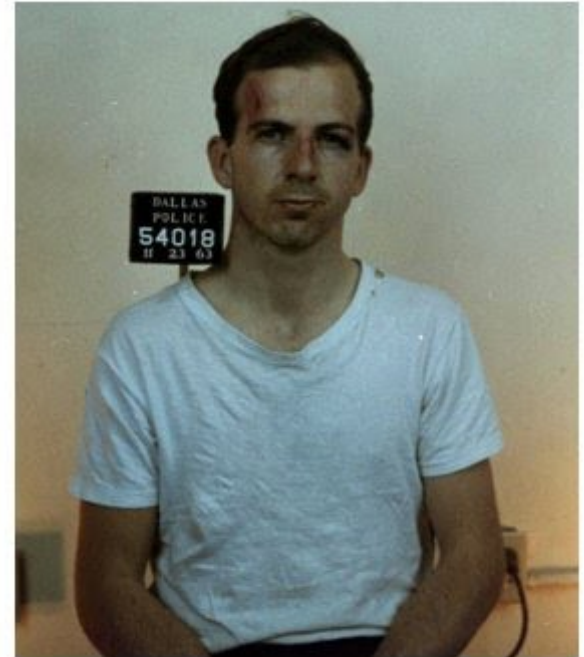
Could it be--just a thought here--that that would fail to give LNTs like Von Pein and Lowry their desired result?

This makes it crystal clear that men like Lowry and Von Pein, in order to preserve their faith in a "magic bullet", are willing to cross the bridge to Fantasyland.

The Invisible Smirk



Believe it or not, the three photos above and at right of Oswald on the day of his arrest, and the mug shots at far right, have all been cited as proof that Oswald did indeed smirk repeatedly while in police custody. This is yet another example of the cognitive divide between conspiracy theorists and single-assassin theorists.



While Oswald's face revealed anger and disgust, a smirk is by definition a self-satisfied smile. On what planet, we should ask, can his expressions in these photos be called a smile?

The Invisible Smirk

That Lone Nut Theorists such as Lowry and Von Pein live in some sort of Fantasyland was confirmed yet again in March, 2010. While discussing the prickly issue of whether or not Oswald actually smirked at the midnight press conference on 11-22-63, as so many have claimed, single-assassin theorist David Von Pein posted links to a number of photos which he felt showed Oswald smirking. These photos are on the slide above. While at most two of these photos shows Oswald to be a bit angry at his predicament, at least two of them, IMHO, show him on what appears to be the verge of collapse, a seemingly broken man.

Certainly none of them show him smiling...which is quite surprising considering he is supposedly smirking in these photos, and a smirk, by definition, is "an affected, often offensively self-satisfied smile." The only conclusion to be drawn from this, then, is that men like Von Pein are so blinded by their irrational hatred of Oswald that they see him, even at the heights of his misery, as someone unrecognizable as a fellow human being deserving of compassion, and as someone, in fact, basking in the afterglow of his wicked wicked deeds.

Such people make lousy jurors...

Oswald Smirked?



While it seems obvious to most that Oswald was surprised by the news he'd been charged with Kennedy's murder, his expression upon hearing this news is often reported by those convinced of his guilt as a smirk.

Oswald Smirked?

and successful journalists and crime writers...

While it is believed that ABC News commentator Paul Goode, on the day of the shooting, was the first to describe Oswald's looks of disgust and disbelief as a "smirk", he was far from the last to do so, or the most critical. Jack Ruby, it should be noted, claimed he had no intention of killing Oswald when he ducked into the underground parking garage and shot him, but was compelled to do so by Oswald's smirk. As stated, a smirk is a self-satisfied smile; it is the smile of someone pleased, positively giddy even, by what he is witnessing or experiencing. It is, in this instance, the smile of a guilty man.

While reading Gerald Posner's prosecution of Oswald, *Case Closed*, researcher Jerry Rose spotted Posner's use of the word "smirk" to imply Oswald's guilt, and double-checked the "smirks" in Posner's book against the reports and statements Posner was supposedly referencing. Not surprisingly, Rose found that in every instance, the actual report or statement made no reference to Oswald's smirking, and that Posner had added these "smirks" for dramatic effect...apparently, to make his readers hate Oswald as much as he hated Oswald. While not the serial abuser of "smirk" that was Posner, fellow Oswald character assassin Vincent Bugliosi used "smirk" to similar effect. As do most LNTs... When one does a google search for "Lee Harvey Oswald" and "smirk", in fact, one gets over 1700 hits.

And this despite the fact there is not one photo of Oswald smirking while in police custody... His mouth

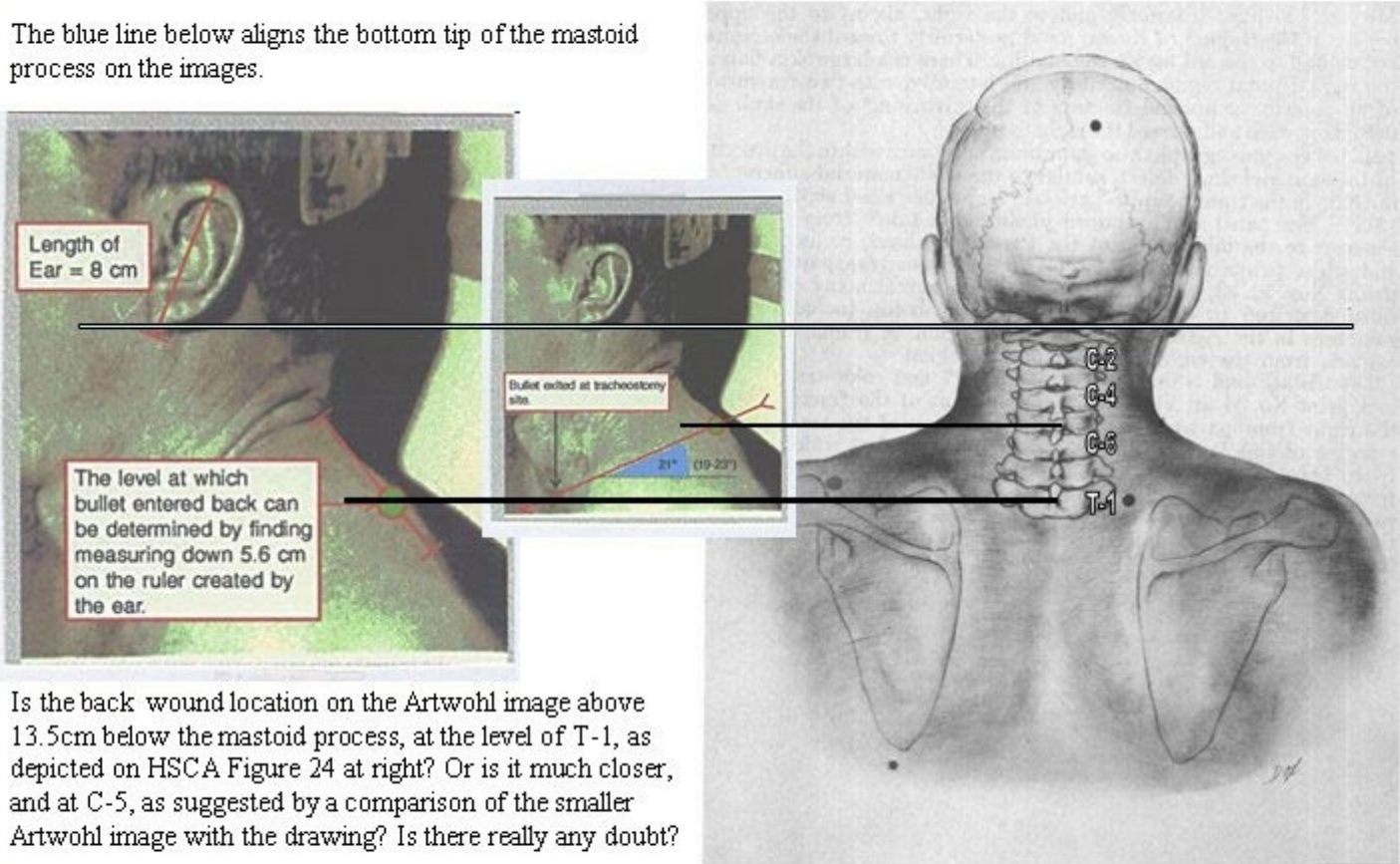
curls upwards at the corners at times, but it is not the upward curl of a smile; it is the upward curl of the mouth of someone in total disbelief, not happiness, not pleasure, but astonishment.

And should one not believe me on this point, feel free to watch the video at the link below.

[Oswald meets the press](#)

The "Nutter" Professor

The blue line below aligns the bottom tip of the mastoid process on the images.



Length of Ear = 8 cm

The level at which bullet entered back can be determined by finding measuring down 5.6 cm on the ruler created by the ear.

Bullet exited at tracheostomy site

21" (19-23")

Is the back wound location on the Artwohl image above 13.5cm below the mastoid process, at the level of T-1, as depicted on HSCA Figure 24 at right? Or is it much closer, and at C-5, as suggested by a comparison of the smaller Artwohl image with the drawing? Is there really any doubt?

In January, 2010, Professor John McAdams confirmed that he believes the image at far left accurately matches up with the drawing at right. He refuses to even acknowledge that the skull in this image is approximately twice as large as the skull in the drawing. Is he bluffing, or just horribly, horribly, wrong?

The "Nutter" Professor

But enough with the small fry. It's time for the Big Cheese. The respectable face of the LNTs, if not their ringleader and head cheerleader, is John McAdams, professor of Political Science at Marquette University. McAdams has been interviewed on television and NPR numerous times, both about the assassination and other events of the day. His website on the assassination is also the number one such website on google. While much of his website is informative, and while I agree with many, perhaps even a majority of its conclusions, its overall tone is somewhat offensive and insulting to those inclined to suspect a conspiracy.

But that's not why McAdams is King of the Nutters. He's King of the Nutters because he sets a horrible

example for others on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup he moderates by routinely dismissing EVERYTHING he doesn't want to believe out of hand...and making up transparent and disingenuous excuses to justify his dismissal.

This became clear to me in 2010. While I had been semi-active on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup for years, I had had few run-ins with McAdams prior to late 2009, when in an online debate with researcher Jim DiEugenio he attempted to explain away my photo comparison of the paper bag in its various incarnations as the work of a "crackpot". This charge, as you might suspect, led to a less-than-friendly exchange of ideas on his newsgroup. In the end, he refused to waiver from his claim that my using a similar camera and lens to demonstrate that the bag in the news photos was much wider than the bag in the archives was meaningless, and that the ONLY way to compare the "Dillard photo" with the archives photos was to create a simulation using the exact same camera and lens as "Dillard's camera" and lens. (Although newsman Tom Dillard never took a photo of the bag, and I corrected McAdams on this repeatedly, he continued to call the news photos of the bag outside the depository, "the Dillard photo.") McAdams' position, of course, was ludicrous. If we'd been discussing a comparison in which an item appeared to be 3-5% larger than the supposedly exact same item in another picture, that would be one thing. But my photo comparison showed the bag in the news photos to be roughly 25% wider than the supposedly exact same bag in the archives. Nikons equipped with 50 mm or 35 mm lenses don't make middle-distance items look 25% wider than Canons equipped with a 50 mm or 35 mm lenses, and McAdams almost certainly knows this.

This run-in set the stage. On January 9, 2010, McAdams posted his response to a claim by Ben Holmes that the single-bullet theory bullet trajectory runs right through the spine. His response was illuminating. He revealed his woeful understanding of anatomy and the issues at hand by claiming "How in the world did it have to go through the spine if it entered to the right of the midline?" and then asserting that "You can put a dowel right through, between the transverse processes" (of C7 and T1). He then told Ben Holmes that "you are not allowed to just make up your own 'evidence'." This response intrigued me, and on January 11 I asked McAdams if he had any video of him passing a dowel between the transverse processes, and provided links to some of my slides indicating the bullet would not slide right through, as he'd suggested. He responded "Sorry, I'm not going to the trouble just to please you." (This, to me, was as much as an admission that he'd lied, as his doing so would not have been to please me, but to prove Holmes and myself wrong.) He then refused to acknowledge my slides, by claiming that it wasn't possible to see what my point was. To my point that the HSCA portrayal of the back wound was not at C7/T1 as he claimed, but at T1, he responded "Oh, now I know where people get 'C7/T1.' The Dox drawing shows that." This was indeed strange, as I had just used the Dox drawing to show him that the wound was at T1. He then claimed that the significant upward movement of the back wound by the HSCA trajectory panel (see chapter 11) was not in the least bit suspicious. He wrote "You think every discrepancy shows conspiracy. On this planet, it does not."

He then defended the Artwohl exhibit on his website, and his belief the entrance wound location on the Artwohl exhibit was consistent with the entrance wound location measured by the HSCA pathology panel. He wrote: "Pat, you seem to think that Artwohl shows the wound at C5. It doesn't. You are just drawing stuff, not to scale and not knowing what the point is, and announcing this or that conclusion. To get the wound up to C5, you have to reproduce the lateral photo at a much smaller scale than the Dox Drawing. This stuff means nothing at all unless you scale it properly. Ignore your mis-scaled middle drawing, and you can see that Artwohl's drawing makes sense."

That's right. I had shown him the comparison on the slide above. And he had claimed that the giant head on the left of the slide better matched the skull in the Dox drawing on the right than the much smaller skull in the middle. I was horrified. This proved to me that McAdams was either a certifiable LuNaTic or the biggest, fattest, liar this side of Rush Limbaugh.

I decided to see where this might lead. Since he had previously stated that he both thought the back wound was at C7/T1, and that the bullet creating this wound headed 21 degrees downward, as in the Artwohl exhibit, I asked him where this would exit on Kennedy's body. He conceded the obvious--that he did not agree with the HSCA's conclusion that the bullet went slightly upward in the body--but, strangely, refused to concede that he thought the bullet exited at a different location than the HSCA. He either failed to see or pretended to fail to see that a bullet entering Kennedy's back at C7/T1 and descending 21 degrees through 14 cm or so of his flesh, would, by necessity, emerge two inches or so lower on his body. When I tried to get him to at least concede that a bullet heading downwards from C7/T1 would not exit at C7, the exit level on the Dox drawings created for the HSCA pathology panel, by pointing out that it was impossible for a bullet heading downwards in the body to exit higher on the body, he again blew my mind. He responded: "It makes no sense to use 'C7' or 'T1'" when talking about the throat wound." I tried again, with similar results: "Your problem is that you arrive at an 'opinion' and then start to treat your opinion as fact." When I tried yet again to get him to agree that Artwohl's depiction of a downward trajectory was at odds with the HSCA's depiction of the bullet trajectory and wound locations, he answered "HSCA trajectory: yes. Wound location: no."

And from there things only got uglier, and weirder... Like a computer starting to melt down after being asked a trick question in a science-fiction movie, McAdams wrote: "Artwohl is correct" and "You are a Ben Holmes clone!..." and then blamed me for my failure to convince him of anything by claiming my slides are "self-contradictory and confusing..."

When I returned to the subject of the slide above, and asked him how he could possibly think the much larger head at left was a much better match for the Dox drawing at right, when the head at left was twice the size of the head in the Dox drawing, he re-confirmed his LuNacy by writing: "You are just making stuff up. Your own composite shows that the 'right photo' (the larger one) corresponds with the Artwohl analysis. Your 'middle photo' shows the head much smaller than in the Artwohl analysis." He then responded to my request that he correct my errors on the slide and create a proper match between the Artwohl analysis and Dox drawing. He wrote "I don't need to. Your own analysis shows Artwohl to be correct."

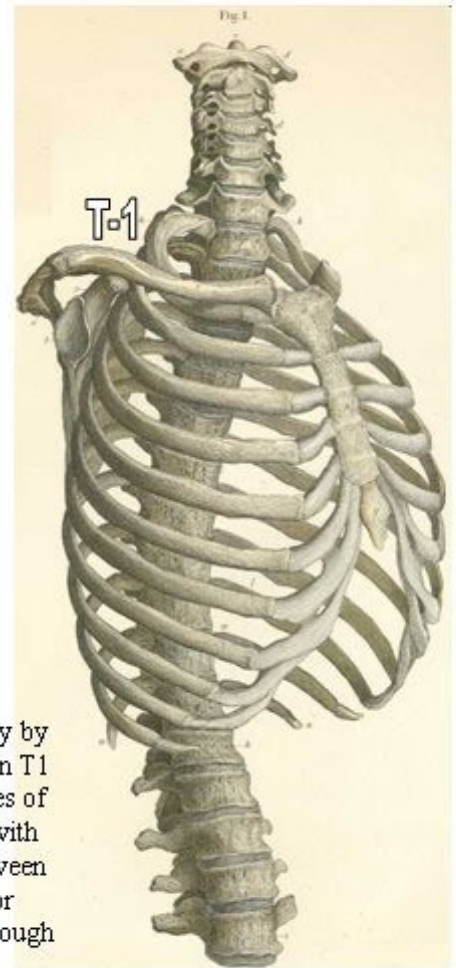
When, returning to the original topic, I pointed out that Ben Holmes and I were not alone in our conclusion the single-bullet theory bullet trajectory heads through the spine, and that Dr. Nichols in the 70's and Dr. Mantik in the 90's had come to the same conclusion, McAdams once again showed his closed-mindedness. He responded: "I simply don't believe people like Mantik and Nichols. Mantik is a certified crackpot." When I pointed out that the HSCA panel failed to portray the internal passage of the bullet to show this wasn't true, McAdams took another flight of fancy. He wrote: "They didn't think any such was needed since they had no idea that crackpots like Mantik would raise the issue. Simple fact about the HSCA: they refuted conspiracy notions that were on the table in the late 70's. They could not know what people like Mantik would claim."

This "simple fact", however, simply wasn't true. Nichols was a well-respected forensic pathologist, and had published a paper claiming the bullet trajectory would have to have passed through the spine in the October 1977 Maryland State Medical Journal, within a month of the panel's first meetings. When I then tried to explain the key to Nichols and Mantik's findings, by pointing out that the spinal column and its transverse processes were not adjacent to the back wound entrance but mid-way between the entrance and the supposed exit on the middle of the throat, McAdams once again revealed his ignorance of basic anatomy. He claimed "That's absurd. There is a reason the spine is called the 'backbone.'" He then got nasty: "This is like your 'faked bag' business. You simply make no attempt to model these things with precision."

McAdams' Rib



In January 2010, Professor John McAdams defended the single-bullet theory by claiming that HSCA Exhibit 46, above, "showed a trajectory going between T1 and C7," and insisted that he'd put a dowel between the transverse processes of T1 and C7 on a skeleton, replicating this trajectory. There's two problems with this: 1) Exhibit 46 depicts the bullet going straight through T1, and not between T1 and C7, and 2) the first rib juts out from the spine at T1, and no dowel or bullet could pass between the processes of T1 and C7 without smashing through the first rib (as shown in the anatomy drawing at right).



McAdams' Rib

And the war raged on... When I challenged McAdams to create an image showing the trajectory of the bullet within the body, he once again started in with the insults. He wrote: "It is not necessarily easy to do it. Which is why people like you should probably avoid trying, at least until you learn about modeling." He then justified his refusal to address my slides by insisting "I'm sorry, but your claims are not assumed to be true until disproven. In fact, it's obvious looking at your graphics that you aren't able to model this stuff..." Eventually, he offered what he thought to be the official explanation, and noted that HSCA Exhibit 46, on the slide above, shows: "the trajectory going between T1 and C7, and exiting the throat." This was indeed strange, as McAdams had already pronounced the HSCA pathology panel's trajectory incorrect. But it was more than strange. It was dead wrong. HSCA Exhibit 46 most definitely did not show a bullet heading between T1 and C7, as suggested by McAdams, who'd previously claimed he'd pushed dowels along this path, but a bullet heading straight through the first rib...which was hmmm...conveniently left off the drawing!

When I smart-assedly pointed out that his credibility wasn't high, seeing as he refused to admit a bullet heading downward from C7/T1 would not exit at C7, he replied "It can enter at C7/T1 on a 21 degree angle and exit below the Adams's Apple." He then attacked my characterization of HSCA trajectory analyst Thomas Canning's movement of the back wound upwards two inches from the location

depicted in the pathology panel's drawings, whilst simultaneously claiming he'd received his information from the panel, as a "lie", by first claiming that "that assertion of yours assumes you know how to scale these drawings. It's obvious that you don't" and then acknowledging "Canning used various kinds of data to locate the wound. He apparently did his own measurements, rather than blindly following the FPP. And you, in a very mean-spirited way, say this was a 'lie'." (Well...what would YOU call it when someone says they got their information from a presumably credible source... when the information they offer is clearly at odds with the information provided by that source?)

He then got defensive of Artwohl, claiming that "an ER doctor has vastly better credentials than you to discuss these issues", missing entirely that Artwohl himself was second-guessing NINE forensic pathologists with vastly better credentials than himself to discuss these issues.

He then decided to go on the offensive. Like an angry child, he changed the name of the topic to "Pat Speer believes Kennedy was not hit in the back", and got personal. He asserted "Pat, you are among the die-hard faithful. Only people like DiEugenio accept your claims...I feel like I'm debating with somebody with no ability to read and assimilate information..." He then taunted: "You are in the Jack White tradition of photo analysis" and "You really are Jack White for a new generation," missing entirely that Jack White's studies are often rapidly refuted by his fellow CTs, and that neither McAdams himself nor anyone else had refuted my studies. He then, without any deliberate irony, proclaimed "it's a serious character defect to refuse to answer simple questions and to obsess on your pet obsessions."

Of course, I wasn't exactly a bystander in this kerfuffle. By now, it was clear to me that McAdams' offensive was a ploy designed to hide that he knows damn well that the wound locations in the Artwohl exhibit aren't consistent with the findings of the HSCA pathology panel, and that he simply doesn't have enough respect for the truth to admit it to the likes of me. So I continued pestering him to tell me at what vertebral level he thought the bullet exited Kennedy's throat. His responses grew more and more agitated..."Using vertebra numbers is silly...Below the Adam's Apple...The bullet exited at the knot in the tie...The bullet exited where the gash in the neck shows it exiting...The bullet exited where it is shown to exit in the lateral autopsy photo... It's where the damn photo shows it!" and then, in all caps: "PLEASE QUIT ASKING ME TO USE LANGUAGE THAT MAKES NO SENSE!" And then finally: "THE GODDAMN LOCATION IS SHOWN IN THE LATERAL PHOTO!"

McAdams' failure to answer a simple question--at what level in the neck did the magic bullet magically exit--and acknowledge what is readily obvious--that two bullets entering the same location and traveling in a straight line in opposite directions cannot exit from the same place--was for me an epiphany. For a long time, I'd assumed that other researchers--LN and CT alike--had a similar reverence for the truth as myself and my friends, but that they were just frequently mistaken. I never suspected that a University Professor would spout such obvious nonsense, and tell such obvious lies, rather than admit that he was wrong, or that an exhibit on his website was bunkum.

Boy, was I wrong.

There are brazen liars in this world. People who will happily lie about serious matters, even when they have nothing to gain from this lie, beyond the benefit of keeping a self-serving illusion alive. And I have come to believe that John McAdams is one of them.

In retrospect, I should have suspected as much from the beginning. While I don't dispute that one can be both sincere and a lone-nutter, it's become painfully clear to me in recent years that those frantically *pushing* the LN position on the American public have issues, serious issues--serious enough where they can no longer think clearly.

Yes, I know full well this is what they claim of CTs--that they've got a screw loose somewhere. So let's perform a test. I'll present a statement by a prominent CT, and then a response by a prominent LN, and

you decide which one's got the loose screw.

On January 8, 1995, Harold Weisberg wrote David Belin:

"In referring to the so-called magic bullet, Commission Exhibit 399, and to Governor Connally's wounds in your New York Times op-ed piece of June 25, 1993, you say that 'All the physicians who treated Mr. Connally for his wounds agree that he had been struck by just one bullet, fired from behind.' I go into that testimony in the last two chapters of my first book. It was completed in mid-February 1965. What you say is not true and in saying it you should have known it is untrue."

On January 31, 1995, Belin responded. In a 12-page letter, currently available on the Weisberg Archives website, Belin acknowledged that Connally's doctor Robert Shaw told the Warren Commission he had "No firm opinion" on how many bullets hit Connally, and that, when asked if it could have been two bullets, he responded by saying "Yes, or three." He then quoted Dr. Charles Gregory's testimony, in which Gregory claimed Connally's wounds "could have" been caused by one bullet, and not that he thought they *were* caused by one bullet. He then dragged out the testimony of Dr. Tom Shires, in which Shires claimed that, after operating on Connally, "Well, we all thought, me included, that this was probably one missile, one bullet" and that this "we" included Dr.s Shaw and Gregory.

Belin then pounced, as if speaking to a jury: *"Mr. Weisberg, Dr. Shires did in fact say that 'Well we all thought, me included, that this was probably one missile, one bullet.' (6H109) He then insisted: 'My June 25, 1993 New York Times piece was accurate when I said that 'All of the physicians who treated Governor Connally for his wounds agree that he had been struck by just one bullet, fired from behind.'"*

Well, I don't know about you, but when I read that last bit, my head spun around. Well, not quite, but close... I mean, how could Belin not realize that the testimony he cites in his own defense PROVES, beyond any shadow of a doubt, he was wrong?

Did he misread his own statement--"All of the physicians...agree that he *had* been struck by just one bullet" as "All of the physicians...agree that he *could have* been struck by just one bullet"? Did he, when faced with the obvious truth he'd L-I-E-D in his op-ed piece, have some sort of brain hiccup, which momentarily blinded him, and allowed him to save face through a misreading of his own words?

It boggles the mind, yes?

And this is sadly typical of what one gets when one argues with LNs: nonsense, drivel, $2+2 = 5$ --and you're a liar if you say it doesn't, then more nonsense.

This is profoundly disappointing. While I once had hopes the LN/CT divide could be bridged through an acknowledgment by *both* sides that aspects of what they believe might be mistaken, I no longer believe this is possible...at least not as long as "true believers" like McAdams are running the show.

The Re-invention of Lying

In September 2010, I got another peek inside McAdams' brain. I had noted on the alt.assassination.jfk newsgroup the repeated claims of many LNTs that Mark Lane, Jim Garrison, and Oliver Stone are liars. I pointed out that I considered this a double-standard, as these same LNTs were not remotely interested in the evidence Dr. Lattimer, Gerald Posner, and Vincent Bugliosi are liars. McAdams then defended this particular LN obsession by insisting that Lane, Garrison, and Stone really were liars. He posted a link to his webpage, in which he discussed a number of inaccuracies in Jim Garrison's *On the Trail of the Assassins*. He claimed that by making so many errors, which inevitably exaggerated either the case against Clay Shaw or Garrison's role in the investigation and trial of Shaw, Garrison had revealed

himself to be a liar. I then pointed out that, by McAdams' own definition, Dr. Baden was also a liar, as his books and television appearances have included a number of errors, which inevitably exaggerate both the case against Oswald and his--Dr. Baden's--role in demonstrating Oswald's guilt.

But I couldn't get McAdams to agree with this. It was clear as day--what's good for the goose is good for the gander, etc. But McAdams wouldn't budge.

And then finally, on September 19, 2010, he explained why he felt Baden was not a liar, and confirmed my worst suspicions. He wrote

*"If somebody misstates a strong case against Oswald, we would have to assume he's mistaken and/or confused. If you don't *need* to lie to find Oswald guilty, it's not plausible to believe somebody did."*

He then further excused Baden's persistent mis-statements and exaggerations by repeating

"People don't lie when the truth serves their purposes just as well. He should have checked things out. The fact that he didn't actually shows he was not lying. People who are lying usually calculate carefully what lies they are going to tell (at least if not caught off guard). If he actually sat down to write thinking "I'm going to lie about this," he would check the HSCA material to see what lies he could tell and possibly get away with. But if he checked the HSCA, he would find he didn't need to lie."

Well, great googley moogley! Here was the author of a book entitled JFK Assassination Logic: How to Think About Claims of Conspiracy telling me that, to his way of thinking, those who invent their own facts about the Kennedy assassination are not liars, as long as they claim Oswald acted alone...since those claiming Oswald acted alone do not "need" to lie!!!

What utter horsecrap!

And what a blatant double-standard! Does McAdams really believe Jim Garrison's lazy research and/or convenient memory proves him to be a liar, while, at the same time, Dr. Baden's lazy research and/or convenient memory proves him *not* to be a liar? I mean, to use McAdams' logic, if Garrison's lies had only been as SLOPPY as Baden's lies, we would have reason to believe he wasn't actually lying.

But wait, it gets worse. To a related question, as to whether people with bad memories who make things up can be called liars, or if those telling untruths have to KNOW what they say is untrue before they can be called a liar, McAdams later added:

*"They have to *know* it's untrue before they can be called a liar."*

He, of course, had never demonstrated that Garrison had "known" any of his inaccuracies were untrue! He had concluded that Garrison had misrepresented events and facts that he *should* have known were incorrect, and had concluded from this that Garrison had knowingly lied. And I had offered the same case against Baden. At which time, McAdams attempted to preserve the illusion of Baden's and the HSCA's integrity by claiming that someone with such disregard for the truth that they refuse to read or memorize their own reports before going on TV and babbling on about something for which they are supposedly an expert can not be considered a liar if they did not "need" to lie, i.e. if their original report was something he--McAdams-- had personally agreed with.

He had thereby re-defined the word "liar", which can be used to designate those who tell falsehoods whether they know them false or not, to suit his own needs. Garrison was a liar, whether or not he knew

what he said was untrue, but Baden was not a liar, as he may not have known he was lying.

This erodes any claims McAdams may make to cognitive superiority, IMO. Rather than questioning Baden's and the HSCA panel's conclusions because Baden had revealed himself to be a lazy researcher who preferred to make stuff up, McAdams had insinuated that Baden's and the HSCA panel's conclusions were BEYOND DISPUTE, and that, therefore, Baden's subsequent failures as a researcher and story-teller were irrelevant.

Pardon my French...but that is worse than utter horsecrap, it's freakin' bullshit.

Backfire



Notice the amount of simulated blood flying back toward the shooter in the images at right.



In 2009, an anonymous character going by the name Mag30 began posting videos of his shooting prowess all over youtube. In the discussion of these videos he suggested his ability to shoot HIS Mannlicher-Carcano was indicative of how easy it was for anyone, including Oswald, to shoot a Mannlicher-Carcano. This, of course, was ludicrous. By his own admission, he'd been practicing with his rifle for 30 years. In any event, he eventually posted a video in which he claimed to prove that a skull hit by a bullet would move back toward the shooter. This was far from convincing. The simulated skulls in this video were not attached to a body, and basically exploded upon impact. Even so, they demonstrated, ONCE AGAIN, the likelihood that blood and debris would have flown back toward the shooter, should a bullet have actually impacted the back of Kennedy's head at frame 313 of the Zapruder film.



Images and handwritten notations come from a mag30 video posted on youtube.



Backfire

Some of those devouring McAdams' propaganda may actually be dangerous...

In 2009, an anonymous gun-aficionado using the name mag30th began posting videos of his shooting feats on youtube. (Apparently, he'd been posting these videos for years, but really went crazy with it in 2009, shortly after Barack Obama took office...) Anyhow, some of these videos were of him firing a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. In some videos he fired for accuracy. In others he fired for speed. In the

comments section of each of these videos, however, the subject matter was always the same. It was a series of complaints about conspiracy theorists, and how none of them knew anything about weapons, and how they'd conned people into doubting Oswald could have fired the shots that killed Kennedy.

As I knew full well that any doubts Oswald could have fired the shots sprang not from the fantasies of conspiracy theorists, but the official record, and the testimony of the men who'd actually tested Oswald's rifle, I joined the discussion, and tried to stop those impressed with mag30th's shooting from believing his shooting prowess said anything about the assassination. Unfortunately, I even expressed doubts his videos were honest depictions of his shooting ability. This led to a tremendous amount of nastiness, and challenges to my manhood, etc. Mag30th then bet me 5,000 dollars he could rapid fire his rifle twice as fast as anyone had fired Oswald's rifle. As the speed at which he could fire his rifle--particularly in that he now admitted he'd had far more experience than Oswald and had in fact been firing bolt-action rifles competitively for more than 30 years--was immaterial to my research, and as I really had no desire to bet such a sum, or even meet the man, I refused. This led to even more attacks on my manhood, etc.

It was around this time that I noticed that some of my comments had disappeared. I challenged mag30th to join a discussion forum where he would have no control over what others could say about his videos. He refused to do so. At this point I stopped responding to many of his attacks. He then posted a terribly misleading video on myths about the Mannlicher-Carcano, pretending for his viewers that these "myths" all derived from conspiracy theorists, when most of them had in fact derived from the official record.

This video was not a waste of time, however. At one point in the video, mag30th shot a couple of simulated skulls, and asserted that their falling to the side after being hit was proof that skulls fall back to the shooter after being hit, and that this disproves the conspiracy theory that the movement of Kennedy's skull after frame 313 indicates the shot came from the front. While these tests were far from convincing on this point--a point which I might readily concede, I might add, should it be clearly demonstrated--they were, not surprisingly, fairly convincing on another point. A significant amount of simulated blood and brain matter splashed back toward the shooter from the entrance location on each of these skulls. Mag30th's tests, therefore, demonstrated once again that the shot at frame 313 would have most logically caused a splash of blood from the back of JFK's head, should it actually have impacted on the back of JFK's head as purported.

So why didn't mag30th note this? Why was he so intent on using his knowledge of guns and his prowess with his rifle to mislead people, when he could have used it to inform?

Well, the bio on his youtube channel gave me a clue. It began:

- *I despise Socialism and the modern day liberal democrat (another word for Socialist), and all the rest of the share the wealth types. Obama represents the Socialist mentality to perfection. Karl Marx would have been proud of him.*

"The American people will never knowingly adopt socialism. But, under the name of 'liberalism,' they will adopt every fragment of the socialist program, until one day America will be a socialist nation, without knowing how it happened."

Norman Thomas, U.S. Socialist Party presidential candidate 1940, 1944 and 1948.

Socialism hasn't worked in 6,000 years of recorded history because it didnt have me to run it. - Ted Kennedy.

Mag30th was thereby bragging that he HATED socialists, and considered the Kennedy family--at one time one of the wealthiest families in America-- socialists. (John McAdams has similarly crowned

President Obama a socialist.)

Sadly, one finds this attitude all too prevalent within those supposedly "defending" history from conspiracy theorists. Just as there are knee-jerk conspiracists, who think every crime committed in the last 60 years is somehow connected to the Bush family, there are knee-jerk single-assassin theorists, who pathetically and desperately refuse to allow that the death of John F. Kennedy could have any meaning, or that he could have died for his country much as Abraham Lincoln died for his country. These people are, in my opinion, disturbed, and possibly dangerous. One of them regularly pollutes discussion forums and youtube with diatribes against Kennedy, and how he was a "spavined hunchback" and a sexual deviant who was totally undeserving of praise or respect.

A typical post from this individual (he who shall not be named):

"The Great JFK Assassination Hoaxing of America is FINISHED! The decline of America didn't occur after JFK was shot, it happened when America voted him into office. JFK WAS A PIECE OF SHIT SIMILAR TO THE PEOPLE WHO DEFEND THAT SHIT AND LEE OSWALD WHO WE SHOULD REMEMBER TOOK OUT THAT GARBAGE! THANKS LEE!"

Such lunacy could be laughed at and ignored should it not be so obsessive and omnipresent.

As a result, I wouldn't be surprised if the next Presidential assassin springs from the ranks of those currently claiming Oswald acted alone.

Chapter 19b: Stuck in the Middle With You

Doctor! Doctor!



"Mystery photo" with Trauma Room One orientation



FIGURE 12: Photograph of JFK's skull wound. This is the only image supposedly taken of JFK's fatal skull wound. It is taken so close to the surface of the skull that it is all but impossible to orient as to which side is up or down, left or right. Three witnesses testified that the scalp was reflected to take a photograph of the spot where the bullet struck the skull, but this image does not show that. Nor is there one photograph in the current inventory that shows the scalp reflected to demonstrate JFK's skull wound.

Mystery photo as presented in Trauma Room One



Official interpretation of
"mystery photo" 1967-present.

Forehead

Official interpretation of
"mystery photo" 1966.
Current interpretation of
most of the research
community.



Back of the head

Neck

Doctor! Doctor!

Over the previous chapters, I have attempted to show how the medical evidence in the assassination of President Kennedy has been twisted again and again by those with an agenda. At times, I have questioned the integrity of the men distorting this evidence. Some of their "errors" are so outrageous in fact that it's easy to believe they were designed to conceal an inconvenient truth. Now, I would like to have finished this study without questioning the integrity of anyone in the research community, men whose support will be necessary for this study to achieve any widespread recognition.

But, as we've seen, it has been impossible for me to do so. Some elements of the research community are so set in their beliefs that they are psychologically unable to adjust to anything new, and heck, my analysis of the evidence is nothing if not something new.

As a result, when I first noticed that no one from the conspiracy research community had identified the Humes entrance on the "mystery photo" I wrote this off to a willful ignorance. It was right there in the photo, but no one seemed to notice it. I assumed this was because most researchers had been so thoroughly snowed by all the discussion of the large exit wound on the back of the head that no one even thought to look for the small entrance wound on the back of the head identified at autopsy.

While at the November, 2005, JFK LANCER conference, however, I noticed something which forced me to reconsider the ‘innocence’ of some of those failing to notice this entrance.

But first a little background... In 1992, Dr. Charles Crenshaw, perhaps the most vocal of the Parkland witnesses, wrote a book, *JFK: Conspiracy of Silence*, which related his memories of November 22-24, 1963, and his theories on the assassination. After its publication, he was widely criticized. Articles were printed in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* suggesting he was a liar—that he’d never even seen Kennedy at Parkland—and so on. After winning a lawsuit against JAMA, he corrected some minor errors in his book, and updated his story to include a section on the lawsuit. He also added a section on the current state of the medical evidence, which was written by two leading members of the research community, Dr. Cyril Wecht and Dr. Gary Aguilar. The new version of Crenshaw’s book, released in 2001, was sold as *Trauma Room One*.

In *Trauma Room One*, on page 281 to be exact, there is a reproduction of the mystery photo, the photo of the President’s brainless cranium which has been the focus of so much of my study. What is astounding about this presentation of the photo, however, is that it is not printed in a way one can make sense of it. It is not printed so that the bone in the photo appears to be forehead, and it is not printed so that the bone in the photo appears to be the back of the head. If one is to believe this photo is of the back of the head, it is, in fact, printed upside down. Even worse, the scalp triangle and lock of hair at the top of the photo, and the neck lines and bullet hole at the bottom of the photo, have been cropped off the photo. This makes it even harder to orient. Suspiciously, this supports the book’s argument that when inspecting the photo it “is virtually impossible to know which side is up, to know which bones are in the image, what part of the skull is being photographed, etc.” It also makes it hard to second-guess the writers when they ask “Is frontal bone or occipital bone visible in this image. Not even Kennedy’s pathologists know for sure.”

Since both doctors had inspected the photo at the archives—Wecht was, in fact, not only the second non-government-affiliated doctor, after Lattimer, to inspect the photos, but had testified before both the Rockefeller Commission and HSCA—one has to question why they would not only make the argument that the photo is indecipherable, but crop it to make it far less decipherable. After all, even single-assassin theorists such as Chad Zimmerman and Larry Sturdivan present the photo un-cropped in their work. The website of single-assassin theorist John McAdams even presents the photo in the back of the head orientation so that his readers can judge for themselves.

Why would two leading lights of the research community misrepresent something so important?

Well, one possibility is that they were protecting their own reputations. Wecht’s disagreement with the HSCA was chiefly over their support for the single-bullet theory; he accepted the higher entrance in the skull and accepted that there was no clear-cut evidence for the Humes entrance on the autopsy photos. Similarly, Dr. Aguilar has built his reputation in part on his belief that the many eyewitnesses describing a large exit at the rear of the head were correct, and that the autopsy report is a sham. It is in neither of the doctors’ personal interest, therefore, to reveal that Humes was right about his low entrance. But are Wecht and Aguilar capable of such “skullduggery”? Would they deliberately mislead the American public just to further their own agenda?

I think not. I find it hard to believe these two men, whose work and statements have been hugely influential in the research community, and who have always pushed for the government to open up the archives and let the truth be known, would go to such lengths to conceal something of such importance.

I suspect that, instead, they had a blind spot.

In re-reading the works of both men, in fact, neither seems to attach much significance to the photo. In Aguilar's excellent 144 page on-line article, *How Five Investigations into JFK's Medical/Autopsy Evidence Got it Wrong*, co-written with Kathy Cunningham in 2003, he devotes 16 pages to the Justice Department's inspections of the autopsy photos in November 1966 and January 1967 (the so-called Military Review) and fails to mention that the mystery photo changed in orientation between the two inspections. This was probably the single-most important element of the inspections. And yet it goes unmentioned. Are we to assume from this that Aguilar deliberately left this out? Similarly, in his 42 page chapter in *Murder in Dealey Plaza* (2000), entitled *The Converging Medical Case for Conspiracy*, Aguilar declared, when discussing the possibility of a missing photo, "no images survive in which JFK's scalp is shown reflected from the skull so as to demonstrate the skull wound." This blanket dismissal of the significance of the mystery photo so alarmed Dr. Fetzer, the editor of the book (who is not a medical doctor), that he felt it necessary to insert an editor's note, reminding the reader "Apart from F8." (F8 is writer Harrison Livingstone's term for the mystery photo.) While the probability exists that Dr. Aguilar, who is in everyday practice an ophthalmologist, was simply being short-sighted, and was referring specifically to the small entrance wound described by Dr. Finck, the fact is, as I've maintained throughout this presentation, that this wound is EXACTLY where Dr. Finck said it was. Why can't Aguilar see this?

Dr. Wecht, for his part, never mentions the mystery photo in his 1993 book *Cause of Death*. There is a passage in the 63 page chapter on the assassination that reveals his blind spot, however. When discussing his first inspection of the autopsy photos, Wecht states "As I reviewed the X-rays and autopsy photographs, I noticed a little flap of loose tissue visible just above the hairline on the back of the President's head...the loose flap very easily could be an exit wound, which would prove there was a second gunman shooting from the front. But even if it is an entrance wound from a bullet, it would destroy the Warren Commission's conclusion that only three bullets were fired."

It's undoubtedly revealing that Wecht's immediate suspicion upon seeing something which could be a wound in the location where the autopsy doctors placed the entrance wound was that it could be an exit wound. This shows that Wecht had little doubt there was an entrance in the Clark Panel's location. Apparently, It never occurred to him that the autopsy doctors could be right and Russell Fisher, the Clark Panel's ringleader, wrong. Wecht's suggestion that the acceptance of even a lower entrance would destroy the Warren Commission's theory is further evidence of this short-sightedness. It is the existence of a higher/cowlick entrance, a wound observed by NOT ONE witness, that would immediately destroy the Warren Commission's conclusions. And yet Wecht fails to argue for the existence of such an entrance. As so many others, he readily accepts that the Clark Panel's red oval-shaped mark in the cowlick is an entrance wound. As with George Lundberg of JAMA, who blindly trusted Humes, it would appear that Wecht blindly trusted Fisher.

I suspect otherwise, however. I suspect that instead Wecht blindly trusted his own experience. In preparing for the writing of this study, I read dozens of papers and books on wound ballistics, most of which included photos of typical head wounds. The red mark in the cowlick noted by the Clark Panel does look a bit like the entrance of a low-speed, small-caliber, bullet. As a result, it may have looked like a typical entrance to Wecht. By no means, of course, is it a typical entrance for a high-speed, military-jacketed bullet, breaking up on the skull.

So maybe the cropping of the mystery photo was just a misunderstanding. On August 1, 2006, Dr. Aguilar responded to my questions about the photo in *Trauma Room One*. He said: "Somewhere along

the line, after the images left our control, someone unknown to us shoehorned the image for reasons I don't understand. At that time I had too many balls in the air and was at risk of dropping a more important one if I paused to catch this one."

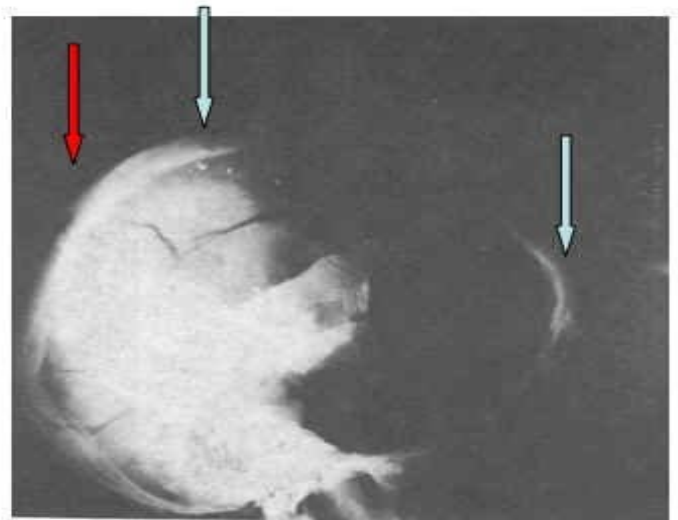
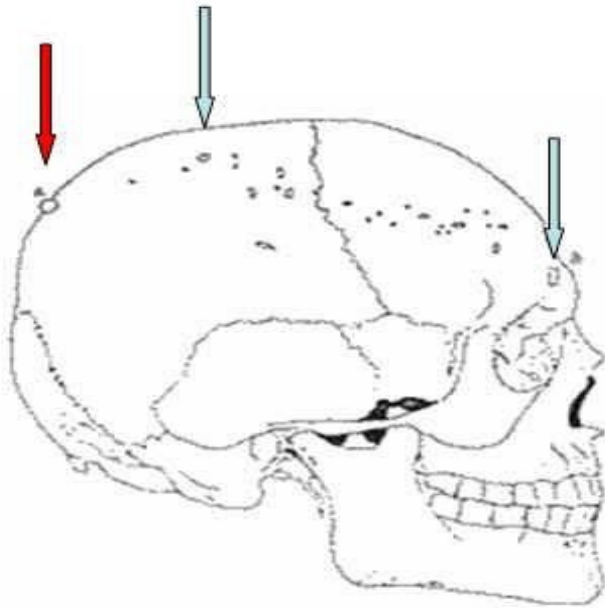
Upon my acceptance that Wecht and Aguilar did not deliberately mislead us by publishing a cropped version of the mystery photo, I have to accept the possibility that many of the misleading "mistakes" noted in my study of the evidence, even those by Arlen Specter, Robert Blakey, Dr. Michael Baden and Thomas Canning, were equally innocent.

To this end it should be noted that the doctors testifying in the American Bar Association's 1992 mock trial all made substantive mistakes. Dr. Martin Fackler, testifying for the prosecution, incorrectly asserted that Dr. Robert Shaw only claimed that Connally's back wound was 1 1/2 centimeters long at a point "later on," after he'd already determined it to be 3 cm. This was not true. While Dr. Shaw wrote "3 cm" on a report describing Connally's wounds, he testified from the first that this was the measurement after he cut away some skin around the edges of a 1 1/2 cm wound. Thus, there is no evidence that he ever "changed his recollection," as claimed by Fackler. Similarly, Dr. Piziali testified that Kennedy's head "wound location and head motion shows that the shot was fired from the sixth floor of the TSBD," a statement without any real support. The location and movement may have been consistent with a shot from the TSBD, but came nowhere near "showing" that a bullet was fired from the sniper's nest, as purported. Piziali then said this shot was fired from "88 yards...290 feet", thereby confirming both his lack of basic math skills and lack of familiarity with the case. He then stated that the FBI's tests on Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition showed that it broke up on human skulls. The skull tests were, of course, not conducted by the FBI but by Edgewood Arsenal, a government contractor working with the Army. On the other side, showing that experts on both sides of the case were equally capable of error, Dr. Roger McCarthy testified that the 2 bullet fragments removed from Kennedy's brain were "in fact found in his scalp." He then embarrassed himself further by asserting that "the record is very clear on this."

Experts are mere humans, and busy humans at that, and, as such, prone to mistakes. It's sad, but true.

I suspect that only through this acceptance will we come to any consensus on what really happened on November 22, 1963.

The Power of Suggestion



At left: Fig. 3 in an article by Dr. Cyril Wecht, *Forensic Science* 3, 1974. Above: HSCA Exhibit 52 from the testimony of Dr. Baden, President Kennedy's right lateral X-ray. Arrows added.

A comparison between an illustration featured in *Forensic Science* 3, 1974, and the lateral X-ray upon which it was based demonstrates that Dr. Wecht, the creator of the illustration, was not only confused by the tilt of the skull in the X-ray, as demonstrated by the features pointed out by the blue arrows, but was fooled into thinking there was a large fragment on the back of the head. There is no such fragment, as demonstrated by the red arrow.

The Power of Suggestion

The realization that Wecht's errors were quite possibly related to a misapplication of his extensive experience led me down a dark road of thought. I began to question whether it's possible for those "with knowledge" to ever learn anything new. Does our frame of reference frame our reality?

Let's use Wecht as a case study. On August 23 and August 24, 1972, Dr. Cyril Wecht became the first fully independent pathologist to inspect the autopsy materials. He also became the first conspiracy theorist to see these materials. He reported his findings in a 1974 article in *Forensic Science*.

As a long-time critic of the original autopsy, and as a long-time proponent of forensic science, Wecht undoubtedly had a chip on his shoulder. He resented, justifiably, that military doctors with little forensic experience were chosen to perform the most important autopsy of the century. It was indeed an insult to his profession. When the Clark Panel, made up of better-qualified civilians, (Dr.s Fisher, Moritz, Carnes, and Morgan), had its report released in 1969, and concluded that the autopsy doctors had indeed made major mistakes, one can only assume Wecht shouted "Told you so!" There can be little doubt then, that he went into the Archives prepared to confirm the Clark Panel's basic findings.

Sure enough, in section 3.3 of the 1974 *Forensic Science* article discussing his findings, Dr. Wecht concluded "*Generally speaking, the author's observations and measurements of the wounds and locations of bullet fragments are in agreement with the findings of the Clark Panel in 1968.*" At no point in his paper does Wecht side with the interpretations of the original autopsists over those expressed by the Clark Panel.

Wecht's failure to question the Clark Panel becomes painfully clear when one inspects Fig. 3 in his article. This is a drawing of a skull, purportedly showing the locations of the bullet fragments visible on

Kennedy's x-rays. Wecht failed to properly assess the forward tilt of the skull in the x-ray. As a result the fragment in the middle of the forehead on the x-rays was depicted just above the right eye on his drawing. Wecht described: *"A fragment from this location is reported to have been removed surgically and later subjected to spectrographic analysis."* This helped fuel the mistaken and ongoing belief that the forehead fragment on the x-ray was the one recovered at autopsy. Far worse, Wecht's drawing depicted a large fragment on the back of the head by the Clark Panel's entrance. A close look at the x-ray purportedly studied by Wecht, however, shows THERE'S NOTHING THERE.

Even more intriguing, Wecht KNEW there was nothing there. In his best-selling book, *Best Evidence*, David Lifton reveals that he accompanied Dr. Wecht to the Archives, and that they discussed Wecht's findings both during and after his examination. Lifton recalls: *"During the afternoon session, it became quite obvious that Wecht had great difficulty reading the X-rays--that he couldn't find the entry wound reported by the Clark Panel or by Dr. Lattimer. There was no hole there at all, said Wecht."* Lifton then recalls that he discussed this with others and told Wecht that he shouldn't be looking for a "hole", but for a "subtle shading". He then recalls that Wecht *"was still not able to locate the entry wound."* Lifton then recalls that he measured out the length of thread the supposed entrance would be from the external occipital protuberance and gave this to Wecht to help him find the entrance on the x-rays. He recalls *"Wecht did this, and that was how he found the entrance wound in the back of President Kennedy's head."* (Unstated by Lifton but clear from his account is that Wecht was unable to locate the large fragment purportedly just below this entrance wound; if he'd seen the fragment, after all, he would not have needed to use this thread to find the location of the "hole.") Lifton then cites Wecht's dictation on the "finding" of this entrance. Wecht said *"This is a change in density which apparently is what is referred to in the previous panel as a 'hole.' This either takes imagination or some very sophisticated radiological expertise because it is difficult for me to consider this a hole. In any event, it has to be because it fits the measurements that they give about 100mm from the external occipital protuberance."*

Thus, Dr. Cyril Wecht, under pressure from David Lifton to confirm that the autopsy doctors were wrong, and unable to conceive that the civilians on the Clark Panel were so badly mistaken, ignored his own better instincts and came to not only accept that the cowlick entrance he could not find was there, but to depict the bullet fragment purportedly just below this entrance in his exhibits.

But this was not the only point on which Wecht wrongly deferred to the Panel. When discussing the angle of descent from the back wound to the neck wound, Wecht announced *"Adopting also the Clark Panel's measurement of the vertical position of the exit hole, namely 9 cm below the same crease (although the author was unable to corroborate this measurement from his own observations) we are able to compute the trajectory of the bullet relative to the horizontal and sagittal planes through the President's body at the time he was struck. The downward angle works out to be 11 1/2 degrees..."* As a more accurate measurement would have helped Wecht in his efforts to debunk the single-bullet theory, Wecht's acceptance of the Clark Panel's measurements made little sense, and suggests he'd given the Clark Panel's measurements and conclusions undue weight.

To his credit, Wecht seems fully aware the influence an "expert" can hold over another "expert." An April 19, 1975 memo in the files of the Rockefeller Commission reveals that when Dr. Wecht spoke to the Commission's Robert Olsen, he voiced his displeasure with the make-up of the commission's medical panel. Olsen related *"Dr. Wecht was very unsettled by the identity of the members of the panel. Indeed, he was very angry to the point of shouting and indulging in frequent profanity. He said that almost the whole panel is made up of people from the Washington-Baltimore community; that all of them are under the control and influence of the Chief Medical Examiner of Maryland, Dr. Russell Fisher; that we should have looked elsewhere for impartial experts; that Dr. Fisher is a very strong-*

willed and influential man who has succeeded in getting more Federal grants in the field of forensic pathology than all other doctors in the United States combined...Dr. Wecht readily acknowledged the professional qualifications of all members of our panel. He said that among their fellow professionals each enjoyed a high standing. He stated, however, that it was wholly unrealistic to expect that anybody on this panel would express views different from those expressed by the Ramsey Clark Panel in 1968, which included Dr. Fisher and a radiologist from John Hopkins, Dr. Russell Morgan."

It seems Wecht knew of which he spoke.

Perhaps Wecht was thinking of Paul L. Kirk. Kirk was a respected criminalist, whose post-conviction study of the blood-spatter evidence in the Sam Sheppard murder case (the basis for the TV show and movie *The Fugitive*) brought Sheppard a new trial, and release. Understandably, this greatly upset Samuel Gerber, the coroner whose work helped convict Sheppard in the first place. Gerber is reported to have been so upset by this, in fact, that he retaliated against Kirk by using his influence with his fellow coroners to deny Kirk membership in the American Academy of Forensic Sciences. (This blackballing was only partially corrected by the Academy's naming a yearly award for excellence after Kirk. The Paul Kirk award was first issued in 1979, at which point Kirk had been dead for nine years.)

Or perhaps Wecht was thinking of a more benign form of influence. It goes without saying that people indebted to Fisher would be less likely to question his conclusions than those with a clean slate. It should also be evident that, once fed an interpretation of facts from someone one respects, it is difficult to completely shake off their interpretation and see this set of facts with fresh eyes.

In any event, Wecht's letter to Olsen was far from the only time he complained about the make-up of the panel. An interview of Wecht published in the October 1975 issue of *Physician's Management* shows that in the intervening months he had not only failed to cool down, but had actually heated up. He said the creation of the panel was "*part of the cover-up*" and described the panel's members as "*government sycophants*." He pointed out, and with good reason, that of all the lawyers in America who could be charged with heading an investigation into the CIA's illegal activities, and re-investigating the medical aspects of the Kennedy assassination, President Gerald Ford, the only member of the Warren Commission to write a book on his experience and tie his reputation to the single-bullet theory, picked David Belin, a corporate attorney from Iowa, whose only qualification came from his experience with the Warren Commission, and his being the only member of the commission's staff to write a book on his experience, and tie his reputation to the single-bullet theory.

On May 5, 1978, moreover, Wecht issued a press release in which he similarly attacked the make-up of the Rockefeller Commission's Panel. As two of the panel's members--Dr.s Spitz and Lindenberg--were close colleagues of the Clark Panel's Dr. Fisher at the Baltimore State Medical Examiner's office, and had contributed to Fisher's book *Medicolegal Investigation of Death*, and as yet another--Dr. Fred Hodges--was both a colleague of the Clark Panel's Dr. Morgan at John Hopkins University and the nephew of Morgan's mentor, Dr. Paul Hodges, it is easy to see Wecht's point. But it's worse than that. The other two members of the Rockefeller Commission panel were equally unlikely to question the conclusions of the Warren Commission and Clark Panel. One of these--Dr. Robert McMeekin--was a colleague of one of Kennedy's autopsists, Dr. Pierre Finck, at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, and the other, Dr. Alfred Olivier, had actually been the Warren Commission's wounds ballistics expert.

Not that Robert Olsen, to whom Wecht initially complained, was concerned about this, mind you. In the Rockefeller Commission's files there is a Memo to File by Olsen on the creation of the medical panel. It acknowledges that Olsen called an expert at NASA regarding the movements of Kennedy's

head in the Zapruder film, and that this expert referred him to Dr. Charles Stahl at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, and that Stahl, in turn, referred him to Dr. McMeekin. It was then decided that a panel should be formed. McMeekin suggested Lindenberg and Spitz. He also suggested Dr. Charles Petty. Olsen rejected Petty, however, as Petty was at that time the Chief Medical Examiner of Dallas, Texas, the scene of the assassination. Lindenberg then suggested Olivier and Hodges. Presumably, Olsen didn't realize that birds of a feather...well, you know.

In 1993, in his book *Cause of Death*, Wecht once again questioned the impartiality of his colleagues. This time, however, it was the impartiality of his colleagues on the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel, whose reports, much as the Rockefeller Commission Panel before them, pretty much rubber-stamped the findings of Russell Fisher and the Clark Panel. When discussing why he alone among the panel was willing to dispute the single-bullet theory, which he calls "absolute nonsense," and the concurrent conclusion that there was only one shooter, Wecht reveals: *"I believe it's more of a pre-determined mindset that many of my colleagues have that a cover-up or conspiracy of this magnitude by the federal government is unthinkable, or, at the very least, unlikely. Just as lawyers disagree over what a particular law or court ruling means, forensic pathologists frequently have differences of opinion. I have no reason whatsoever to doubt my colleagues' sincerity. However, it should be noted that many of these same people had a long-standing involvement with the federal government--many had received federal grants for research and appointments to various influential government boards. To be highly critical of a government action could end that friendly relationship with Uncle Sam."*

As strange as it may seem, Wecht was being far too kind. It is incredibly suspicious that, of the nine pathologists on the HSCA panel, six--Dr.s Spitz, Petty, Weston, Baden, Coe, and Loquvam--had a professional relationship with Dr. Russell Fisher, whose findings they would be reviewing. Dr. Spitz had not only worked for Fisher, and been trained by Fisher, he'd co-edited the widely-praised book *Medico-legal Investigation of Death* with Fisher.

And Spitz was not the only one reviewing Fisher's findings to have a clear-cut conflict of interest. Dr.s Baden and Weston (along with Dr. Lindenberg from the Rockefeller Commission panel, who'd also worked with Fisher) had contributed articles to *Medico-legal Investigation of Death*.

Which brings us to Dr. Petty... Dr. Petty had not only served as Fisher's assistant in the Maryland State Medical Examiner's Office, he'd edited a book with Fisher, *Forensic Pathology: A Handbook For Pathologists*, which was published in July, 1977, only two months he reviewed Fisher's findings on the Kennedy assassination. Even more shocking, *Forensic Pathology* was written under contract to the Justice Department, under whose guidance Fisher had made his findings in 1968. And even more shocking--yes, even more shocking--of the twelve contributors to *Forensic Pathology* beyond Fisher, four--Dr.s Petty, Baden, Coe, and Loquvam--ended up on the HSCA panel reviewing Fisher's findings.

Now how can this be? Does it make any sense whatsoever that, of the six pathologists to enter the archives on 9-17-77 and review the medical evidence, four had contributed to a book written for the Justice Department only months before? And that this book was edited by the prestigious Dr. Fisher, whose findings they would be reviewing? And that of the remaining two, one--Dr. Earl Rose--was the coroner of Dallas in 1963, and highly unlikely to say anything that might suggest a conspiracy, and cast doubts upon the "innocence" of his former home? And what about the second panel, made up of those who'd already studied the evidence? Does it make any sense that Dr. Wecht was deliberately isolated on a panel in which the other two members--Dr.s Spitz and Weston-- were not only close associates of Dr. Fisher's (and, quite possibly, Dr. Carnes), but had already gone on record as saying the evidence supported Fisher's (and Dr. Carnes') findings?

The answer, of course, is that it does make sense--but only if you accept that the membership of this panel and its organization was designed to protect the reputation of Dr. Russell Fisher and the Clark Panel.

This infection, moreover, was not limited to the pathologists on the HSCA's pathology panel. A quick google search of the panel's chief radiology consultant, Dr. G.M. McDonnell, reveals that he served as a Lt. Col. in the U.S. Army Medical Corps throughout the 1950's, studying the effects of radiation on soldiers and civilians on behalf the Surgeon General of the U.S. Army. It reveals further that by June 1960, while still in the Army, he'd become a member of the National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurements, a committee set up to determine the safety (and danger) of various doses of radiation. It reveals also that in August 1961 a 195-page report on a 1957 project run by McDonnell, Effects of Nuclear Detonations on a Large Biological Specimen (Swine), was published by the U.S. Dept of Commerce, and that its corporate author was listed as the Walter Reed Institute of Research in Washington D.C.

Now this would be bad enough. McDonnell did not testify before the HSCA, so his background, outside his being a radiologist working at Good Samaritan Hospital in Los Angeles, went largely unexplored. Few, if any, people studying the Kennedy assassination medical evidence realized he'd been a researcher for the U.S. Army, who'd worked out of Washington, D.C.

But it's even worse than that. A 9-28-61 UPI article (found in the Lakeland Ledger) reveals that McDonnell was by that time teaching at the University of California, Los Angeles. This article did more than reveal McDonnell's latest position, however. It revealed that McDonnell had just spoken at the 62nd meeting of the American Roentgen Ray Society, and had been part of a three member panel pushing that the *"dangers to mankind because of atomic tests are 'highly exaggerated.'"* This article reported further that Dr. *"McDonnell said recent measurements have gone to 500 but they would have to go to 'several million' before there would be real concern. He said x-ray workers have been exposed to many times the present readings without ill effects...Dr. McDonnell said some people in India have lived for generations literally on top of a radium bed. 'I don't think they will be harmed at all until someone comes along and tells them they are in real danger,' he added."*

And Dr. McDonnell wasn't the only member of the panel downplaying the harmful effects of radiation. Another member claimed: *"I am much less concerned with the fallout than with the arms race behind it."* This member was Dr. Russell Morgan, of John Hopkins University, the very doctor whose findings on Kennedy's x-rays Dr. McDonnell would later be called on to review. John Hopkins University is, by the way, only 40 miles from Walter Reed Hospital. It seems likely, then, that McDonnell and Morgan were well familiar with one another, and quite possibly close colleagues.

Now, ask yourself, what are the odds that, at the height of the Cold War, three radiologists would appear before a meeting of their colleagues and try to convince them that the radiation released by the military's nuclear tests was of little or no danger to the public, and that 7 years later one of these radiologists would be called upon to study the x-rays of the murdered president who stopped these tests, and that, 10 years after that, another would be called upon to review his findings? I mean, was this all just a coincidence? Or was something else going on, whereby the consultants called upon by the government were not random, but were selected from a small pool of friends and associates known to be supportive of the government's objectives?

In any event, it's not just a coincidence that the HSCA rubber-stamped the Clark Panel's conclusions on

the head wound. In his 1998 book *Real Answers* HSCA Deputy Chief Counsel Gary Cornwell reveals that he was all set to aggressively interview Dr. Humes and expose Humes' supposed mistakes--including that he'd misidentified the location of the entrance wound on Kennedy's head--but that the "*committee's doctor*" (presumably Dr. Baden, but possibly Dr. Petty) told him he couldn't do that, as Humes was a "*respected man*." This doctor then warned Humes of Cornwell's plans, and convinced Humes to acknowledge he'd made a mistake regarding the entrance wound location (a confession he subsequently recanted) in exchange for Cornwell's taking it easy on him, and not attacking his reputation. Well, if this doctor was Baden, as one might only assume, seeing as he was the only doctor on the pathology panel in regular contact with those running the committee, it's clear that protecting Humes' reputation was the last thing on his mind, and that his true goal in warning Humes was to get Humes to back off on his claim there was no entrance wound in the cowlick, and thereby prevent possible damage to the reputation of DR. RUSSELL FISHER.

And the proof of this is that, in Baden's 1989 book *Unnatural Death*, he shows little regard for Humes' reputation. No, check that--he TRASHES Humes' reputation. The autopsy conducted by Humes was a "*disaster*." Humes "*had never autopsied anyone with a gunshot wound*." Humes was "*not competent for the job*." Humes understood, without specifically being told, "*that he wasn't supposed to do a full autopsy*." "*He was there to please his superiors*." "*He felt it was beyond his powers to describe the wounds*." "*The autopsy was woefully inadequate*." "*Humes couldn't understand what had happened to the head bullet*..." "*The autopsy is not finished until you work out the bullet tracks along with the exits and entrances*. Humes explained that he was in a hurry, that the family was waiting for the body." Humes "*burned his notes*." "*It is not clear what facts he used from his original notes*." "*The result was an autopsy report filled with errors, sins of omission and commission. Bullets weren't tracked, the brain wasn't sectioned, the measurements were inaccurate, the head wound wasn't described. The weights and measures of body organs made no sense*."

Now this was not the random destruction of another man's reputation, mind you, but the willful destruction of a man's reputation in order to prop something up in its place. Having explained to his readers that Humes was incompetent and not to be trusted, Baden then thrusts upon them the one point he almost certainly knows they'd question if he was to tell them all the facts. Humes "*didn't shave any hair from around the head wounds in order to examine them. The wounds were photographed through the hair*." "*The head is only five inches long from crown to neck, but Humes was confused by a little piece of brain tissue that had adhered to the scalp. He placed the head wound four inches lower than it actually was, near the neck instead of the cowlick*." Baden never tells his readers that not only did Dr. Boswell, Dr. Finck, and autopsy photographer John Stringer also tell his panel the wound was where Humes said it was--and that there was no wound in the cowlick (where the great Russell Fisher said it was)--but that Finck had had a meeting with Baden's panel in an attempt to convince them of this fact, and had stuck to his guns despite Baden's badgering.

Dr. Wecht's suggestion that money played a role in the pathology panel's decisions is also understated. That the economic interests of doctors can influence their conclusions has been confirmed numerous times. By way of example, a survey by Mildred Cho and Lisa Bero published in the March 1996 *Annals of Internal Medicine* revealed that 98% of the studies of drug effectiveness funded by the drug's manufacturer came to a favorable conclusion, while only 76% of the studies funded by independent sources shared this conclusion. This suggests that a drug company is 12 TIMES as likely to avoid an unfavorable conclusion about its product if it funds the doctors making the conclusion. A survey published in the October 1999 *Journal of the American Medical Association* was almost as discouraging. It found that a study sponsored by a drug company was only about 8 TIMES as likely to avoid an unfavorable conclusion on its new drug than a study sponsored by a non-profit organization.

Perhaps, as suggested by writers Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber in their book *Trust Us, We're Experts!*, the physician's motto of *"First, do no harm"* should be changed to *"First, do no harmful publicity."*

Of course, money is not the only motivating factor that can consciously or subconsciously color a doctors' perceptions, conclusions, and testimony. None less than Dr. Baden, in his book *Dead Reckoning*, has noted: *"Physicians may be the worst witnesses. They are often swayed by whoever asked them to be an expert. If that lawyer is smart enough to ask their advice, they conclude, he must know what he is doing. That being the case, physicians therefore adopt whatever the lawyer tells them as the facts of the case and become, if only subconsciously, an advocate for the lawyer rather than an independent adviser."* The ease with which scientists and doctors can be seduced into supporting otherwise unsupportable conclusions by lawyers is such common knowledge, in fact, that it was the subject of a well-received book, *Gallileo's Revenge*, by Peter Huber. Huber, a former law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, was so disturbed by what he found that he was led to conclude *"Malpractice by scientific and medical professionals is not only tolerated but encouraged, so long as it is solicited by lawyers themselves."* Damning words indeed.

But one doesn't have to question the motivation of doctors to question their ability to see evidence with absolute clarity. The susceptibility of doctors to innocent suggestion, and their innocent resistance to data challenging this suggestion, has also been studied. In 1972 Dr. David Rosenhan of Stanford University, along with seven recruits, checked themselves into psychiatric hospitals. These eight subjects told the hospitals they'd heard voices in their heads repeating words with no apparent meaning. After admission, however, the subjects claimed the voices had stopped, and started acting perfectly normal. The psychiatrists "treating" these subjects, however, routinely interpreted the "normal" behavior of these subjects as additional signs of their psychopathology. As a result, the patients were hospitalized for an average of 19 days, and fed an average of over 250 pills. Seven of them were diagnosed as being schizophrenic, and one as being bi-polar. Rosenhan himself was confined for almost two months. After his release, Dr. Rosenhan began the second half of his study. He told the hospitals of their mistakes, and that he'd be sending them more fake patients over the next three months. During this period 193 patients were admitted to one of the hospitals. 20% of these patients were identified by at least one staff member as being one of Dr. Rosenhan's "fake" patients. In fact, none of them were. Dr. Rosenhan had simply planted the suggestion that there could be fake patients in the minds of the hospital's employees, and they had begun to see them everywhere. Whereas not one of the original 8 patients pretending to hear voices had been spotted as a fake, over 40 actual patients were subsequently, and inaccurately, accused of being fakes.

The resistance to new perceptions, once one's frame of reference has been set, had been tested even before Rosenhan. In 1949, in a landmark study performed by Jerome Bruner and Leo Postman, subjects were flashed playing cards, some of which had a wrong color, i.e. red spades, black diamonds. They found that people would always recognize a normal card within 350 milliseconds, but would fail to recognize what they called a "trick card" 10% of the time, even when given a full second. They found, furthermore, that as one was exposed to more "trick cards," the speed in which one could identify the trick cards drastically improved.

Historians have also studied this resistance. In 1962, Thomas Kuhn published a landmark work of his own, *"The Structure of Scientific Revolutions"*. As part of his study, Kuhn looked at the time lapse between the development of new scientific theories and their general acceptance by the scientist's peers. He found, amazingly, that very few scientists, once committed to a theory, ever change their minds and embrace the findings of another scientist, even if this other scientist's new theory better

answers the questions answered by their old theory. Kuhn relates:

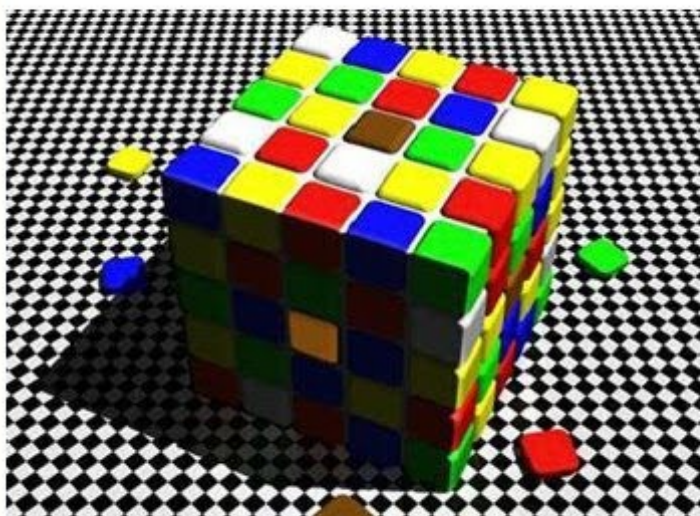
"Copernicanism made few converts for almost a century after Copernicus' death. Newton's work was not generally accepted, particularly on the Continent, for more than half a century after the Principia appeared. Priestley never accepted the oxygen theory, nor Lord Kelvin the electromagnetic theory, and so on. The difficulties of conversion have often been noted by the scientists themselves. Darwin, in a particularly perceptive passage at the end of the Origin of the Species, wrote: 'Although I am fully convinced of the truth of the views given in this volume..., I by no means expect to convince experienced naturalists whose minds are stocked with a multitude of facts all viewed, during a long course of years, from a point of view directly opposite to mine... But I look with confidence to the future,--to young and rising naturalists, who will be able to view both sides of the question with impartiality.' And Max Planck, surveying his own career in his Scientific Autobiography, sadly remarked that 'a new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it.'"

So...if you've made it this far and have failed to be convinced by any of my arguments, I can only say that I hope you die soon... Just kidding. No, really, if you think I'm wrong about everything, but have nevertheless made it this far, I'm delighted to have entertained you on whatever level I've entertained you. Particularly in that there remains a chance I can convince you of something.

Let's go back to Dr. Wecht. In 2003, in an article co-written with Dr. David Mantik, Wecht publicly reversed his position on the 6.5 mm fragment he'd once portrayed on the back of Kennedy's head. This article, published in a compendium entitled The Assassinations, presented an image of Kennedy's computer-enhanced A-P X-ray with the caption *"The 6.5 mm (white) object seen within the right orbit is almost certainly a deliberate artifact that was added to the original X-ray; the latter was then lost or destroyed."* Above this image is an image of Kennedy's computer-enhanced lateral X-ray. It has an arrow pointing to the back of Kennedy's skull, where Wecht depicted the 6.5 mm fragment in his 1974 article. Only this new image is captioned: *"The arrow at the rear identifies the corresponding site for the 6.5 mm fragment."* It seems clear from these captions then that Wecht now readily acknowledges that he fails to see the 6.5 mm fragment at this site. While I would like to show Wecht my own work and convince him that the large fragment on the A-P x-ray is actually not an artifact, but the fragment behind Kennedy's right eye described and removed at autopsy, it is nevertheless comforting that some "experts", some time, can be convinced to change their opinions.

I suppose, in this light, I should also take comfort that Larry Sturdivan has changed so many of his opinions, and that Dr. Lattimer, while sure of Oswald's guilt to the end, nevertheless changed his opinion on the entrance wound on the skull. I'll work on that. Taking comfort.

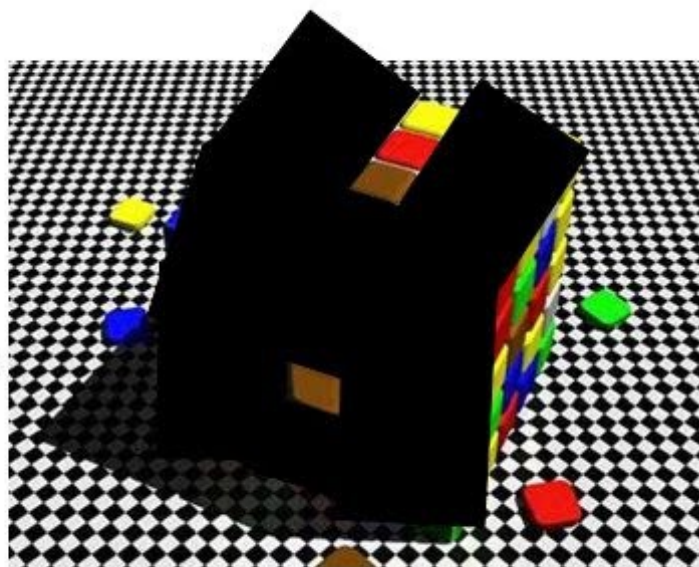
Cognitive Thinking 101



In the image at left, the middle square on the side in shadow appears to be orange, and the middle square on the side in light appears to be dark brown. This, however, is an illusion. The squares are in fact the exact same color, and only appear to be different because the brain perceives colors in shadows differently than when not in shadows.

This is demonstrated at right. Black rectangles have been placed atop the image to black out the squares neighboring the middle squares. The squares are now the same. And not only does the orange square now appear to be brown, but the dark brown square on top is now the same shade as the brown square at the bottom of the image.

Even though we know this, however, it's hard for us to look at the image above and NOT see the square in light as dark brown and the square in shadow as orange. We're stuck.



Cognitive Thinking 101

But it'll be hard. Real hard. Yes, unfortunately, I now suspect that the divide between what the evidence suggests in the Kennedy case and what many believe stems not from people refusing to change their minds, but from people refusing to use their minds. (Or, at least, the fully rational part of their minds.)

People get used to what they know, without realizing a large part of what they "know" is what they've been told. People used to thinking that communists are insidious and will stoop to anything to undermine American life find it hard to believe a communist sympathizer like Oswald could be innocent. Similarly, people used to thinking an ambitious "loser" like Oswald is likely to be desperate and dangerous find it easy to believe Oswald could just wake up one morning and decide to kill the President he admired, and then pretend that he didn't do it. Thus, Oswald's guilt seems perfectly reasonable or even readily apparent to those with a rightward bent, as well as those from the upper castes of society, ever-fearful of what they believe to be the jealous rabble down below.

This bias undoubtedly clouds their thinking. While many will argue that their opinions are based purely on the evidence, they fail to see that they have a built-in bias that filters out the evidence they consider unimportant. They will say that Oswald's palm-print was on the rifle, without considering that this evidence is tainted by the strange fact that the palm print was not identified until after the FBI said

there was no such print, and that the Dallas detective who found this print, Lt. J.C. Day, said it was an old print. They will say that Howard Brennan identified Oswald as the shooter, without admitting that Brennan's refusing to ID Oswald in a police line-up, but then later saying he knew it was him all along, and then later changing his story about how many shots he heard and where he was looking when he heard these shots, damages his credibility.

The intellectual integrity of single-assassin theorists is rarely as suspect, in fact, as when they hold Brennan up as their star witness. While the literally dozens of witnesses to state the first shot struck Kennedy and/or the last two shots were closer together than the first two are inevitably dismissed by these theorists due to "eyewitnesses not being credible" they nevertheless hypocritically persist in using Brennan to prove Oswald was the shooter in the sniper's nest. This signals that there is some sort of disconnect going on...that their emotional response to the case--that it must have been Oswald--has led to their unplugging their rational minds from its wall socket.

A February, 2009 online discussion with single-assassin theorist David Von Pein further illustrates this point. On the IMDB Forum for the film "JFK" Von Pein kept citing a 2003 ABC News poll as evidence the majority of Americans think Oswald shot Kennedy. I tried to correct him on this, and point out that the poll's question *"Do you think Lee Harvey Oswald was the only gunman in the Kennedy assassination, do you think there was another gunman in addition to Oswald there that day, or do you think Oswald was not involved in the assassination at all?"* was misleading. I argued that by saying *"not involved in the assassination at all"* at the end, the questioner misrepresented this as the only remaining alternative and pressured people convinced that Oswald was somehow involved to pick one of the first two options. I likened this to asking people *"Do you think the Warren Commission was created to deceive, do you think the Warren Commission decided on their own to deceive, or do you think the Warren Commission told the American people the truth ABOUT EVERYTHING?"*, a question that, in my opinion, would lead people to overwhelmingly state that the Warren Commission deceived the public. But Von Pein would have none of this. He continued to claim, and continues to claim, that ABC's poll showed that 32% of Americans believed Oswald was the lone gunman, 51% thought Oswald was one of multiple gunmen, 10% had no opinion, and only 7% of the American people thought someone other than Oswald fired from the sniper's nest in the school book depository.

This was obviously wrong. If 83% believed Oswald fired from the book depository, and only 7% believed he did not, then it follows that for every conspiracy theorist suspecting that Oswald was framed, TWELVE people thought Oswald was guilty. This is ludicrous. If, as Von Pein claims, only 7% of the American people thought then and continue to think Oswald innocent of shooting Kennedy, then why are he and his fellow single-assassin theorists so driven to convince others of Oswald's guilt? I mean, far more than 7% of the American people think Hillary Clinton killed Vince Foster, or that AIDS was designed by the CIA, and you don't see a nation-wide movement of journalists, historians, and "researchers" arguing that these people are wrong. Such wild theories, when held by only a small minority of people, are just ignored. Furthermore, if by 2003 only 7% of Americans thought there was anything to the possibility raised by Oliver Stone's 1991 film JFK--that Oswald was framed by the American government--then where in the world do people like Vincent Bugliosi and Von Pein get off blaming Oliver Stone for misleading the American people? Are we to believe that BEFORE the movie "JFK" hit the theaters, far FEWER than 7% of the American people thought Oswald innocent of killing Kennedy?

A year later, as part of his ongoing campaign to paint those believing Oswald innocent of killing Kennedy as kooks, Von Pein started up on this again. This time, however, I asked him WHO the supposedly 51% of the public thinking Oswald fired shots as part of a team thought Oswald was

working for. For this, he referred me to yet another poll, one in which 34% of the public said they believed the CIA was involved. This makes Von Pein's assertion only 7% of the public thinks Oswald innocent of shooting Kennedy positively bizarre. Could he really believe that at least 27% of the public believes Oswald shot Kennedy as part of a CIA plot? Could he really believe those thinking Oswald fired shots on behalf of the CIA outnumbered those thinking he was a patsy by a ratio of almost 4 to 1? And if so, how could he or his hero Vincent Bugliosi possibly believe the public was remotely swayed to believe such a thing by Oliver Stone's movie JFK, or any other film or publication? Outside a few researchers claiming Oswald was part of a CIA mind-control program, and a Manchurian Candidate-type assassin programmed by the CIA, no one, and I mean no one, in the conspiracy research community believes Oswald was an assassin for the CIA. I have talked to hundreds of non-buffs over the years, and can absolutely assert that this suspicion is next to non-existent in the non-buff public as well. Von Pein's assertion that as many as one out of every four Americans thinks Oswald was a hit man for the CIA is just plain wacky, and is proof positive that his thoughts on the assassination are not grounded in anything resembling reality.

And when I pushed him on this...he admitted as much. On March 4, 2010, on the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup, he admitted: *"if I WERE to disbelieve that "7%" ABC poll, where does that really lead? I'll tell you where -- such a belief leads to a vast MAJORITY of Americans actually falling into "Kookville."* Yes, you read that right. In Von Pein's mind, his acceptance of that poll equates to his rescuing the vast majority of Americans from "Kookville." He doesn't want to believe HE is in the vast minority, so he trumpets flawed polls from years past to convince himself he is not, even though his acceptance of this poll leads to the inescapable conclusion that a substantial percentage of Americans believe Oswald to have been a hit man for the CIA, something he KNOWS isn't true.

One can see such cognitive dissonance, or "cognitive thinking", if you will, at work in our everyday lives. At times we all lack the ability to step outside our normal frame of reference and look at something with a fresh pair of eyes. On the image above, for example, the middle square on the side of the cube in shadow appears to be a much lighter color than the middle square on the side on top. Even after blacking out the squares surrounding these squares, and realizing that they are both the same shade, I still see the one in shadow as much lighter than the other every time I look at the image. My mind is stuck in its way of interpreting color. I propose then that many of those interpreting evidence in the Kennedy case are similarly stuck.

I have an anecdote that further illustrates this phenomena. One day, some years back, I was talking with a woman of above-average intelligence. She was telling me about a friend who'd purportedly had terrible luck with the lottery, and had bought over 150 "scratchers" without ever winning a dollar. When I pointed out that her friend was obviously exaggerating, as the odds of winning back a dollar at that time were 1 in 10, this college-educated woman with two degrees said no, that's what her friend said, and she believed her friend. I probably should have let it drop, but this annoyed me. I whipped out a calculator, and got her to agree that the odds of not winning on each scratcher were .9, and then multiplied .9 by .9 by .9 etc., and showed her that there was effectively a 0% chance someone could buy 150 scratchers in a row without encountering a single winner. Perhaps as a response to my arrogance, she STILL refused to believe that her friend was exaggerating her bad luck. Her friend had told her the truth and had had an amazing run of bad luck. Period.

The "Monty Hall Problem" presented in the movie "21" provides yet another example. In the problem, modeled on TV's Let's Make a Deal, someone is offered a choice of 3 doors. Behind one there is a prize. After the selection of the door, however, the host, who knows which door has the prize, opens up a door that has no prize, and then asks the contestant if he/she would like to stick with his/her original

selection, or choose the other remaining door. Intuition tells most of us that the odds of choosing the right door at this point are 50/50 and that maybe we should stick with our first choice. But our intuition is wrong. The odds of our first choice being right are only 1 in 3, while the odds of the other door being right are 2 in 3.

The explanation is simple but, for some, incredibly hard to follow. (It took me awhile to figure it out myself) It goes like this. Since, the odds of your first choice NOT being right are 2/3, the other 2 doors represent a 2/3 probability of having the prize. When the host opens one of these doors, however, the remaining un-opened door becomes the sole bearer of this 2/3 probability. This is clear, right? And yet, we're so conditioned to look at two doors, and assume the odds of something being behind one of those doors is 50/50, that many can not accept this explanation. They just can't grasp it. To one acquaintance, an entirely different woman from the one described above but one equally intelligent and college-educated, I tried to demonstrate the concept by using sugar packets instead of doors. I put seven sugar packets on a table. I told her that one of them held a prize. She picked a packet. Playing the role of the game show host, I then excluded prize-less packet after prize-less packet, until there was but one packet beyond the one chosen. I then offered her a choice between these two. Even though the remaining non-chosen packet had effectively passed a series of 5 tests indicating it could hold the prize, and the chosen packet was entirely untested, she couldn't see how this effected the odds, and still thought her first choice had a 50/50 chance of being correct.

I believe these examples correlate to the resistance of some to the possibility of a conspiracy. Much as the first woman, they resent the know-it-alls in the conspiracy research community telling them what they should think. Much as the second woman, they've made their choice and are sticking to it, no matter how much the odds add up on the other side. They see that there is evidence implicating Oswald in the crime, but fail to see how most all this evidence is tainted, and that the Zapruder film and eyewitness evidence suggests at least two shooters. They fail to see how the obvious fact that both the Warren Commission and HSCA skewed the evidence to their advantage suggests that maybe, just maybe, both of them knew that the evidence never pointed to Oswald as a lone gunman, and yet pretended it did for political reasons. Similarly, they fail to see how the vastly different conclusions of the autopsy doctors and HSCA medical panel demonstrate the likelihood that at least one of these groups was incompetent, or less than truthful, either of which suggests the case is far from closed.

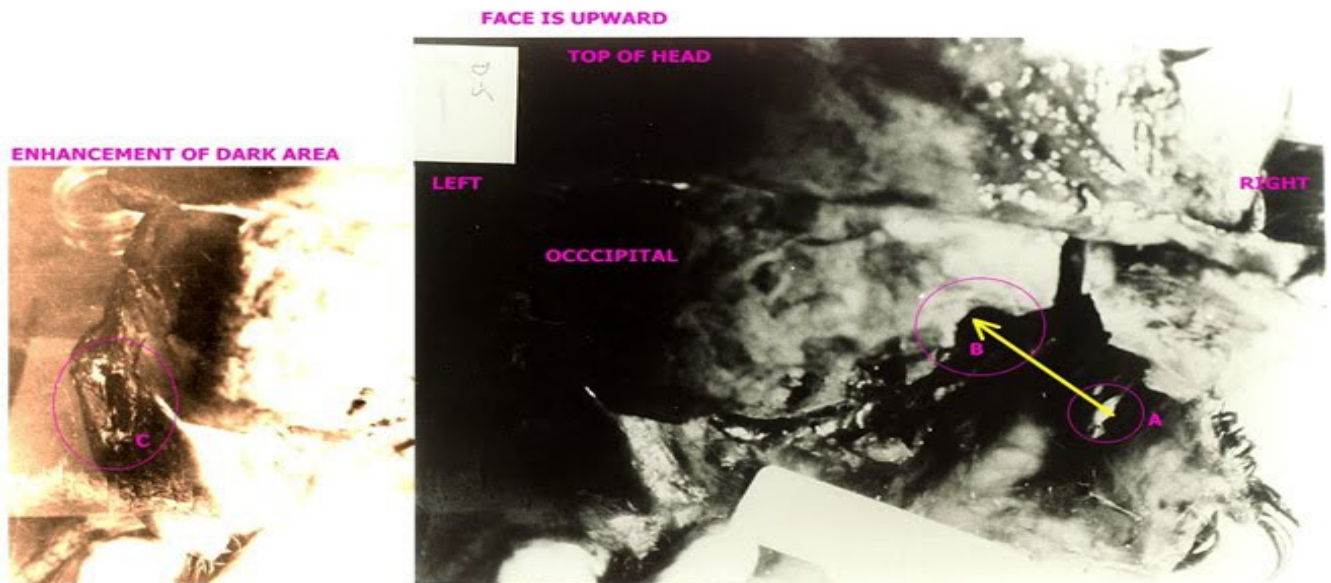
From the thousands of online discussions I've had with single-assassin theorists, it's also clear that they just can't perceive of a world in which the FBI could be wrong and conspiracy theorists like Mark Lane and Oliver Stone could be right. In direct opposition and yet perfect congruity with the Kennedy cultists they so despise, their world view revolves around their fervent belief that Jack Kennedy was a bad president, or a playboy, or an anti-communist, or all three, and that, in any event, no right-winger could possibly have conspired to kill him. To them, conspiracy theorists are not just wrong, but "dangerous."

They are stuck in a box and they can't see their way out.

Their cognitive dissonance is deafening.

Still, one cannot assume from the cognitive thinking of the right that the world they see is upside down, and that, in reality white is black, and black is white, and right is wrong...

And Left is Right?



EXPLANATION: The view is of the right rear quadrant of the cranium, looking into the fist-sized "gaping hole" defect. The JFK face is to the top of the photo. Circle marked "A" is entry hole in right temple, viewed from inside skull. Circle marked "B" is exit hole in occipital, viewed from outside, with beveling showing direction of bullet (yellow arrow). In the dark area, enhanced and lightened at left, is a circle "C" showing a bullet hole above and to the right of the external occipital protuberance. A specimen jar in upper enhanced area seems to contain two small bullet fragments.

Above: an image posted online by Jack White. Note that in the black and white photo he claims the dark area on the left to be on the left side of the head. This makes little sense, however, in that his caption to the photo claims this area depicts a bullet hole to the right of the EOP... on the right side of the head. Was he trying to pull a fast one? Or just mistaken?

And Left is Right?

No, not at all. Unfortunately, the clognitive thinking I've described is not unique to the single-assassin theorist community. Some conspiracy theorists are so desperate to believe there was a conspiracy that they will present the wackiest statements made by witnesses decades after the shooting as some sort of "proof." These people will claim that Jean Hill's latter-day recollections are credible and that the statements of Gordon Arnold, who claimed to have been on the grassy knoll at the time of the shooting--but whose presence can not be detected in any of the photographs--is all the proof they need. One such theorist, in fact, has written me numerous times arguing that Robert Knudsen's 1978 testimony, in which he stated that he first became aware of the autopsy photos on the morning after the autopsy, did not suggest that he was not in attendance at the autopsy, as one would suspect, but suggested instead that he only took photos of the autopsy after midnight. Yet another has tried to convince me that Dallas Postal inspector Harry Holmes' report on his interview with Oswald is evidence the shots rang out while Oswald was eating his lunch on the first floor, and that Oswald was then stopped by a policeman as he left the building. This is more than a tad strange as the report specifies that Oswald "went downstairs" after "the commotion surrounding the assassination took place" and never specifies when or where he encountered the policeman in question beyond his doing so after he went downstairs, but before he left the building.

Such cloudy thinking is so widespread, unfortunately, that conspiracy theorists holding that the mystery photo was taken from the front are as likely as single-assassin theorists to dispute the obvious fact that the original description of the mystery photo (that of a photo depicting a "missile wound over entrance in posterior skull, following reflection of the scalp") indicates it was taken from behind.

In fact, as hard as it is to admit, I've been forced to conclude that many conspiracy theorists are just as "stuck" in their ways of thinking, and just as unable to see the world through a fresh pair of eyes, as the blindest single-assassin theorists. To use the image on the Clognitive Thinking slide as a metaphor, they are stuck seeing the world in shade and the middle square of this world (the Kennedy assassination) as light brown, or even orange. To continue on with this metaphor, then, single-assassin theorists see the world in light, and the middle square (the Kennedy assassination) as dark brown. Meanwhile, in the eyes of someone looking at the squares separate from any particular world view, both squares are really the same color, and a shade somewhere in the middle. (This shade, should one find it, is the truth.)

The search for the shade in the middle, moreover, alienates both those seeing the middle square as dark brown and those seeing it as light brown. I've tried to see the shade in the middle, and have upset many individuals in the process.

Here's a most telling example...

In late 2009 and early 2010, I had a number of heated exchanges on the Education Forum, an online discussion group, with Dr. James Fetzer. He kept attacking me for being closed-minded and not subscribing to his and Jack White's claims that the autopsy photos, x-rays and assassination films have all been altered by the government. He also accused me of never having read any of his books. On January 4, 2010, after I posted the Eye of the Beholder section from chapter 13 of this webpage to demonstrate that 1) I had read at least one of his books, and 2) he had never read my webpage or else he'd have known that, he responded in a changed manner. He suddenly acknowledged:

"Pat,

You have made an extraordinary discovery here, by which I am referring to the apparent second entry wound at the back of the head in the HSCA photographs, which simply stuns me. To the best of my knowledge, you are the first and only person to have made this observation...At the very least, this means that a photograph that the HSCA used to justify its shift in the entry location by four inches was actually contradicted by the lower entry location shown on the same photograph. I am fairly astonished that no one has noticed this before. I would compare it to the photo showing Arlen Specter illustrating the path of the 'magic bullet' had to have taken, while the circular patch showing the actual entry is visible well-below his hand, which means that a photo intended to illustrate the 'magic bullet' theory actually refutes it."

Well, this is it, I thought, finally an acknowledgment from Fetzer and his colleagues that I am not just a nay-sayer to their wild theories, but am actually pushing the investigation forward in new and revealing directions.

But no such luck. Three hours later, he added:

"I don't know what to say, Pat, because Jack has taken a look and says that the hole you have 'discovered' isn't there. This will take some sorting out. I will invite David Mantik, David Lifton, and John Costella to take a look, too. Something is not right."

Well, we can agree on that. Something is not right when a supposedly independent thinker such as Fetzer, who taught critical thinking at the university level, has to check with his colleagues--all of whom have embraced theories which I have publicly rejected--before allowing himself to acknowledge what he has already admitted he sees. Something is especially not right, moreover, when his admitted

reason for doing so is that Jack White, a long-time researcher who believes not only that the Kennedy autopsy photos, x-rays and assassination films are all fake, but that O.J. Simpson was innocent, no astronauts landed on the moon, no jet hit the Pentagon on 9/11, and the theory of evolution is a fraud, has told him that we are mistaken.

Or does that sound too harsh? Well, judge for yourself. Here is a February 11, 2010 post by White on the Education Forum in which he acknowledged that he perceived the election of America's first black President, Barack Obama, and America's humanitarian response to the then-recent devastating earthquake in Haiti, as all part of some master plot:

"There are not as many paid provocateurs in the JFK affair as in other more monstrous charades such as 911, Apollo, OKC, TWA800, etc. JFK was "just" the killing of a single man. Much more serious are the callous murders of thousands in other events in deceptions on an enormous scale (to say nothing of the ensuing wars).

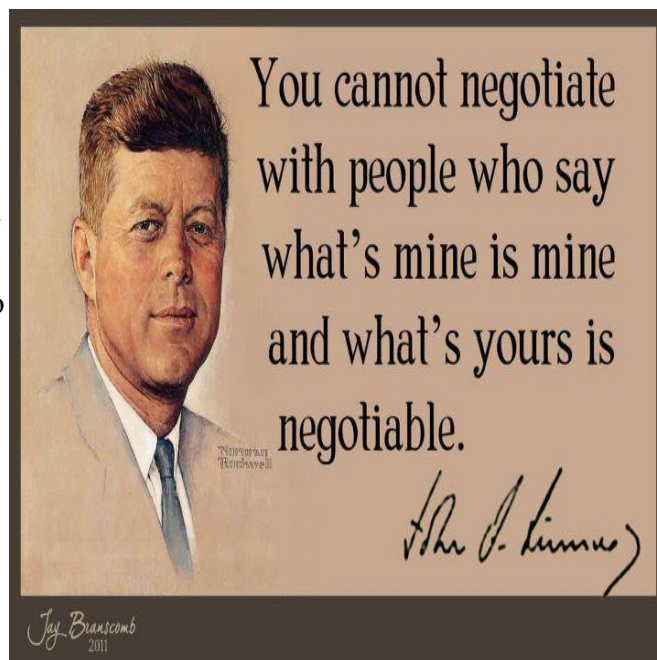
These nitpickers have no concept of the gigantic struggle between GOOD and EVIL we are involved in. The sinister forces of the New World Order do not consider it wrong to "eliminate" the masses if it serves their corrupt agendas. The Skull and Bones elite death cult promotes death as a means toward progress. The evil international bankers, led by David Rockefeller, decide who our "leaders" will be (ala Obama). S&B and other evil groups promote EUGENICS as a means of wiping out entire populations, especially in third world nations, especially those places with abundant natural resources that can be taken over. Weaponry has been developed for weather control and creation of simulated natural disasters which can provide excuses for occupying countries in the guise of "humanitarian relief".

"Democracy" that the revolutionists brought to America will soon be gone in a world ruled by propaganda and mind control. Truth is the only lantern to shine light into the dark places and only truth can rip away the Oz curtain and expose the fraudulent wizards."

And, here is Jack's response to a January 20, 2010 post on the Education Forum in which I pointed out that his harshest critics are not the single-assassin theorists who write him off as a hopeless crackpot, but his fellow conspiracy theorists, who think that many of his claims are just too far out there to ever gain widespread acceptance:

"Your prism on things is too narrow. There ARE conspiracies. Vast conspiracies. Not "far out," as you have been led to believe. Politicians faked going to the moon. Exotic weaponry tested in Oklahoma City was then used to bring down the twin towers. The war on "terrorism" is a fake. "Presidents" past and present have been elected unconstitutionally and illegally. Agencies of the government fake evidence to suit their purposes...as far back as the JFK assassination.

It is YOU who need to learn how FAR OUT conspiracies have become. WAKE UP and smell the fakery...from Z-films to fake presidents!"



Fetzer's deference to White is particularly ironic in that his presence on the Education Forum in January 2010 was in large part fueled by his desire to push the then-recent release of Doug Horne's 5 volume set Inside the Assassination Records Review Board. The irony is that Horne has sought to distance himself from the non-JFK related statements of both Fetzer and White, and would most certainly question Fetzer's rejection of what he sees in the autopsy photo based upon what Jack White claims not to see.

From the very book Fetzer was on the Forum to promote...

"Another pet peeve I have is the false association by many in academia and the media of all JFK assassination researchers with persons who don't believe we landed on the moon six times (from 1969-1972); or with persons who believe that the 9/11 terrorist attacks were really 'controlled demolitions' set off by the government, and were not caused by fanatics flying airplanes into buildings.

I think the principal lesson of the JFK assassination is that we should not defer to arguments about major historical events (such as assassinations, and how wars begin) based on authority—we should study the primary evidence ourselves and reach our own conclusions. If people don't learn to do a better job of this in the United States, our democracy will remain in peril, and our society will continue to just 'muddle through,' rather than excel in tackling its many challenges."

FWIW, Dr. Fetzer never got back to me...

This was not true of Jack White, however...

As part of an apparently hopeless attempt to get Fetzer to see beyond White's nay-saying, I pointed out to him that the bullet wound he had admitted seeing on the back of the head photo directly overlay a wound on the skull that White had previously acknowledged. This, in turn, led White to go on the attack and falsely claim he'd never agreed with me about any such wound on the skull in the mystery photo. He then posted an image purportedly presenting his interpretation of the mystery photo.

This image was obviously in error, with the bullet hole on the back of the head enveloped in darkness, and supposedly on the left side of the head, but with a caption acknowledging it was in fact to the right of the EOP (which is at the middle of the head). I can think of no logical reason for him to use this obviously inaccurate image to refute me other than that in his rush to refute my assertion that the autopsy photos are far from fake and are in fact the key to understanding the assassination, he had lost track of what was left, and what was right.



Ironically, Fetzer was to be on the receiving end of such nonsense within weeks of the exchanges detailed above. By then, Fetzer had stopped pushing Horne's book and had instead begun pushing an upcoming book by Judyth Vary Baker, a woman claiming to have been Oswald's mistress. This upset White, who saw Baker's descriptions of Oswald as a challenge to the "two Oswald" theory he found so compelling. White thereby began attacking Baker, and presenting evidence she was a fraud. This caused Baker, through Fetzer, to challenge White's photo studies of Oswald. (These studies, published in John Armstrong's massive book "Harvey and Lee," suggested there'd been two different men using Oswald's name.) Baker then demonstrated that some of the images used by White to suggest there'd been two different Oswalds had in fact been altered to make Oswald's face look wider. White then challenged Fetzer and his ability to recognize photo alteration by presenting six photos of Fetzer, one of which he claimed was unaltered. Fetzer picked one. White then pounced and admitted that they'd all been altered, and how could Fetzer not

know this, etc... To which Fetzer responded that he'd mistakenly assumed White was not a liar, and had not been lying when he'd written that one of the images had been unaltered.

From there, things only got worse for Team Fetzer. In April 2010, John Costella published an extremely critical review of Inside the Assassination Record Review Board, and attacked Doug Horne (whom he repeatedly called "government man D.P. Horne") for theorizing that frames from the Zapruder film had been removed and painted over, when Costella had (to his mind) already proven this impossible, and had shown that the film was either "completely genuine" or "completely fabricated." Costella then concluded that "regardless of his disclaimer at the end of his last page of his five massive volumes—page 1807—that his words do not represent the views or opinions of the U.S. government, one cannot fail to feel that Horne's work is, indeed, the final chapter of the government's cover-up of the brutal assassination of the thirty-fifth President of the United States." This, of course, was wacky. Horne had self-published a work claiming that Kennedy's body had been altered, that autopsy photos had been faked, and that the Zapruder film had been altered, and yet had failed to pass Costella's smell test simply because he had failed to embrace Costella's own research.

Emboldened by Costella, Jack White then acknowledged he had his own problems with Horne, and considered Horne's book to be a "Limited hangout," a widely-over-used term for a CIA operation in which a minor crime is admitted in order to conceal a much greater crime. By embracing Horne, Fetzer had, in effect, alienated two of his closest colleagues, Costella and White.

On April 19, 2010, moreover, after White began pushing that Judyth Baker's story of a romance with Oswald was the by-product of a fertile imagination mixed with sexual frustration and a life of disappointment, Fetzer cut ties with him altogether, posting online, for all to see:

"NOTICE OF TERMINATION OF FRIENDSHIP WITH JACK WHITE, WHO HAS FINALLY DISGUSTED ME

I cannot believe that someone I have admired in the past would stoop to such a sophomoric level by lodging such a blatant ad hominem. Those who resort to arguments of this caliber have discredited themselves massively. I denounce each and every one of them...Cease and desist, Jack White. You have forfeitted being taken seriously. Please know that I want nothing more to do with you in any context at all. We are no longer friends."



Fetzer's embrace of Baker also led him to denounce David Lifton, whose work he had previously championed. Lifton had, after all, many years before, done his damndest to expose Ms. Baker as a fraud. This falling-out climaxed, sadly, when Lifton posted excerpts of Fetzer's work on 9/11 online, and called him to task for blaming the attacks, at least in part, on an international Jewish conspiracy. Now, this would be bad enough, but the ludicrous became surreal when Fetzer responded to Lifton's claims not by disassociating himself from the claims Israel was behind the attack, but by claiming Lifton's criticism of this position was motivated not by his Jewish pride, but by his desire to evade repayment of "loans" received from Fetzer years before. (After much back and forth, it turned out that these loans--more like small advances--were held by Lifton against the royalties Fetzer failed to pay him for his significant contribution to Fetzer's book *The Great Zapruder Film Hoax*, a book which Fetzer claimed had never broken even, but for which he'd supposedly never received a statement demonstrating as much from his publisher.)

The slow-motion train wreck of Team Fetzer was, one can only assume, embarrassing to all those involved. It exposed yet again the contradiction-in-terms that is the conspiracy research community. Conspiracy research demands one be suspicious, and independent-minded. People wishing to enter this world, myself included, have a deeply rooted desire to find and expose some higher truth. This leads them to feel passionate and defensive of the "truths" they uncover, a bit suspicious of those who won't accept their "truths," and a bit jealous and envious of others whose "truths" are more readily accepted by others. This leads to a lot of in-fighting, with researchers beating up on a researcher one week, and then forming an alliance with that researcher the next week or month or year to beat up on someone else.

In this particular instance--that of the scuffle between myself and team Fetzer--things came full circle on May 4, 2010. After Fetzer, in the ongoing discussion thread of Judyth Vary Baker's story she and Oswald were lovers, had once again insulted me and claimed I had no credibility due to my daring to disagree with Doug Horne and David Mantik, I responded by creating a new thread, in which I presented the section of Chapter 18 on the fragment behind the eye, in which I expose Horne's and Mantik's errors regarding said fragment. While Fetzer, to no one's surprise, failed to respond, you'll never guess who did. Actually, I suspect you will guess. That's right. Jack White. White wrote:

"Pat...a very interesting study. I am not qualified to interpret all of it.

However, I have never been satisfied with any explanation of the round 6.5 dense spot on the xray.

I particularly wondered how it could be on the back of the head, when that portion was missing, and

that it did not show in the lateral views. You may be onto something that it was to the FRONT of the skull, and LOOKED DIFFERENT FROM THE SIDE.

But my observations are not from an expert.

Thanks for the thoughtful study.

Jack"

So there you go. Fetzer had rejected my research out of loyalty to White, Costella, Lifton, Horne and Mantik. Horne had made it clear he felt no such loyalty to Fetzer and White when it came to 9/11. Costella and White later made it clear they distrusted Horne. Fetzer and White then fell out over Judyth Baker. Fetzer and Lifton then fell out over both Fetzer's attachment to Baker and Fetzer's theories regarding 9/11. White then made it clear he suspected I could be right about something on which Horne and Mantik had been wrong. Team Fetzer had thus been an illusion, and had dissolved in a puff of smoke.

Coincidence or Conspiracy?

The Mystery Photo F8: Posterior Skull

*Nipple, chest wall, and fat (from Y-incision) are seen in the distance, as viewed in stereo at the Archives—Kirschner agrees.

Line AB defines the midline of the skull—from front (A) to back (B)

Tentative EOP entry site—selected by Humes for the ARRB

Pathologist's entry site (at the EOP)—falls precisely where metal occurs on the Harper fragment, in my reconstruction

C & D are bone fragments

External beveling—per the HSCA

At left: a slide from David Mantik's 11-21-09 presentation to the JFK Lancer Conference in Dallas.



Above: the mystery photo F8, with 4 features-- (1) the triangle of scalp; (2) the jugular foramen; (3) the bullet hole and tunneling discussed in the autopsy report; and (4) the President's neck—identified.

Above: a blow-up from F8 showing the bullet hole and tunneling discussed in the autopsy report. Why would Mantik hide this from his audience?

Is it a coincidence that Mantik's most recent depiction of F8 (as seen at upper left) has text boxes obscuring the 4 features I've identified as keys to its proper orientation? Or is it by design?

Coincidence or Conspiracy?

Or had it? Through all their in-fighting, no member of Team Fetzer, numbering among them some of the most vocal and active researchers of the past few decades, had ever acknowledged I'd been right on anything regarding the medical evidence. They would say I was onto something, and then back off, as had Fetzer, or say my work was interesting but that they weren't expert enough to come to any conclusions, as had White. But no one would dare say that, by gosh, I had discovered anything. And stick to it.

I think I know why. They were afraid to disagree with Dr. David Mantik, whom Dr. Fetzer had long claimed was the number one expert on the Kennedy assassination medical evidence.

In September, 2010, while looking through Professor Fetzer's Assassination Science website, I stumbled upon Dr. Mantik's most recent power point presentation. He'd delivered this presentation--on the forgery of Kennedy's x-rays--on 11-21-09 at the JFK Lancer Conference in Dallas. Now, I was in Dallas at that time, and had intended to attend Mantik's presentation, but had arrived at the tail-end of the Q and A session afterward, just in time to hear him dismissing "Speer's Theory" regarding the "white patch" on the x-rays. At the time, I thought little of it. I mean, I can't expect everyone to agree with me.

Well, upon viewing Mantik's presentation, I came to understand why Mantik was so nervous when I spoke to him afterward. You see, not only had he dismissed my theories regarding the x-rays, as one might expect, but he'd spent much of his presentation concealing evidence supporting my theories.

Sounds pretty crazy, right? Well, if we're willing to consider that the bulk of the HSCA's Forensic Pathology Panel would misrepresent the medical evidence--if only on a subconscious level--in order to defend the credibility of their friend Russell Fisher, we should also consider the possibility that Dr. Mantik would misrepresent the evidence to defend his own credibility, and that Team Fetzer would align itself against anyone challenging their theories on the medical evidence, including yours truly.

There is evidence supporting this throughout Mantik's presentation.

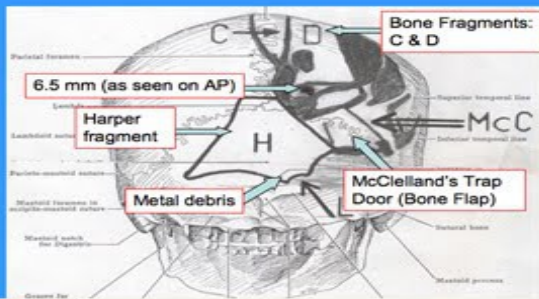
First off, it must be stressed that Mantik quoted my website on one of his slides, put my name in the title of three of his slides, and actually showed several of my slides to his audience. So he is clearly familiar with my work. His being familiar with my work, then, makes it near certain that he is well familiar with my studies of the mystery photo, and my conclusion that the photo can be properly oriented through an acknowledgment of several features. So why, then, when he showed his audience the mystery photo, did he opt to bury all these features beneath boxes of text, that could just as easily have been placed to the side of the photo?

Was he concerned that those in attendance might notice these features, and argue against his orientation, which has the camera sharply to the left of the center of the skull? Was he concerned that their doing so would force them to reject his orientation, and thereby reject his conclusion the mystery photo shows a hole in the middle of the back of Kennedy's skull, where the Harper fragment used to be?

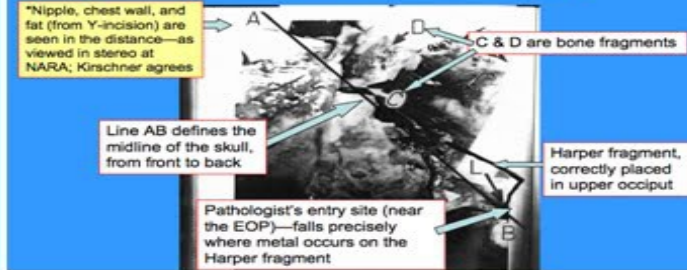
I don't know...that sounds pretty paranoid, even to a conspiracy theorist like myself. One would have to find more questionable images than this one before suspecting some deliberate deception was afoot, correct?

The Floating Debris

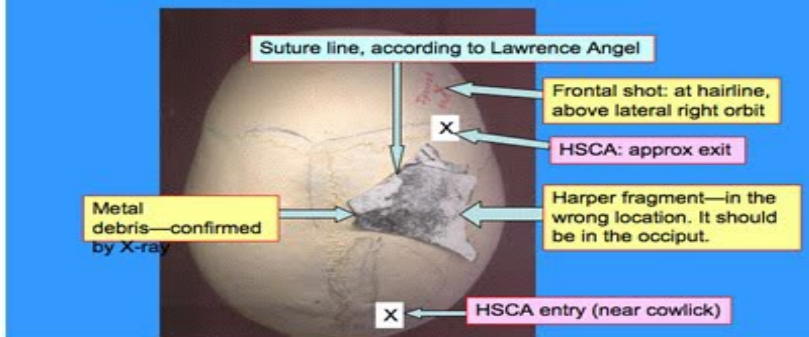
Mantik's Reconstruction of JFK Posterior Skull



The Mystery Photo F8



Overhead View of Human Skull



Above: a second depiction of F8 presented by Dr. Mantik during his 2009 appearance at the JFK Lancer conference. Note that the bullet hole I've identified near the EOP is once again covered by a box of text.

Above left: another slide from Dr. Mantik's presentation, depicting his theory regarding the Harper fragment's location on the skull.

At left: Dr. Mantik's depiction of Dr. Angel's theory regarding the Harper fragment's location on the skull. Note that Dr. Mantik has moved the presumed debris from a location near the temple up to the top of the head.

the Floating Debris

Correct. Unfortunately, however, Mantik provided several other questionable images, and made a number of other questionable "mistakes."

Perhaps the most egregious of these mistakes was his pulling a switcheroo on the Harper fragment. Now, to understand the relevance of this switcheroo, one must understand two things. The first is that Mantik had long ago asserted that, in his impression, the Harper fragment was dislodged from the back of Kennedy's head, and that, in his orientation, "the lead smudge" on one edge of the fragment "ended up precisely where the pathologists said the bullet had entered the rear of the skull." (This assertion, of course, failed to recognize that Dr.s Humes and Finck had consistently claimed this entrance was a through and through hole, and that even the confused Dr. Boswell, who made statements suggesting the hole was missing a piece, claimed this piece was matched up during the autopsy, which--as he was never shown or even told about the Harper fragment until many years later--rules out the Harper fragment as the source of this piece.)

The second thing one needs to know is that for many years no one from the conspiracy theorist community had challenged Mantik on his orientation of the mystery photo (F8), and his belief the Harper fragment derived from the center of the back of Kennedy's head. Some single-assassin theorists, such as Paul Seaton, had written articles challenging Mantik, but they were largely ignored by those in the CT community. Perhaps, then, Mantik had come to believe he'd really scored a bulls-eye, and that his findings had become those of the community as a whole.

And so it rested...until I came along...and challenged Mantik on both points...and pointed out that, when one accepted the impression of Dr. Lawrence Angel that the Harper fragment derived from the

top of Kennedy's head, which Mantik admitted was a possibility, the discolored edge suggesting a bullet entrance lay not on the back of Kennedy's head, but at his temple, where most conspiracy theorists assume there was an entrance. (My analysis of the fragment can be found here: <http://www.patspeer.com/harperfrag.jpg>). My "theory" if you will, was thus something equally, if not more, attractive to the conspiracy theorist community than Mantik's theory. It follows then that Mantik should have countered my theory with evidence and intelligent argument during his Lancer presentation.

But, instead, perhaps as an innocent mistake--perhaps not--he changed the location of the "metallic debris" on the Harper fragment from his orientation to Angel's. Yes, as shown on the slide above, Mantik presented the metallic debris on the discolored edge of the fragment at a point counter-clockwise from the arm-like point when showing his orientation, and clockwise from this point when showing Angel's orientation. Even worse, he cited this new and not improved location for the debris as a reason to disbelieve Angel, claiming that by placing the Harper fragment as he had, Angel "ends up with metal over here..." (Mantik then pointed to the the top of the head on the image above.) He then pounced: "How could you have metal over here in the HSCA scenario, when the bullet enters in the rear at this x-mark and exits over here." (He then pointed to the other x-mark by the temple.) He had thereby concealed from his audience that in Angel's orientation for the Harper fragment, the lead smudge suggesting an entrance was by the supposed exit on the temple. I believe this is something the audience had the right to know.

I feel terrible about this. I have great respect for Mantik's intelligence, and have found his writings on the Kennedy assassination both interesting, and informative. His review of Reclaiming History, for example, was most insightful. And yet, here, while making a presentation on his specialty, the Kennedy assassination medical evidence, a topic on which some, including Dr. Fetzer, consider him the top expert in the world, he has either made a really dumb mistake, or a deliberate obfuscation.

Unfortunately, other aspects of Mantik's presentation support this second possibility. Let's see if you agree.

Here are some examples...

Mantik started out his presentation with a quote from Jerrol Custer, the radiology technician who took Kennedy's skull x-rays. He has Custer saying that the x-rays shown him are fake. Mantik failed to tell his audience that Custer made this statement after viewing the cropped and enhanced x-rays published by the HSCA, and that, in 1997, subsequent to making this claim, Custer was shown the un-cropped and un-enhanced original x-rays by the ARRB, and had acknowledged them as the x-rays he'd taken.

Mantik then discussed the optical density of the x-rays. He'd measured this himself. He claimed that these measurements were clear proof of alteration, as some areas on the x-rays were far too white, and others far too black, and there was far more contrast on Kennedy's x-rays than on the other x-rays he'd measured. While doing so, he pointed out the problematic white and black areas to his audience... He did this, however, on photos of the computer-enhanced x-rays published by the HSCA. He failed to tell his audience that these were not the original x-rays, and that these images were computer-enhanced to increase the contrast, and that this contrast was made even greater through the reproduction of these images on paper.

Now, he knew this was deceptive. In fact, in what may go down as an irony among ironies, Mantik had previously discussed the confusion caused by looking at prints of the enhanced x-rays, and had

correctly attributed Jerrol Custer's initial failure to recognize Kennedy's x-rays to this confusion. Yes, on point 8 of his June 23, 1995 monograph *Authenticity of the JFK Autopsy X-rays*, Mantik relates "Custer has claimed that the x-rays do not look authentic. I suspect that what troubles him is the remarkable difference in contrast between the prints and the original X-rays. I know that several of us, who had repeatedly viewed only prints of these X-rays, have been somewhat surprised when first viewing these X-rays, at the lesser degree of contrast seen there."

Let's let that sink in... In 1995, Mantik suspected that Custer's confusion was related to his looking at prints of the x-rays. In 1997, sho' nuff, Custer looks at the original x-rays and says he now believes they are authentic. And then, in 2009, rather than saying "See, I was right; Custer did sign off on the X-rays once shown the originals!", Mantik ignores Custer's more recent statements and tells his audience that Custer says the X-rays are fake. And then explains to them that his own analysis supports that the x-rays have been altered. And then shows them a print of an X-ray -- the very print he'd previously claimed was the likely cause of Custer's confusion...

I mean, how is this not deceptive?

Mantik was also quite deceptive about the largest bullet fragment recovered at the autopsy. On several of his slides he pointed out a fragment in Kennedy's forehead, and claimed this was the 7 x 2 fragment recovered by Dr. Humes. He failed to tell his audience that Dr. Humes, along with just about every key player in the autopsy, had always claimed the fragment he'd recovered had come from behind Kennedy's right eye. Perhaps even worse, he failed to tell his audience that he -- Dr. Mantik -- had personally inspected what remains of the fragment removed by Humes. And had concluded that it was not the fragment in the forehead.

Now this deception fed into another. Mantik subsequently discussed my theory that the supposed 6.5 mm fragment supposedly on the back of the head was actually behind Kennedy's right eye. He told his audience that, as no expert had ever identified the fragment I'd identified as metal, this was a non-starter, and not even worth considering. He failed to consider that no true expert had signed off on his conclusions, either. Even worse, he presented my findings as those of a layman who'd thought he'd seen something on an x-ray; he failed to tell his audience that the location of the fragment I'd identified--behind Kennedy's right eye--was exactly where those present at the autopsy had claimed to have found a 7 x 2 fragment.

Now this was information which I firmly believe they should have been told...particularly in that the two radiology technicians who'd actually taken Kennedy's x-rays both said they saw a fragment in this location when shown the x-rays by the ARRB. That's right. They said they saw a fragment...just above or in the orbital ridge...where I've proposed there is a fragment...only years before I'd ever noticed such a fragment.

And yet Mantik failed to tell this to his audience. And let them think instead that little old under-qualified me was simply seeing things...

Well, if I wasn't then, I was almost a year later when I finally saw his presentation. I was seeing red. I'd looked up to Mantik. Although I'd disagreed with many of his findings, I'd hoped he and I could work together on something that would reach beyond the research community. I'd believed he was sincere. I'd never considered that he would go to Dallas to counter some of my arguments and conceal so much from his audience. I'd never considered that, in order to convince his audience they should ignore my ramblings, that he would lie. That's right, I wrote "lie."

Beyond his misrepresenting the location of the gray smudge on Angel's orientation of the Harper fragment, there is reason to suspect that Mantik lied--meaning "deliberately deceived" as opposed to "misled his audience" or "failed to tell his audience pertinent information"--at least one other time during his presentation. And this was when he was discussing the white patch visible on the lateral x-rays. To counter my theory that the "white patch" he'd identified on the x-rays was nothing more than the wing of bone seen on the autopsy photos overlapping intact bone at the back of Kennedy's skull, Mantik claimed, on a slide entitled "The White Patch--Impossible to Explain via Overlapping Bone" that "a single layer of bone contributes only a modest amount to the OD" (optical density measurements) -- "an amount far too small to explain the white patch." Well, okay, he's sticking to his original story here. Nothing wrong in that. I mean, he's never tested x-rays created on the equipment used to make Kennedy's x-rays, at various settings, let alone those involving overlapping bone. And he's never explained why, if the loss of a layer of bone should have so little effect on the appearance of the skull on the x-ray, that the fractures in Kennedy's skull, which Mantik accepts as legitimate fractures, and which would have involved only one layer of bone, were so easily recognizable. But the man's entitled to his beliefs.

But he didn't stop there. No, in the notes accompanying his presentation on Dr. Fetzer's website, Mantik goes on to say "note that the dark area contains two layers of skull bone, one from each side, yet this area is astonishingly dark. One more layer of bone will not turn the Dark Area into a white patch." Well, this is total nonsense. My "overlapping bone" theory, if you will, does not hold that the white patch has three layers of bone, and the dark area two, and that the white patch therefore represents 50% more bone, it holds that the white patch has three layers of bone, and the dark area one, and that the white patch therefore represents 300% as much bone. This is a huge difference. One that Mantik should not have missed. I mean, where does he think this overlapping bone came from? Could he really have read my writings on the "white patch" and "dark area" and missed that I was claiming that the bone missing from the dark area was the bone overlapping the skull on the white patch? I just can't see how...

And that's not the worst of it. In the latter part of Mantik's presentation he discussed the conclusions of the three consultants hired by the ARRB. (He skipped over some of these slides in Dallas, presumably because he was short on time, but they appear to be the same slides as those on Fetzer's website.) Now, it's important to note that, prior to Mantik's presentation in Dallas, no one in the audience had ever read the memoranda in which the conclusions of these consultants were reported, as the reports of their conclusions were not made public until a month later, with the release of Doug Horne's book *Inside the ARRB*. And so, Mantik had pretty much a blank slate--he could have told his audience that these guys had agreed that he was right about everything.

It is to Mantik's credit, then, that, on his slide discussing the findings of Dr. John Fitzpatrick, a Forensic Radiologist, he noted, among eight other points of interest, that Dr. Fitzpatrick claimed he did not find the work of Dr. Mantik "persuasive." Now, on Fetzer's website, Mantik admits this is troublesome, and that he is annoyed that Fitzpatrick wouldn't respond to his letters and explain his failure to be persuaded.

But what Mantik should have known, and should have told his audience, was that Fitzpatrick's reasons for rejecting his conclusions regarding the "white patch" and "dark area" were readily apparent, once one read the entirety of Horne's report on Fitzpatrick.

You see, Fitzpatrick shared MY interpretation of the "white patch" and "dark area." While Mantik had spent the first part of his presentation dismissing my findings as those of a layman, and had spent the

last part of his presentation discussing the findings of the ARRB's experts, and even claiming "The Buck Stops with Fitzpatrick" when he found something upon which he and Fitzpatrick had agreed, he failed to tell his audience that, when discussing the lateral skull x-rays with Horne, Fitzpatrick had claimed that "some of the dark appearance in the anterior portion of the skull is due to missing bone..." This is PRECISELY as I've claimed, and in opposition to Mantik's own claim that "the dark area contains two layers of skull bone, one from each side."

And that's just the half of it. Mantik also failed to reveal that Fitzpatrick claimed "Overlapping bone is clearly present in the lateral skull x-rays," and that, drum roll please, "the red flap above the ear" in the autopsy photos "equates with the overlapping bone in the lateral skull x-rays."

That's right. While Mantik had told his audience that the "buck stops with Fitzpatrick" when Fitzpatrick had agreed with him, he had completely concealed from his audience that Fitzpatrick had subscribed to the "overlapping bone" theory to which I subscribe, which explains both the "dark area" and "white patch." What Mantik had snidely dismissed as "Speer's theory" before his audience, had been in fact "Fitzpatrick's theory" years before. And Mantik had chosen not to tell this to his audience.

And Fitzpatrick wasn't the only expert whose findings he concealed. While Mantik noted, on his slide describing the findings of Dr. Douglas Ubelaker, a forensic anthropologist consulted by the ARRB, that Ubelaker found the "dark area" on the lateral x-rays "very puzzling," he left out that this led Dr. Ubelaker to wonder, not if the x-rays had been altered, as Mantik presumes, but "whether there had been some processing defect when the x-rays were developed." He also failed to reveal that Ubelaker had noted "overlapping bone fragments" in "the temporal-parietal region of the lateral x-rays," which we can only assume was yet another reference to the "white patch."

Now, should I give Mantik the benefit of the doubt on this, and assume he'd found these statements by Fitzpatrick and Ubelaker unimportant? Probably not. Not after so many other suspicious "mistakes."

Well, then what should I do? Should I just let it slide?

Probably not. Not after he went after me in a public forum, knowing full well that my theories were supported by those with better credentials than himself--men whose expertise he'd trumpeted elsewhere in his presentation--and had kept this from his audience. I mean, if Dale Myers or John McAdams, in the middle of a presentation, had made a similar series of mistakes and/or evasions in order to dismiss my theories, I'd assume their misrepresentations and evasions were by design, and call them out on it.

And so, while I'd learned some time ago to accept the possibility single-assassin theorists are just as honest as conspiracy theorists, I've been forced of late to accept the related possibility conspiracy theorists are just as dishonest as single-assassin theorists.

I'm still struggling with this information...

It's just hard for me to accept that Mantik could be so deceptive...on purpose. Perhaps Mantik, like so many others, has a blind spot, or two, or three. People--even those who in their minds are fully committed to learning the truth--settle into certain ways of thinking--and this groove, or rut, leads them to dismiss other ways of thinking--without ever seriously considering what it is they are dismissing.


But would this blind spot lead Mantik to misrepresent the location of the metallic debris on Angel's orientation of the Harper fragment? And misrepresent my theory (that was really Fitzpatrick's theory)

regarding the "white patch"? I don't know.

Perhaps then--and this may be the most disturbing thought I've had in relation to the assassination--those pushing theories (of any breed) are often blind not only to the possibility someone else could be correct, but to the possibility they could be wrong. Perhaps then, in some people, when their theories are challenged to such a degree that they feel they are under attack, some sort of self-defense mechanism pops up that allows them to twist and reconfigure the facts, so they can avoid what to them would be a form of death--an acknowledgment that their pet theory is not house-broken. Perhaps then I should give Mantik a break, and assume he was so bent on defending his position that he began presenting what he wanted to be true as the truth, and subconsciously protected himself from anything that would suggest that he'd been wrong.

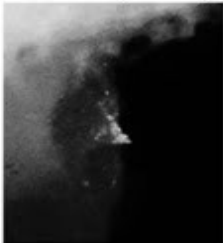
It is clear, however, that if I'm to let Mantik off the hook for his deceptive presentation, then I should be equally forgiving of Dr. Lattimer for his deceptive presentation of the single bullet theory, and equally forgiving of Dale Myers' for his deceptive animation, and equally forgiving of John McAdams for his continued defense of the deceptive Artwohl exhibit, and equally forgiving of Vincent Bugliosi for completely distorting the historical record while claiming to defend the historical record. And I find this really hard to do.

Of A, B, C's and X-Rays



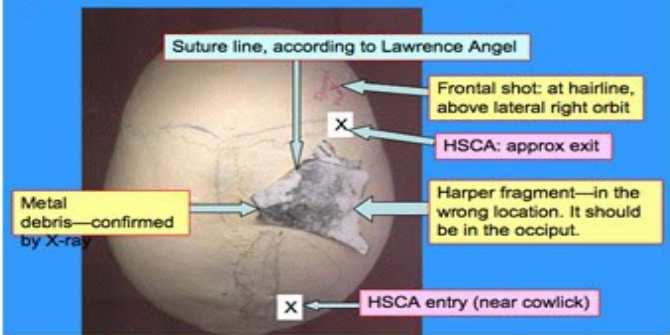
COMPUTER SCAN OF THE ORIGINAL X-RAY MADE BY JOHN HUNT AT NARA II

At left and below: an image from Dr. Mantik's 2011 CTKA article, showing metal debris on an x-ray of the Harper fragment.



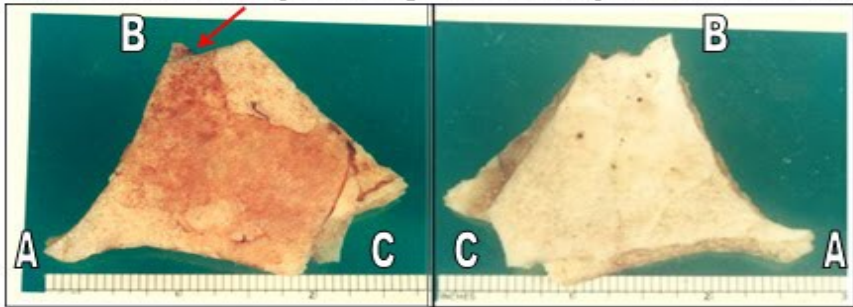
At right: a slide from Dr. Mantik's 2009 JFK Lancer Presentation.

Overhead View of Human Skull

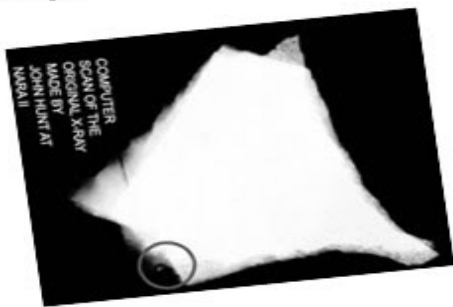


Suture line, according to Lawrence Angel
Frontal shot: at hairline, above lateral right orbit
HSCA: approx exit
Harper fragment--in the wrong location. It should be in the occiput.
Metal debris--confirmed by X-ray
HSCA entry (near cowlick)

As shown at right above:, in 2009 Dr. Mantik claimed that, in Dr. Angels orientation for the Harper fragment, the metal debris shown on the x-ray of the fragment is at the top of the skull, and not by the temple.



He confirmed this in 2011, on the image at left above. But he is clearly in error. As shown above, when one identifies the fragment's corners as A, B, and C, it's clear Mantik has placed the debris at point B, when it was really at point C.



COMPUTER SCAN OF THE ORIGINAL X-RAY MADE BY JOHN HUNT AT NARA I

For some reason, the image above sometimes fails to show. Here is a link: [Of ABC's and X-Rays](#)

Of A, B, C's and X-Rays

But I'm trying. In 2011, I had a number of heated arguments with Dr. Fetzer in which he revealed himself to be even less rational than I'd previously suspected. At one point, in order to refute my questioning of his friend Dr. Robert Livingston's credibility, he claimed the transcript of Dr. Robert Livingston's testimony in Dr. Charles Crenshaw's civil case had been falsified...

This was truly wacky. Livingston had testified...at Fetzer's urging. Bradley Kizza, Crenshaw's attorney--and the one presumably responsible for the accuracy of the transcript--was a friend of Fetzer's. The transcript, even worse, was made a public document by the ARRB, almost certainly at the urging of another of Fetzer's buddies, Doug Horne.

So what was Fetzer talking about? Apparently, when faced with evidence that his friend, Robert Livingston, was at best a weird egg, and not entirely credible, he opted to claim the evidence was fake. EVEN THOUGH the evidence was evidence he--Jim Fetzer--had brought before the public. (Dr. Livingston had testified that he'd come forward--with his highly dubious story he'd spoken to Dr. Humes on 11-22-63--in order to *"save the world."*)

In any event, shortly after this battle with Fetzer, (a battle in which David Lifton came down on my side, by the way), Dr. Mantik finally responded to my criticisms of his 2009 Lancer presentation...and totally embarrassed himself.

Yep, in a June 2011 response to my website published on the CTKA website (which, by the way, refused to allow a rebuttal), Mantik not only defended his many mistakes, he actually doubled down. While he admitted that I was correct on one key point--that in his 2009 Lancer presentation he'd presented the metal debris "at the opposite pole on the Harper fragment" from where he'd originally placed it, he maintained that he had done so not to refute Dr. Angel's interpretation of the Harper fragment, but because "new evidence on the Harper x-ray. discovered by John Hunt" convinced him the debris was really in this new location. As Mantik admitted merely that he'd left his audience with a "confused picture" of the site of the lead debris, and not that he'd thoroughly misled them, I at first thought this was mere obfuscation. That the "new site for metal" discovered by Hunt was in fact unveiled in Mantik's presence at a conference six years before the Lancer conference, and that he'd failed to admit that he'd continued to cite the old location of the debris as strong support for his own interpretation of the Harper fragment in the intervening years--and had even done so in the first part of his Lancer presentation-- only confirmed this suspicion.

While subsequently reading his April 2011 review of Don Thomas' book *Hear No Evil*, however, I came to realize that he really HAD changed his interpretation of the debris' location. Yes, in his review of *Hear No Evil*, Mantik not only admitted he'd been incorrect in placing the debris at its former location, he actually put a red arrow on an image of the Harper fragment purporting to point out the real location for the debris, and put this in the WRONG location. No, scratch that...the obviously wrong location. No, scratch that...the blatantly obvious 100% clear to anyone using their brain WRONG location. (This is demonstrated on the slide above.)

Needless to say, this raises some troubling questions. Just as I'd once felt McAdams could not honestly believe some of the bizarre stuff he'd claimed, it's hard for me to believe someone with a background in radiology, as Mantik, could possibly believe the metal debris on the x-ray is where he claims it to have been on the photograph. Pure fantasy. Alice-in-Wonderland kind of stuff.

And yet, he seems to actually believe this nonsense. While many of the claims in Mantik's response to

my criticisms smelled to high heaven--he claimed, for instance, that he always presented the HSCA's contrast-enhanced x-rays in his articles while discussing what he claimed was an inordinate amount of contrast in the originals not because he was trying to deceive his readers, but because the available photographs of the contrast-enhanced x-rays looked more like the originals than the available photos of the originals--he made a number of surprising claims in his review of Don Thomas' book that led me to suspect he was not playing to any audience but himself. I mean, as a conspiracy theorist, I know full well there is NO upside in questioning if a bullet fired at Kennedy from the grassy knoll would leave a trail of fragments near the top of his skull and exit the occipital region. And yet, from answering these questions, Mantik not only concluded more than one shot struck JFK's skull but that "The GK shot, if any, missed." I mean, that's pretty much suicide in some circles. I wonder how his buddy Fetzer feels about that one.

Mantik's unpredictability and willingness to go against the grain, then, leads me to suspect he is NOT a liar, just grossly mistaken at times and blinded--truly blinded--by his belief in himself and his research. I can only hope I'm not equally blind.

It follows, then, that the bizarre and often looney claims of Dale Myers, John McAdams, et al, may be equally innocent.

There is a key difference, however, between the fighting among conspiracy theorists like Mantik and myself, and the fighting among conspiracy theorists and single-assassin theorists. Men such as Mantik, Fetzer and White do not have a support team, so to speak, in the mainstream media, and they aren't taken seriously by historians. Men such as John McAdams and Dale Myers, on the other hand, are taken seriously, even though their research may be as wild in its way as the research of the wildest CT.

This brings us back to a question raised in the last chapter--why so many supposedly rational people in the media embrace the work of irrational theorists.

$2 + 2 = 3$

Well, no, it doesn't. Or does it? The thought occurs that much of the disconnect between the thinking of the vast majority of the public, and that of mainstream journalists and historians, comes not from what information they've been exposed to, but from how they process that information.

To put this in mathematical terms...it seems quite clear to me that most Americans, for better or worse, look at the assassination of President Kennedy with the expectation things add up. They look at the evidence Oswald killed Kennedy, and see that this evidence amounts to, let's say, 1.7 out of a possible 2. They then look at the evidence Oswald acted alone, and see this, let's say, as a 1.6 of a possible 2. They then add these numbers together and get 3.3, which is NOT 4. They therefore suspect a conspiracy.

Now contrast this with the thinking of most mainstream journalists and historians. They look at the evidence Oswald killed Kennedy, and score this as a 1.7 out of a possible 2. They then look at the evidence he acted alone, and see this as a 1.6. Now, these were the same numbers provided by most Americans. And yet they come to a totally different conclusion.

Here's why: they round up. Yep, it seems clear to me that PROFESSIONAL journalists and PROFESSIONAL historians have it in their heads that, since the truth is either 1 or 2, they can't

conclude 1.7 or 1.6. They feel they have to pick. So they round up. So 1.7 becomes 2, and 1.6 becomes 2, and $1.7 + 1.6 = 4$, and the muddy case suggesting Oswald's sole guilt becomes the presumed truth until proven otherwise.

It seems likely, moreover, that many members of the media dismissing the possibility of conspiracy do so for personal reasons. Members of the media who left the story behind to tell other stories, for example, can take solace that they didn't miss out on the biggest story of the century. They can get on the ride at Disneyland and sing "It's an Oswald, after all" between refrains of Beethoven's "Hallelujah!" chorus, and not look back with discomfort. Similarly, mainstream historians, who take tremendous pride in their status as "professionals" and "recognized experts", can take comfort that the wacky amateur sleuths and wanna-be "Quincys" of the conspiracy research community, were wrong. The single-assassin theory promotes the belief that the government's experts were right, after all, and that we should, therefore, have more faith in "experts," including, by extension, professional historians. While this is dime store psychology at a discount, I have little doubt this is a factor in the widespread acceptance of the works of Posner and Bugliosi, et al, by those who should have known better.

Should this proposal sound ludicrous, and should one assume the competitive nature of the mainstream press would have led to the discovery of any hidden truths about the Kennedy assassination, should any truths be hidden, one should consider the wise words of Walter Lippman, one of the most respected journalists of the twentieth century. In 1920, in a detailed study published in the New Republic, Lippman argued that the New York Times, and by extension all the mainstream press, was biased in its coverage of the Russian Revolution. He reported that articles on the Revolution written by American journalists were *"dominated by the hopes of the men who composed the news organization"* and had inaccurately reported 91 times that the revolution was on the verge of collapse, while citing events that never happened, and atrocities that never took place. He summarized that *"In the large, the news about Russia is a case of seeing not what was, but what men wished to see"* and that, in their pushing what they wanted to see on the public, these men were guilty of a *"boundless credulity, an untiring readiness to be gulled, and on many occasions a downright lack of common sense."*

One can only assume then that the failure of the mainstream press to accurately report Kennedy's death was no surprise to Lippman. In fact, although Lippmann, in the days after the assassination, voiced his support for President Johnson, and later voiced his support for the Warren Commission's conclusion Oswald acted alone, he later told his biographer Ronald Steel that he had never ruled out a conspiracy.

And he may not have been the only journalism icon to privately harbor such doubts... There is an intriguing passage in A.M Sperber's 1986 best seller *Murrow: His Life and Times* that leads me to suspect legendary newsman Edward R. Murrow shared Lippman's concerns. Sperber relates that when Murrow, who was at that time working for Kennedy as head of the U.S. Information Agency, first heard Kennedy was wounded, he tried to reassure his wife, but that *"When the word from Dallas changed to assassinated, he grew silent and wondered about Johnson."* *Wondered about Johnson*, not worried about Johnson... My, what an interesting choice of words! In any event, Sperber then relates that Murrow, who was seriously ill at the time, almost immediately lobbied congress for more money so that his agency could *"explain to the rest of the world that the government of the United States would continue,"* and further convince them that the assassination *"was not the beginning of World War III."* He then relates that LBJ's style had long-grated *"on Murrow like a fingernail run across a blackboard,"* and that Murrow resigned from his position--and not because of his health, although it may have been a factor--on December 19, 1963, less than a month after Johnson assumed office.

Chapter 20: Conclusions and Confusions

A New Perspective on the Shots that Killed the President



Above: a comparison of a frame from the Secret Service re-enactment film of 12-5-63 (at left) and Warren Commission Exhibit CE 891 (at right). CE 891 was taken during the 5-24-64 re-enactment of the assassination for the Warren Commission, and corresponds to frame 186 of the Zapruder film. This comparison shows that the oak tree believed to have blocked any shot from the sniper's nest between frames 167 and 210 was a bit more sparse at the time of the shooting than it was the next May, and that, accordingly, someone might have attempted a shot at this time. The blue arrow in the Secret Service film points to the head of JFK's stand-in.

A New Perspective on the Shots That Killed The President

Shot #1. Approximate firing time: Zapruder frame 188.

Hit Kennedy in back around 190, fell out in limousine. (Possibly a hand-loaded bullet.)

From: the sixth floor window of the TSBD.

Heard by: pretty much everyone in Dealey Plaza between the time of the shot and 10 frames afterward.

Other evidence for: the wound in Kennedy's back, probed at autopsy and found to have been a shallow wound with no passage into Kennedy's chest cavity. CE 399, the nearly pristine bullet found on a gurney in Parkland hospital, the appearance of which would be consistent with the bullet's having been hand-loaded and under-charged (which would, in turn, be consistent with this bullet's having created the shallow back wound observed at autopsy). CE 543, one of the rifle cartridge cases found in the depository, which ballistics investigator Joseph Nichol believed may have been used prior to the assassination, which, it follows, may have been the hand-loaded cartridge firing CE 399. Hugh Betzner's photograph taken just before the first shot, determined to have been taken at Z-186. Jackie Kennedy's turning to her husband beginning at Zapruder frame 190. Phil Willis' testimony that Mrs. Kennedy snapped her head in that direction at the sound of the first shot. Secret Service Agent George Hickey's turning to his right starting around frame 193. Kennedy's jerky head and hand movements beginning around Zapruder frame 194. Rosemary Willis's turning to her right around frame 198. Phil Willis' photograph taken as a reaction to the first shot, determined to have been taken at frame 202. Secret Service Agent John Ready's turning to his right around Zapruder frame 203. President Kennedy's lowering his right arm and lifting his left before frame 224. Connally's testimony that he believed the first and second shot were fired very close together and indicative of automatic rifle fire. The testimony and statements of numerous witnesses indicating that the first shot rang out when Kennedy was waving or as the limousine approached the Thornton Freeway sign.

Jiggle analysis: Zapruder's camera jiggles at 194.

Shot or shots #2. Approximate firing time: Zapruder frame 222.

Hit Kennedy in hairline at frame 224, exited his throat. Connally wounded in his chest, wrist, and thigh. Wounds seem instantaneous, but it seems likely they were created by separate bullets rapid-fired from a semi-automatic weapon.

From: most likely the upper floors or roof of the Dal-Tex Building.

Heard by: a few near Houston and Elm, perhaps a few on the railroad bridge. Bullet and/or bullets were either fired from a rifle equipped with a silencer, or fired from deep within a building so its sound was muffled in comparison to the other shots. Subsonic ammunition may also have been involved. It's noted that Nellie Connally, both in her book and in her testimony, says "and then--a second shot" or "and then there was a second shot;" and that she rarely mentions *hearing* this second shot. In fact, she didn't mention hearing this second shot until 1966, when she said as much to Life Magazine. Since she also swore she saw her husband get hit by this shot and that it came after he yelled "No, no, no," and since her husband's testimony and the Zapruder film demonstrate she didn't even look at him till frame 230 and he didn't yell anything until after he'd already been hit, it's safe to say she might have been confused. Neither her husband, for that matter, nor Mrs. Kennedy, recalled hearing a shot between the first shot which hit the President, and the last, which killed him. As a result it seems possible that, due to her proximity, Mrs. Connally simply heard this shot *strike* the President and/or her husband, and registered it as a shot, without noting that it was not as loud as the first shot.

Other evidence for: the small entrance wound in Kennedy's hairline, and the small wound in Kennedy's throat. CE 903, the re-enactment photo created by Arlen Specter for the Warren Commission, supposedly demonstrating the viability of the single-bullet theory, but really showing how a bullet just missing Kennedy's right shoulder might proceed to hit Connally in the back. Connally's back wound, which, according to Connally's doctors, suggested that the bullet striking Connally had not previously struck Kennedy. Connally's wrist wound, which, according to Connally's doctor, Dr. Charles Gregory, was inconsistent with a wound created by the nearly pristine bullet supposedly creating this wound, Exhibit CE 399, unless this bullet was traveling backwards. The traces of copper found on the front of Connally's clothing, which suggests that the jacket of the bullet striking Connally had been disrupted even prior to striking his wrist. The movement of Connally's jacket forwards which briefly obscures his shirt from view in the Zapruder film. The rapid lifting of Kennedy's hands towards his throat as seen in frames 226 and 227. (His hands were actually dropping towards his chest between 224 and 225, but they shot sharply upward at 226.) Connally's hair jumping up and his being straightened out in his seat, only to collapse back to his right around 234. Bullet fragments removed from Connally's wrist that do not match the bullet found on the gurney nor the fragments found in the President's skull. (Actual bullet or bullets may have bounced out of the car off Connally's leg, or been picked up by a Secret Service Agent. There were rumors that a hole in the floor of the limousine was discovered in early 1964, which might account for the bullet leaving Kennedy's neck should it have been a separate bullet.)

Jiggle analysis: Zapruder's camera jiggles around 227 and again at 231.

Shot #3. Approximate firing time: Zapruder frame 310-311.

Hit Kennedy near the temple at frame 313. Bullet fragmented. One piece of its core seems to have continued on to chip the concrete near Tague around 319.

From: the sixth floor window of the TSBD

Heard by: everyone in Dealey Plaza from the time of the shot up to 10 frames afterward. Tague would have heard this shot around 319 or 320.

Other evidence for: extensive damage to the head of the President. Explosion of skull as visible in the Zapruder film. Bullet fragments found in the President's brain. Additional fragments believed to be linked to these fragments found underneath Nellie Connally's seat as well as on the front seat of the limousine. Front seat fragments linked to rifle found on the sixth floor of the TSBD.

Jiggle analysis: Zapruder's camera jiggles around 318 and 324 and again at 331.

Sound or Shot #4. Approximate firing time: Zapruder frame 320-327.

Missed or possibly not even a shot. Quite possibly a loud firecracker used as a diversionary device. Combat Lessons #6, a 1944 publication of the U.S. Army, noted that, in both the Pacific and European theaters of World War II, *"enemy troops have used firecrackers for diversionary purposes, especially when trying to deceive our troops as to the positions of snipers."* Combat Lessons #4, from 1942, notes as well that German snipers used slow-burning fuses so that no one would be near the firecrackers when they exploded. This tactic, which single-assassin theorist Mike Williams assures me is still in use today, was therefore not only known to snipers in 1963, but was one likely to be used, should there have been multiple shooters in buildings requiring minutes to escape.

From: somewhere west of the Texas School Book Depository, possibly the railroad yards, but more

probably the back of the arcade north of the grassy knoll, or the parking lot across the street. William Newman, and Abraham Zapruder, both facing the President, with the picket fence on their right and school book depository on their left, nevertheless felt the last shot came from behind them. Since a loud sound coming from behind them at this time would arrive but a split second after the sound of a third shot fired from the depository building, a sound's coming from this area would be likely to confuse Newman and Zapruder, and other witnesses nearby, and lead them to recall hearing but two shots. Sure enough, Newman, Zapruder, Mrs. Kennedy, Bobby Hargis, Clint Hill, and Paul Landis, could clearly recall but two shots, and those nearby Kennedy claiming they heard three shots mostly did so while claiming the last two shots were nearly simultaneous. A diversionary device set off in this location would, of course, draw attention from the buildings behind the President when he was shot. If this was the plan, of course...it worked. In the immediate aftermath of the shooting, the bulk of the Police and eyewitnesses looking for the shooter ran towards the grassy knoll and railroad yards, and ignored the buildings behind the motorcade.

Heard by: everyone in Dealey Plaza from the time of the explosion to 10 frames afterward. Due to their proximity, many interpreted this shot or sound as being the same shot as shot #3. Tague would have heard this explosion around 331-334, which might explain why he was initially convinced he was hit *before* the third shot.

Other evidence for: reports of smoke near the stockade fence. There were gusts of wind up to twenty miles an hour which may have blown the smoke in that direction. The statements of Dallas officer Joe Marshall Smith, who thought he smelled gunpowder in the parking lot west of the School Book Depository.

Jiggle analysis: camera jiggles at 324 and again at 331.

The testimony of virtually every witness in Dealey Plaza can be accommodated through this simple four shot (or sound) scenario. It doesn't rely on the hard-to-believe single bullet theory of an undamaged bullet nor on the widespread but scarcely supported by the evidence theory of a shooter-at-the-stockade fence. Its main drawback, as far as testimony goes, is that it calls for 4 shots (or sounds) when most witnesses heard only three. This can be effectively overcome through the argument that the second shot was silenced and heard by only a few. This scenario also fails to account for three shots in the TSBD, where three shells were found. While this could be explained by the sniper's dropping an extra shell or by the Dallas Police Department planting a shell, the thought occurs that there was seemingly an extra shell at the Tippit killing as well, where the 4 recovered casings didn't match the 4 bullets removed from Tippit. This uncomfortable development led the Warren Commission to conclude that in fact 5 bullets were fired at Tippit, even though most witnesses heard only three shots.

Should this come as a surprise, here is a breakdown of these witnesses... Mrs. Barbara Davis (3H343) and Mrs. Charlie Virginia Davis (6H456) heard two shots. Helen Markham (3H308), Domingo Benavides (6H447), and Sam Guinyard (7H396) heard three shots. William Scoggins (3H325) and L.J. Lewis (20H534) heard "three or four." Warren Reynolds (11H435) heard "four or five or six." And Ted Callaway (3H352) heard five.

The statements of these witnesses, in fact, prove most helpful. As there were at least four shots fired at Tippit, and most witnesses thought there could have been three or less, they suggest that, should there have been a fourth shot fired at Kennedy, as I've proposed, the witnesses to that shooting might not have remembered hearing it, even if it wasn't silenced or suppressed in some manner. At the same time, moreover, the statements of these witnesses support the possibility that one of the shells found at the Tippit shooting location had not been fired that day. Well, this, in turn, suggests the possibility that one of the shells found in the depository had not been fired that day. While one can only speculate as to why this would be, perhaps, just perhaps, Oswald had kept an empty shell in the chambers of his

weapons, perhaps as protection for his children or perhaps as protection for himself should his wife Marina get a hold of his weapons during one of their frequent domestic squabbles. It is worth noting here that the shell of the bullet fired at General Walker was never located. If Oswald had left it in the chamber of his rifle, this could very well explain the third shell found in the sniper's nest.

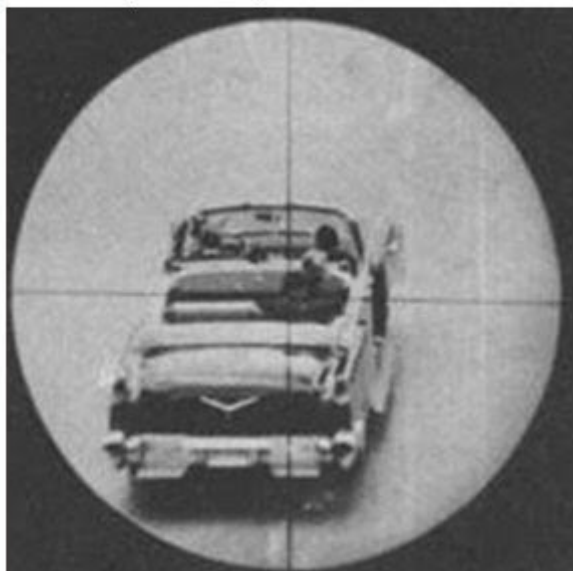
Supporting this speculation is the testimony of the three men on the floor directly beneath Oswald. The testimony of all three supports that there was no first shot miss, and that the last two shots came right after another. Harold Norman's statements, so often used to prove that Oswald was the lone assassin, not only reflected that Kennedy was hit by the first shot, but that only two shells dropped to the floor in the firing sequence.

The View From Afar



At left: frame 224 of the Zapruder film, the presumed moment of impact for the bullet striking Governor Connally. Could a single burst of automatic gunfire at this moment strike Kennedy in the back of the head, and Governor Connally in his armpit and wrist?

It appears so. Warren Commission Exhibit 892, at right, correlates to Zapruder frame 207, when a bullet fired from the sniper's nest would be descending 24-25 degrees.



This approximates the angle of descent from the roof of the Dal-Tex Building circa frame 224. Of course the Dal-Tex Building was almost directly behind the limo at frame 224.



Warren Commission Exhibit 901, at left, correlates to frame 255 of the Zapruder film, and shows the approximate horizontal alignment of Kennedy and Connally from the Dal-Tex Building at frame 224.

As one can see by studying Exhibits 892 and 901, a burst of gunfire from the Dal-Tex roof might very well have hit Kennedy in the back of the head, and Connally in the armpit. They were in fact just inches apart.

The View From Afar

To be clear, the scenario listed above is not "my theory". It is a possibility more in line with the evidence as I see it than any of the scenarios offered by the government, and any of the scenarios as yet offered by the research community, that is all. I will change it as I learn more, and better understand the evidence, or as elements of my research are proven incorrect.

There are, in fact, aspects of the scenario with which I am uncomfortable. I'm not sure if a small-caliber

subsonic bullet could do the damage to Kennedy or Connally I've proposed. For a long time, I was also unsure if Kennedy and Connally would be properly aligned for a burst of shots from the roof of the Dal-Tex Building circa frame 224 of the Zapruder film.

In 2009, I finally realized I could use the Warren Commission's re-enactment photos to answer this last question. Since a bullet fired from the roof of the Dal-Tex would be descending at 24-25 degrees, I looked at the relationship between Kennedy and Connally at frame 207 of the Zapruder film, when a bullet fired from the sniper's nest window would be descending 24-25 degrees. Sure enough, Warren Commission Exhibit 892 recreating frame 207 shows that the entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's head would have been at around the same level as the wound in Connally's armpit. (Although the Kennedy stand-in in this exhibit was sitting almost a foot further from the ground than Kennedy was sitting on 11-22-63, and although there were differences in the height of the Connally stand-in and Connally, and the relative positions of the seats in the Presidential limousine and the limousine used in the re-enactment, SS Agent Thomas Kelley testified before the Warren Commission that "There was an adjustment made so that...the stand-in for Governor Connally would be in relatively the same position" as Connally was to Kennedy. One hopes they got it right.)

But what about the right-left relationship of Kennedy and Connally? Well, since the proposed sniper on the Dal-Tex roof was firing from almost directly behind the limo, I decided to look at Warren Commission Exhibit 901, a re-enactment photo taken from almost directly behind the limo. Well, in opposition to most current re-enactments, this showed Connally to have been sitting slightly to the right of Kennedy in the limo... When one moves Connally back over a few inches, and turns him further to his right, however, one finds that his armpit is now just right of Kennedy's head. This proved that, from the perspective of the roof of the Dal-Tex Building circa frame 224 of the Zapruder film, the entrance wound low on Kennedy's head and the entrance wound in Connally's armpit were but inches apart, well within the spread of bullets rapid-fired from a semi-automatic weapon.

So maybe I'm onto something... Either that or I've stumbled on yet another coincidence.

The Truth About Lying

Unfortunately, the most clear-cut conclusion I've come to regarding the assassination is that many of those tasked with conducting the investigation of Kennedy's murder LIED. But that's not where it ends. I've also come to conclude that many of the most prominent critics have told similar lies, and that maybe, just maybe, the truth about lying is not only that it is ever-present, but indistinguishable to us at times from telling the truth. Yep, it now seems clear to me that, in the heat of argument, it's quite normal, expected even, that those preparing to attack or respond to an attack gather bits and pieces of what they remember and reconstruct them in the manner most supportive of their position. It seems clear, moreover, that they do this subconsciously.

Let's use Senator Arlen Specter as an example. In 1992, as a response to the criticisms of the Warren Report at the center of the movie JFK, he wrote a letter to the Philadelphia Inquirer. This, in effect, was a man accused of being a liar writing a letter arguing that he is not a liar. And yet the letter was filled with half-truths, deceptions and lies. Here is the letter in question (with my comments in **bold**):

'Jfk' The Film Mangles The Facts The Single-bullet Theory Has Withstood The Test Of Time.

January 05, 1992|By ARLEN SPECTER

When I was first asked about the new movie JFK by the news media in early December, I tossed it off with a laugh, saying that I would try to see it during the holiday season because I enjoyed fiction.

When I saw it a few weeks later, I thought that it was anything but funny, because it portrayed to about half of America (those under 12 when President John F. Kennedy was murdered 28 years ago) a false story as a matter of first impression in a docudrama format that intermixes authentic black and white newsreels with black and white fictional clips so that the viewer cannot tell which is which in an otherwise color film.

The strength of our democratic institutions resides in the unabridged freedom of citizens to criticize their government. That right to criticize was eloquently articulated by Thomas Jefferson: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

Our government at all levels has lots of problems, and no one ever said it better than Winston Churchill: "Democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." Government has an absolute duty not to lie to its people. There is at least some duty on the part of the critics, especially those using the technique of a movie docudrama, not to fraudulently and intentionally deceive a whole generation of Americans about an important historical event.

(Yes, you read that right...Specter, who'd sneaked a peek at Kennedy's autopsy photos and knew Kennedy was shot in the back, and who not only never told the commission the exhibits he'd already had created showing the wound to be two inches higher at the base of the neck were inaccurate, but actively sought to hide this from the commission, is holding Oliver Stone, a Hollywood filmmaker, to a higher standard than himself. He is also off base in asserting that Stone had intentionally deceived people--an assertion for which he offers no proof.)

Look at a few of the falsehoods.

The movie: Kennedy had a large exit wound in the back of his head indicating that the bullet came from the front.

Facts: Kennedy had a small entry hole in the back of his head and a large exit wound at the top front showing that the bullet came from the rear and above.

(Specter is deceiving his readers. He knows full well Stone built his representation of the wound location on the testimony of the Parkland doctors. And he knows this because he himself took the testimony of these doctors. Now, he could make the argument these doctors were largely incorrect, but he doesn't do that; instead, he lets his readers believe this is something Stone made up from whole cloth.)

The movie: Lt. Col. Pierre Finck, an autopsy surgeon at Bethesda, says the government agents at the autopsy ordered a coverup on the medical findings.

Facts: Finck testified under oath before the Warren Commission that an initial bullet hit Kennedy in the back of the neck, hit nothing solid, and exited from his throat - supporting the single bullet theory.

(This is a lie. The movie does not have Finck say a government agent ordered a coverup. It accurately quotes Finck's testimony in the trial of Clay Shaw--the subject of the movie--and has him claim the doctors were ordered by an unnamed Army General not to inspect Kennedy's neck. Specter also misrepresents Finck's Warren Commission testimony. Finck did not say the bullet hit Kennedy in the "back of the neck." He did, however, respond to a question in which Specter described the wound as a "back wound." Specter wrote this article, moreover, in 1992, 13 years after the HSCA published tracings of an autopsy photo proving the wound was a back wound, inches below the "back of the neck." So why does Specter claim Finck said the wound was in the "back of the neck"? Hmmm... Because he's lying?)

The movie: Jack Ruby tells Chief Justice Earl Warren to get him out of Dallas so that he (Ruby) can tell about his part in the conspiracy.

Facts: Ruby testified before the Warren Commission that he had no part in any conspiracy.

(This is another lie. Ruby's statements to Warren in the movie are taken from the transcript of Ruby's testimony. He never says he wants to go to Washington to talk about his role in a conspiracy, only that he cannot tell the truth while in Dallas. It follows then that, since Ruby told Warren he could only tell the truth if Warren brought him back to Washington, that his claims of non-involvement while in Dallas were not intended to be his last words on the matter. Specter fails to reveal, moreover, that Ruby asked him--Specter, personally--to contact President Johnson's top adviser Abe Fortas and ask him to arrange his transfer to Washington, and that Specter failed to do so.)

The movie says there was a gigantic conspiracy involving President Lyndon Johnson, Warren, the FBI, the CIA and many others. For that to be true, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (in charge of the FBI), the President's brother, would have to have been a part of - or at least indifferent to - the conspiracy. How ridiculous can you be?

(This is yet another deception. First of all, the movie is told from the perspective of New Orleans DA Jim Garrison, and accurately depicts his conclusion--not necessarily Oliver Stone's, or those of his viewers--that those people and organizations were involved in a conspiracy. Second of all, the bit about Robert Kennedy is just cruel. Specter knew full well that, with the death of his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy stepped aside to take care of his extended family. He knew full well, furthermore, that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stopped reporting to Kennedy at this time. Now, he also knew that Robert Kennedy soon after sought the Presidency--whereby he would finally be in a position to investigate his brother's death without the interference of Lyndon Johnson and J. Edgar Hoover--and that he was murdered before he could reach this objective. So where does Specter get off judging Robert Kennedy and his failure to act? Is there a statute of limitations on revenge, whereby any brother of a President who refuses to track down his brother's killers--at great risk to himself and his family--within 3 years of his brother's murder is a loyal brother, but one who waits 4 years or more is "indifferent" to his brothers' murder? Of course not. Specter's pretending Robert Kennedy was in control of the FBI, and that his failure to seek revenge in a timely manner means he supported the Warren Commission's conclusions, is both dishonest and disgusting.)

If that far-flung conspiracy involving so many agencies and people could be kept secret for more than two decades, it would have been the most successful undertaking of the U.S. government in its 200-year history.

The Warren Commission concluded that there was no conspiracy. The House of Representatives Select Committee on Assassinations found the "probability" of a conspiracy based on a sound tape, believed to be a recording of the assassination, with two shots 1.6 seconds apart, which would be too fast for both to have come from Oswald's rifle. Further study by the National Academy of Sciences proved that the tape did not record the shots in the assassination.

(This is misleading. HSCA Chief Counsel Robert Blakey and Chairman Louis Stokes both claimed the testimony regarding the "sound tape" only confirmed what they'd already come to believe--based largely on the committee's investigation of Jack Ruby's ties to organized crime--that Kennedy had been killed as the result of a conspiracy. Specter also overstates the National Academy's conclusions.)

It is impossible to prove conclusively a negative - that something did not happen. Had there been a conspiracy, I believe it would have come to light in the intervening 28 years, given the impossibility of

keeping secrets in our free society.

The movie mangles the facts on the single-bullet theory. The House assassinations committee, very critical of the Warren Commission on other matters, confirmed the single-bullet theory.

(This is also misleading. The House committee did not "confirm" the single-bullet theory, at least as pushed by Specter on the Warren Commission. The House Committee, in fact, came up with its own theory, with the bullet hitting at a substantially different wound location, and at a substantially different time, than Specter's theory.)

When the autopsy surgeons disclosed that the bullet, which passed through the President's neck, hit nothing solid and exited with tremendous velocity, it was apparent that a bullet with that trajectory would have to have hit the interior of the vehicle or someone else. We noted that the entry wound on Gov. John Connally's back (slightly to the left of his right armpit) was slightly irregular, which was consistent to some other object's having been hit first without significantly slowing the bullet's velocity.

(Specter fails to tell his readers that Connally's doctor--the only person to inspect his back wound--consistently claimed that the bullet striking Connally had not struck anything before hitting him.)

The commission then conducted elaborate tests such as firing Oswald's rifle at the same distance at substances, recreating the President's neck, to measure entrance and exit velocities; grazing the rib of an anesthetized goat (simulating Connally's rib wound); firing Oswald's rifle at cadaver skulls and wrists; etc.

From the evidence, the single-bullet theory emerged. Using the neutron activation analysis (not known during the time of the Warren Commission investigation), the House committee more than a decade later concluded that the metallic fragments in Connally's wrist came from the single bullet.

(This is another lie, although perhaps an accidental one. The Warren Commission knew about neutron activation analysis. The FBI performed NAA on the bullet fragments, but concluded they were inconclusive. They also performed NAA on the paraffin casts of Oswald's hands and cheek, only to dismiss the results of the tests on Oswald's cheek cast--which suggested he hadn't fired a rifle--due to their being too much barium on the outside of the cast. The FBI expert conducting these last tests, moreover, testified before the commission, with his testimony being published in the commission's volumes.)

Over the years I have debated critics on live television such as Mark Lane on British television for four hours and 45 minutes and Josiah Thompson on Philadelphia public television for two hours at the University of Pennsylvania Law School. I think it is fair to say that the single-bullet theory has withstood the test of time for those willing to listen to the evidence and follow the facts.

*Historians, columnists and media critics have thoroughly discredited and ridiculed the movie JFK. But that is not sufficient for all the men and women who are being defamed by the movie's dredging up stale conspiracy theories that have been discredited over the past two decades. Most of those defamed are not alive to defend themselves. Their families inherit their anguish, as illustrated by television journalist Cokie Roberts, who commented recently on ABC's *This Week With David Brinkley* that the movie was unfair to her father, Louisiana Rep. Hale Boggs, who was a member of the commission.*

(Specter leaves out that few are as defamed by the movie as himself, and that that is why he has written this article.)

Considering the facts that debate continues on the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and just last year the body of Zachary Taylor was exhumed on the suspicion that he was poisoned, it is not surprising that doubt remains about the Warren Report. But then who has read the Warren Report - let alone the 25 volumes containing 17,000 pages of supporting evidence?

(Specter conceals that many of the early critics of the Warren Commission only became critics after reading the Warren Report and its 26--not 25--volumes of supporting evidence--and realizing Specter had both failed to call a number of key witnesses, and pressured others to testify in opposition to their original statements.)

In a curious way, this absurd movie, which no one is taking seriously once acquainted with the facts, may lead people to read and accept the extensive factual analysis and sound conclusions of the Warren Commission's report.

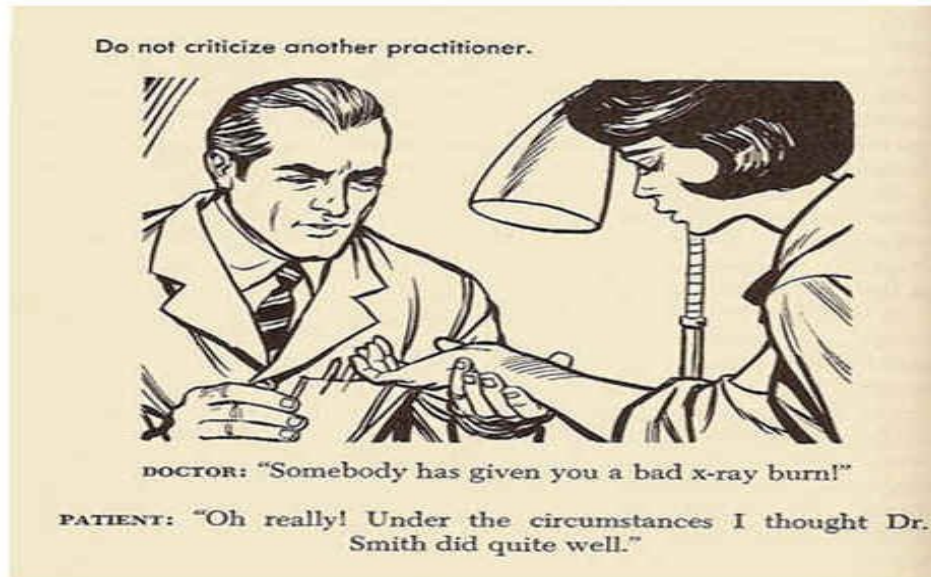
(By claiming "no one" is taking the film seriously once acquainted with the facts, Specter insults the many conspiracy theorists he knows full well take the film very seriously, and misleads those readers not knowledgeable enough to judge one way or the other. The problem, he has to know, is not that those taking Stone's movie seriously just aren't acquainted with "the facts," but that they just don't believe Specter's "facts.")

So there you have it. Specter tried to claim Oliver Stone was a liar, and repeatedly misled his readers while making his argument. Now, does it make more sense for us to believe Specter is both a brazen liar--deliberately deceiving everyone who'll listen--and a STUPID liar--making claims that are easy to disprove--OR that, in the heat of battle, his grasp of the truth became a bit tenuous?

I now lean to the latter. My dealings with McAdams and Fetzer and Mantik et al have led me to believe that really smart but imperfect men are perfectly capable of making really dumb claims, and will quite often defend these claims till the end, pushing more and more nonsense in the process.

Now, let's look for some common ground...

Breaking Through the Wall of Silence



This image from 1970's Handbook of Legal Medicine says it all. Doctors are supposed to protect themselves by protecting their own. It's time for this to stop.

Breaking Through the Wall of Silence

As the mainstream media is incredibly reluctant to deal with the assassination in an honest manner, and as internet discussion groups on the assassination are littered with those who refuse to see, there are few options open to anyone honestly trying to correct the incorrect impressions of the evidence here discussed. So what comes next?

Well, in time I hope to get the input of professionals and experts, make any obvious corrections in my findings, and build a consensus. This building of consensus is quite an arduous task. While I've received positive feedback from a number of historians, several anonymous radiologists, a biophysicist, and even a neurologist, I haven't received one comment for attribution from a medical or science professional using his or her own name.

This is undoubtedly disappointing. While I have read far more about the issues discussed in this online investigation than most doctors, people have a natural tendency to trust "experts" with credentials over those who merely read a lot--as if the reading comprehension of those with letters after their name is automatically higher than that of someone like myself, who opted not to accept the full scholarships he was offered.

This readiness to believe "experts", by the way, is nothing new. Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin discussed this quirk in the March, 1932 American Journal of Sociology, when he described an experiment in which people were told that musical experts were in agreement that one of two recordings of a classical piece was far superior to the other, and were then played the two recordings. He found that 1) people were incredibly open to suggestion, as less than 5% of his subjects noticed that he in fact replayed the same recording; and 2) people's perceptions were skewed by their awe of expertise, as almost 60% agreed that whichever version they were told was superior, was indeed superior, and barely 40% thought the two recordings (which were in fact the same recording) of equal merit.

Although Sorokin's test subjects were blindly (or should I say deaf-ly) deferring to musical experts, I

suspect the average reader feels at least as lost in the world of forensic pathology as he does in the world of classical music, and that the percentage of people who would automatically defer to the opinions of an "expert" in forensic pathology, no matter how poorly thought-out, would be even greater than 60%. As a consequence, I've attempted to demonstrate, over and over, that the experts on this case are in disagreement, and that much of this case can only be resolved through a re-examination of the evidence. Certainly, with enough study, the "experts" should be able to come to an informed opinion on whether a photograph is of the back of someone's head, or his forehead. It's just that, to do that, they'd have to look at the photograph, and openly discuss their impressions.

Which they're incredibly reluctant to do... As demonstrated on the slide above, taken from a book compiled by Clark Panel member Alan Moritz, books on legal medicine preach conservative behavior and conservative opinions, even if it means withholding the truth. In his 2006 book, *Postmortem*, Stefan Timmermans dissects the culture of medical examiners and comments repeatedly on the conservatism prescribed in these books. He notes: "Consistent with their cautious approach to forensic evidence, medical examiners are more likely to negate police suspicions of homicide with natural explanations than they are to discover a homicide...In routine homicide investigations, medical examiners thus document the pathological and toxicological signs of murder in an ongoing dialogue with law enforcement agencies. In the same way that medical examiners depend on medical histories written by their clinical colleagues to make the case for natural death and suicide, they depend on law enforcement to initiate what will become a forensic homicide investigation. As distinct yet interlinked professionals, police and forensic pathologists continuously and closely coordinate findings and evidence during the evolving investigation, further reflecting the privileged role of law enforcement in the organizational ecology of death investigation. Although forensic pathologists do occasionally discover a homicide, they are more likely to remove the suspicion of it in ambiguous cases. This caution is in line with their conservative approach to drawing inferences from forensic evidence."

In other words, they tend to avoid pushing that something unnatural or unexpected occurred unless they feel reasonably sure something unnatural or unexpected occurred, and rely on those tasked with investigating crimes to give them guidance. This helps explain why both the doctors performing Kennedy's autopsy, and the doctors re-examining the case for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, followed the lead of the investigators. The Dallas Police and FBI agreed it was Oswald firing from the sniper's nest; the autopsy doctors then said the shots came from above and behind (even though there was nothing on the body to suggest the head shot had been fired from above). Similarly, the HSCA received word from Dr. Vincent Guinn that the bullet fragment removed from Connally's wrist matched the bullet found on a stretcher, and that the single-bullet theory was therefore consistent with the evidence, and the doctors, save Cyril Wecht, then jumped in a conga line and said the single bullet theory was consistent with the evidence (even though the damage in the neck was inconsistent with the passage of a military rifle bullet, and the bullet trajectory required Kennedy be leaning forward when hit).

At another point in *Postmortem*, Timmermans discusses the reasons for this conservatism: *"Medical examiners strike a cautious balance in order to maintain authority: they generally opt for conservative interpretations to lower the chance of criticism, and when threatened by knowledgeable parties, they tend to retreat rather than confront."* This, in turn, helps explain why no medical examiners or pathologists have commented, one way or the other, on my online videos critical of Dr. Baden, and his testifying with his exhibit upside down.

Even so, I'm still hoping that some medical professionals and scientists will step up to the plate, and tell me what they really think. I will post their comments, both good and bad, on my webpage.

Why We Fight

I suspect the time is right for such a dialogue. Those assuming that they need to play along with the "conservative" view of the assassination in order to get ahead in the medical profession miss that the medical professionals who have chosen to associate themselves with the single-assassin theory have been among the least credible individuals associated with the case. We have already discussed the failings of Dr. Michael Baden, and the many foolish and easily disproved statements he's made about the assassination. We have also discussed Dr. John Lattimer, a Urologist, with his strange belief Kennedy was a hunchback, and his odd diagrams presenting Kennedy's lung above his throat, and his long-time obsession with Nazis, and his odd habit of collecting celebrity genitalia. We have also discussed Dr. Chad Zimmerman, a Chiropractor, and the many flaws in his "experiments". But what we haven't fully discussed is that there has been virtually NO ONE from the world of medicine to publicly associate themselves with the single-assassin conclusion over the past 20 years, with whom other doctors would want to be associated.

If one gets the opportunity to view a video of the 1993 symposium on the medical evidence held in Chicago one will see precisely what I'm talking about.

First up was Dr. George Lundberg, then editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association. (Thanks to researcher Dave Reitzes for posting Lundberg's statements online.)

Lundberg opened by admitting he knew next to nothing about the case, and then concluded:

"What then and whom then do I trust? I have known Dr. James Humes, the principal autopsy pathologist, personally since 1957. To paraphrase Ronald Reagan, who was paraphrasing Lloyd Bentsen: I know Jim Humes. He's a friend of mine. I would trust him with my life.

Dr. Humes is an outstanding general pathologist, before and after 1963, acclaimed by his peers for thirty years -- forty years, perhaps -- but never was before, during, or after a fully trained forensic pathologist and never claimed to be. He didn't volunteer to do that job; he was assigned.

Moving from 1963 to 1968, the United States Attorney General appointed a four-person, blue-ribbon panel to study and reevaluate the JFK autopsy. The reason that was appointed was a request by the second autopsy pathologist, Dr. Jay Boswell, that there be such an independent investigation. This four-member panel had developed unanimous support for the autopsy report, results and interpretation.

A key member of that panel was the late Dr. Russell Fisher, Chief Medical Examiner for the state of Maryland, probably the world's top forensic pathologist of his time. I knew Russell Fisher. He was a friend of mine. I would trust him with my life. He concurred: two bullets from the rear. A simple story.

In 1979 the forensic pathology subcommittee of the House Select Committee on Assassinations included nine members. It voted eight to one in support of the autopsy findings and basic interpretation. One of the members was Dr. Earl Rose, a forensic pathologist in Dallas in November 1963 whose legal responsibility it was to autopsy President Kennedy and who tried to stop the illegal movement of the body from Dallas.

I have known Dr. Earl Rose since 1973. He is a friend of mine. I would trust him with my life. He concurs: two bullets from the rear.

Another member of that 1979 subcommittee was Dr. Charles Petty. Dr. Petty is Professor of Pathology at the University of Texas-Southwestern Medical School in Dallas, Texas. He heads up the Forensic Science Institute there, which was built in large part because of the Dallas embarrassment over the assassination and their recognition of the need for outstanding forensic science.

Dr. Petty has been quiet on the JFK issue for many, many years. This year he volunteered to write for JAMA on this subject. Last week's JAMA has his editorial, which confirms and explains the Single Bullet Theory.

I have known Chuck Petty since 1968. He is a friend of mine. I would trust him with my life.

These are the keys to trust: Jim Humes in 1963, Russell Fisher in 1968, Earl Rose in 1979 and again in JAMA in 1992, Chuck Petty in 1979 and again in JAMA in 1993, and then there is me.

To imagine or state that somehow these people say we have been duped, misled, or are somehow part of the conspiracy to deny the truth on this issue for all ages, strains the vocabulary to find strong enough words to describe such absurdity. Such charges are somewhere among the descriptors: wild and crazy, off the wall, out in left field in Cubs Park, incredible, insulting, or worse."

Well, this was not exactly scientific, was it? In 1999, for reasons apparently unrelated to his controversial stance on the Kennedy assassination, Lundberg was fired from JAMA.

Next up was Dr. Lattimer, reciting material from his book, claiming he knew Kennedy and Kennedy had a big hump on his back, etc. Then came Dr. Michael West, presenting a program defending the single-bullet theory that he'd previously presented to the American Academy of Forensic Sciences and the FBI Academy. (The former presentation was organized by Dr. Michael Baden, no less.) West recited stuff from Lattimer's book, and showed a film in which it was argued that Governor Connally's delayed reaction to the shot when compared to Kennedy was exactly as one would expect, and that his flipping of his hat circa frame 227 of the Zapruder film was "positive proof" of a neurological response to trauma prior to the point most conspiracy theorists believe he'd been hit. (West was quoted along these lines in Gerald Posner's book *Case Closed*.)

Well, what happened to Dr. West, you might ask?

The 1998 book *Tainting Evidence* notes that Dr. West was a forensic dentist from Mississippi who appeared as a scientific expert in more than 60 trials in 10 states before it became clear he had a knack for seeing marks on bodies that others failed to see. As at least 20 of his appearances were in murder cases in which a suspect's life lay in the balance, moreover, the possibility West was sculpting his testimony to fit the needs of the prosecution slowly dawned on his fellow scientists. As a result, medical examiners (including Dr. Robert Kirschner, one of the ARRB's special consultants) began testifying against West, and he was denounced in a 1996 article in the *American Bar Association Journal*, in which he was called "a sore on the body of forensic science."

The 2008 book *Forensics Under Fire* fleshes out the story, and uses West as a case study of an expert gone awry. Despite West's claims that a special blue light he'd personally developed had allowed him to see the bite marks on victims no one else could see, the "science" of this light was never quite established. As a result other experts began to question West's conclusions, and he gradually fell out of favor. Within a year of his presentation at the 1993 Symposium, in fact, Dr. West was pressured into

leaving the international Association of Identification and the American Academy of Forensic Sciences. He was also suspended by the American Board of Forensic Odontology. As a result, the convictions of two men against whom he'd testified were overturned, and the charges against still another were dropped. Word rapidly got out that his word was suspect, and his court appearances dropped off considerably.

He was so desperate for an appearance, in fact, that he agreed to give his opinion on a case for which he'd not done his homework. In 2001, in an effort to discredit the bite-mark analysis used against a client, lawyer Christopher Plourd hired private detective James Rix to contact West and ask if the teeth in a dental mold provided West matched the bite mark on the breast of the woman purportedly killed by Plourd's client. Two months later, after cashing a check for \$750, West sent Rix a 20 Minute video explaining that, based on West's expert analysis, the odds that "these weren't the teeth that created this bite would be almost astronomical."

Oops. This was a big mistake. The dental mold sent West had not been that of Plourd's client, but of Rix, the private investigator.

And from there things spiraled downward. In 2008, after the arrest of a man who'd admitted killing two toddlers in the early nineties, the lawyers for the two men previously convicted of these crimes called for West's arrest. This led Peter Neufeld, co-director of the Innocence Project, a nonprofit legal organization that examines questionable convictions and has won the exoneration of more than 200 inmates, to declare in an ABC News report that West was "a criminal" and that he'd "deliberately fabricated evidence and conclusions which were not supported by the evidence, the data or the rules of science." Neufeld further claimed "If you fabricate evidence in a capital murder case, where you know that if the person's convicted they are going to be executed — as far as I'm concerned that's the crime of attempted murder." He then concluded "These are not cases of sloppy forensic science. This is intentional misconduct. It's fabricated evidence to send people to death row."

Pretty harsh words. Provocative words. Still, even though Neufeld's charges would seem a clear case of libel (should he not have been telling the truth), West refused to respond to his charges. West did, however, tell CBS' Steve Kroft that he stood by his prior testimony, and that if the DNA evidence implicated someone other than the defendants in the rapes and murders of the children they'd been convicted of killing, it meant only that someone else had raped and killed the children after the defendants had bitten them. Not willing to give an inch, West even stood by his absurd testimony that one of the defendants had bitten his victim 19 times--using only his upper teeth!

And from there things only got worse for wild, wild, West. In February 2009, Reasononline posted links to a 1993 video of West (<http://reason.com/news/show/131527.html>) rubbing a suspect's dental impressions on the cheek of a dead child. Finding bite marks on the cheek, curiously, allowed prosecutors to charge the man responsible for her apparently accidental death with deliberation, and this, in turn, allowed them to seek the death penalty. After seeing this video, Dr. Michael Bowers, a dentist and medical examiner for Ventura County, California, broke ranks with his colleague and told Reasononline that marks appeared on the young girl's cheek after West rubbed the suspect's dental impressions on her cheek because *"Dr. West created them. It was intentional. He's creating artificial abrasions in that video, and he's tampering with the evidence. It's criminal, regardless of what excuse he may come up with about his methods...You never jam a plaster cast into a possible bite mark like that. It distorts the evidence. You take a photograph, or if there are indentations, you take an impression. But you don't jam plaster teeth into them."*

Dr. David Averill, a former President of The American Board of Forensic Odontology, concurred with this appraisal. He told Reasononline *"The video is troubling. I don't know how you can explain where those marks come from. And there's just no justification for him to push the cast into the skin like that...That isn't an acceptable way to perform a bite mark analysis."*

But that wasn't the end of it. The writer of the article, Radley Balko, reported that Forensic Odontologist Richard Souviron, who'd served as an expert for the defendant, Jimmie Duncan, was never shown the video prior to Duncan's trial and conviction, and had signed a new affidavit claiming the video showed *"Dr. West, violently and repeatedly, forcing a mold of Jimmie Duncan's teeth into Ms. Oliveaux's right cheek. In doing so, Dr. West creates a mark that was not previously present. Dr. West's behavior and methods are absolutely not supported by any scientific standards or protocol."* Souviron added in the affidavit that hospital photographs show that *'none of the marks were present when Ms. Oliveaux was at the hospital,' and that the abrasions that Reisner testified about for the prosecution 'were created by the flagrant misconduct of Dr. Michael West.'"*

Is it any wonder then that single-assassin theorists have stopped citing West as an authority? As West was cited as an authority by Gerald Posner in his book *Case Closed*, and as Posner himself was subsequently exposed as a dishonest actor (when he misled people into thinking a forensic re-enactment of the single-bullet theory by Failure Analysis Associates had been performed for him--when it had been performed for the ABA--and had been conclusive--when he'd only shown the prosecution's side of a case that ended in a mistrial), and *worse* (when he told the ARRB that Dr.s Humes and Boswell had told him they'd changed their minds about the location of the entrance wound on the back of Kennedy's head, and now believed it had been in the cowlick--when they denied having done so, or even talking to him) *and even worse* (when he was fired from his position at The Daily Beast for routinely plagiarizing other people's articles), is it any wonder that those taking the case for conspiracy seriously fail to take the arguments of men such as West and Posner seriously?

But Dr. West was neither the last to speak at the 1993 symposium nor the one to make the strangest claims. Shortly after West's presentation, Dr. Robert Artwohl, an emergency room doctor, took the stage and discussed his recent trip to the National Archives. He then flipped through the Kennedy autopsy photos available to the public and discussed his impressions of these photos after inspecting the originals. His impressions were eye-opening. Significantly, and amazingly, Dr. Artwohl insisted that the scalp in the mystery photo had been reflected over the *left* forehead. This was a unique interpretation.

This is almost laughable. There was not on that night, nor on any other night since Kennedy's death, a consensus among America's doctors on the locations of the President's wounds...even among those arguing that one sniper, firing from behind, killed Kennedy. There simply is no "established truth" or "established wisdom" to which one can defer. The doctors blindly "trusted" by Lundberg couldn't agree about the location of the head wound. The doctors on the stage with Lundberg disagreed with those he'd "trusted" on the location of the back wound.

This is not as it should be. While the case may never be solved, it's not nearly as solved as it could be, and ought to be. Certainly, with enough discussion, America's doctors can reach some sort of consensus on what can be observed in the President's autopsy photos and x-rays.


So, if you're willing to smash on through this massive wall of silence, send a comment or criticism to pat@patspeer.com. I won't take it personally. Even the good guys get it wrong sometimes.

I will, of course, reserve the right to comment on your commentary. Even the good guys get it wrong


sometimes.

Now, to that ticklish question of WHODUNNIT...I offer but a morsel to the feast supplied by Anthony Summers in his book *Not in Your Lifetime*, and Larry Hancock in his book *Someone Would Have Talked*.

Silenced Witness?




JFK Exhibit F-114



JFK Exhibit F-113

At left: HSCA exhibit F-114, demonstrating the damage from an M-193 bullet traveling at either 2625 fps. or 800 fps.

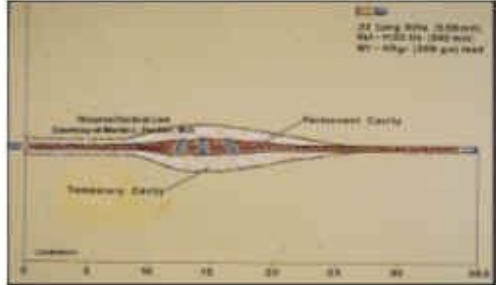


Above: blow-up of intact bullet in F-114


At left: HSCA exhibit F-113, demonstrating the damage from an M-193 bullet traveling at 3000 fps, with mirror at top to show width of wound channel.

Vel-2620 f/s 799 m/s	Vel-2555 f/s 779 m/s	Vel-2523 f/s 769 m/s

Above: test results published by Dr. Martin Fackler demonstrating the break-up of M-193 bullets traveling over 2500 fps.



Above: Fackler depiction of the wound ballistics of a .22 long rifle bullet traveling at 1122 fps. Is the amount of energy release depicted in this wound 43% more than in the gelatin block below? Or 87% less?



Above: F-114, image inverted for comparison

Silenced Witness

After my study of the eyewitness statements and Zapruder film suggested that at least one burst of shots--the one (or two) shots hitting Kennedy and Connally around frame 224--was not heard by the crowd, I decided to read up on the use of silencers and subsonic ammunition. While some "experts", including the FBI's Robert Frazier in the trial of Clay Shaw, have been dismissive about the use of a silencer on 11-22-63, claiming the shots would still have been heard, they ignore that the use of a silencer still had its advantages. Vincent Bugliosi, in his book *Reclaiming History*, admits as much. In arguing that Oswald could not have been a hit man, because a hit man would have used a silencer, he unwittingly undercut many of his supporters, who'd been insisting for years that the use of a silencer was impractical and unlikely. On page 1452, Bugliosi quotes an unnamed LAPD firearms expert and asserts that by 1963 silencers were sophisticated enough to reduce the sound of a rifle to nothing louder than "the hitting of a pile of wood with a hammer." Bugliosi's expert said, furthermore, that state-of-the-art silencers at the time "probably wouldn't have even been heard above the background noise of the motorcade and crowd."

The realization from my study of the eyewitnesses that a silenced weapon may have been fired from the Dal-Tex Building, when combined with Connally's testimony that he initially suspected automatic weapons had been fired, when merged with the fact that both the hole in Kennedy's hairline and the hole in his throat were smaller than what one would expect from a 6.5 mm bullet, and that a smaller caliber would be more easily deflected in the manner proposed, led me to wonder about the availability of .22 caliber automatic rifles in 1963. Surprisingly, I discovered that a brand new .22 caliber automatic rifle, the AR-15, had just exploded on the market, and was, in November 1963, undergoing tests by U.S. Special Forces in Vietnam. The Special Forces is, of course, the wing of the military that works most closely with the CIA, a favorite suspect of the conspiracy community. To make matters worse, the Air Force and Navy had also received shipments, and the Army was in the process of switching from the M-1 over to their own version of the AR-15, re-christened as the M-16. In light of Oliver Stone's theory that the military was behind Kennedy's murder this made me a little paranoid.

While looking through the book *Silencers, Snipers, and Assassins* to see what I could learn about M-16 silencers, I noticed something which pushed me even further down Paranoid Road. When reading about the M16 silencer HEL M4, I noticed on the photo credit that the photo came courtesy of Aberdeen Proving Ground, where both Warren Commission ballistics expert Alfred Olivier and HSCA ballistics expert Larry Sturdivan found employment. (I would eventually discover that a number of experimental silencers had been developed by the Human Engineering Lab (HEL) at the Aberdeen Proving Ground starting in the early sixties but that HEL4A itself did not become available until 1967. I also found that Sturdivan and Olivier did not work in HEL but at the Edgewood Arsenal building of Aberdeen Proving Ground.)

Even so, this coincidence made me wonder if the ballistics experts who'd testified before the committees hadn't had a hand in designing the very weapon used in the assassination. (On page 162 of *Stalkers and Shooters* (2006), one can find yet another assassination weapon designed at Aberdeen Proving Ground--apparently this was one of their specialties.) And so I decided to re-read the pertinent parts of the book *Mortal Error*, which theorized that Secret Service Agent George Hickey mistakenly discharged an AR-15 from the President's follow-up car, and accidentally killed the President.

But then I discovered something even more startling. Illustration #27 within *Mortal Error* included not only HSCA Exhibit #113, which depicted a gelatin test of an M-16 bullet, but a photograph of a list of the other exhibits from the day it was submitted, which had been included in a press package. (This list is now online and can be viewed [here](#)) On this list, Exhibit 114, was identified as an "M-193 bullet at 800 FPS velocity." 800 FPS...as in Feet Per Second...as in slower than the speed of sound, (which travels at roughly 1087 feet per second), which means no shock wave or sonic boom...a silenced shot!

And so I hopped on the internet to download HSCA Exhibit 114. Only when I scrolled through the website of John McAdams, one of the most prominent websites on the net, and certainly the most prominent with a single-assassin bias, I came across something which made me even more paranoid. For on this website Exhibit 113, which represents a gelatin test of M-16 ammunition fired at 3,000 fps, is identified as being the gelatin test of a 30 caliber bullet, and Exhibit 114 is listed as being the "composite of two photographs of bullet exploding in gelatin." All reference to the M-16 and its cartridge, the M-193, were absent! I then went to the History Matters website, where the entire HSCA Report has been scanned and uploaded straight out of a book, and confirmed that officially the exhibits were indeed those of the bullets used in an M-16. I then printed out a list of the HSCA exhibits from the History Matters website and compared them to the same list on the McAdams website, and found that, while there were a few other discrepancies on the McAdams list, there were none back to back which

completely disguised the nature of the exhibits. It really made me wonder if some of the researchers who smell CIA involvement in the single-assassin theorist community weren't on to something. (Months later, after I'd calmed down a little, I realized that the website with the suspiciously incorrect descriptions of F-113 and F-114 was the website of researcher Mike Russ, and that the McAdams website had merely provided a link.)

My concern was heightened yet again when I re-read Larry Sturdivan's HSCA testimony to see if Exhibit 114 was indeed an M-193 bullet shot at 800 fps. He stated, regarding Exhibit 113: "This is the bullet that is fired from the M-16 rifle that was used extensively in Vietnam. It is a caliber .22 but at a high velocity, approximately 3,000 feet per second... This bullet entered, and as you can see, it goes nice and straight for a little while. Then the yaw increases dramatically. The pressure is increased dramatically, and the bullet begins to fragment, pieces are broken off..." He went on to state "F-114 is the same bullet at a lower velocity. That velocity would be encountered at about 800 meters per second... This bullet, of course, was not deformed because the pressures, due to the lower velocity, were never high enough to deform the bullet." Although Mr. Sturdivan is recorded as saying 800 meters per second it occurred to me that the difference between a bullet traveling at 3,000 feet per second and 800 meters per second (2,625 feet!) would not be so great that the slower-moving bullet would fail to deform. Particularly since elsewhere in his testimony Mr. Sturdivan stated that an M-16 bullet "would break up, as I said before, at anything above 1,000 feet per second; it would begin to deform at about 1,000 feet per second." It occurred to me at this point that Mr. Sturdivan's testimony had been changed from 800 feet per second to 800 meters per second. It occurred as well that in all his testimony there was no other use of the term "meters per second." I decided to see if this was true. Upon re-examination of Sturdivan's testimony, I counted 39 mentions of "feet per second," which was the standard unit of measurement used in ballistics calculations, and only the one mention of "meters per second." Within the work he performed in the internet paper written with Kenneth Rahn, Sturdivan mentioned "feet per second" 16 more times, and never once used "meters per second." Furthermore, Alfred Olivier, in his Warren Commission testimony, used "feet per second" 11 times and never mentioned "meters per second." I concluded from this that Sturdivan's testimony was probably changed. The only reason I could come up with is that discussion of silenced M-16 bullets was ruled a violation of national security by someone somewhere somehow. That one or more of these bullets was used on President Kennedy, and that a faction within the government was aware of this and covered it up, might very well explain a lot of our recent history. But this made me uncomfortable, and so I hopped back on the internet to see what else I could find out about the wound ballistics of M-16 ammo.

Well, one of the first things I found was that M-16 ammunition is designed to fragment and incapacitate its victims. While many Americans like to cry about the violations of the rules of war committed by other nations, we decided with the M-16 to defeat the purpose of full metal jacket ammunition, which was promoted and accepted worldwide after WWI to reduce the brutality of war, by creating a bullet that was so unstable that it tumbled and broke-up even though it was technically a full metal jacket bullet. The problem, according to Dr. Martin Fackler, a former military surgeon and ballistics expert considered by some to be the guru of the field of wound ballistics, is that M-16 ammunition fails to break up when striking ballistics gelatin at speeds less than 2500 feet per second, a speed it slows down to after traveling but 200 meters, (or even less, depending on the model and the length of the barrel). Due to the small size of its bullet, therefore, which was designed so that soldiers could carry a lot more ammunition into combat, and its corresponding inability to create massive damage when striking at a reduced speed, the M-16 is ineffective as a long-range sniper weapon.

This gave me momentary doubt about its use in Dealey Plaza. But then I realized that I couldn't

dismiss its use as easily as all that. One reason was that in 1963 many of these tests had not yet been performed, and the assassin would have had no reason to doubt that the M-16 was a top flight killing machine. Another was that all the shots fired in Dealey Plaza were almost certainly less than 200 meters in length, and were probably less than 100 meters, and were therefore well within the M-16's range of optimum performance. Still, another reason to suspect a silencer was used came from my discovery of websites devoted to reduced-charge ammunition, which fires at less than 1,000 fps and creates no sonic boom. Some of this ammunition was even designed for M-16s already equipped with silencers, for the ultimate in silent killing.

It then hit me that Sturdivan had identified the speed of the bullet in F-113 as 3,000 fps when elsewhere in his testimony he said that M-16 bullets were fired at 3,200 fps, and that this 3,200 number was repeated all over the net as the definitive speed of M-16 ammunition. This led me to believe that the F-113 test was a simulation of a bullet fired from a distance of a few hundred feet. The thought occurred then that the F-114 test might be the same, and that the F-114 bullet was originally fired at about 1,000 fps, just under the speed of sound. Subsequently, I came across an article on sound suppressors by Mark White, in which he presents a chart demonstrating the drop-off in decibels of a shot once the speed of the bullet drops below the speed of sound. Not surprisingly, it revealed that a sub-sonic charge fired in a suppressed .308 rifle (under normal conditions, somewhat louder than a Carcano) would be roughly the sound of the surrounding traffic and would be unlikely to be noticed by those more than a hundred feet away (which, in the case of a possible shooter on the roof of the Dal-Tex, would mean almost everyone on the street.) It seemed reasonable to assume from this that Sturdivan had been testing the wounding effects of bullets which he'd already determined would not have been heard, to see if such a bullet was likely. If so, that this whole area of inquiry was hidden from the public would have to be considered suspicious, and might even be taken as an indication he decided such a shot was possible.

Ultimately, however, my decision to accept the possibility that a silenced M-16 was used in Dealey Plaza, and was tested by the HSCA, came from the exhibits themselves. I just couldn't believe that the damage shown in F-113 came as a result of a bullet impacting at a speed only 15% faster than the speed of the bullet in F-114. Since, according to Dr. Fackler, if an M-16 bullet doesn't have enough velocity to cause fragmentation the result is a deep .22 caliber hole, I decided to compare his drawings of a .22 caliber hole to Exhibit F-114. After confirming that both Fackler and Dr. Olivier in his tests performed for the Warren Commission used 15 inch test blocks of 20% gelatin, I found Dr. Fackler's drawings of a .22LR quite similar to F-114. The .22 long rifle wound was slightly deeper, which was as one would expect since a 40 grain bullet traveling at 1122 fps should transfer 43% more energy to the gelatin than a 55 grain bullet traveling at 800 fps. (The formula to determine energy release is mass x speed x speed.) When I considered the opposite, that if the bullet in F-114 was traveling at 2625 fps it should represent 7.5 TIMES THE ENERGY released in the wound in Fackler's drawing, I realized I was almost certainly right, and that F-114 was definitely a test of a bullet traveling 800 fps. When I took into account that Sturdivan told the HSCA, when describing F-113, that after the bullet broke up, "although it is not clearly visible, from here it continues to exit from the corner of the block", it became obvious that the speed of the bullet tested in F-113 was several times that of the bullet in F-114, and that the amount of energy release was somewhere near the fourteen-fold increase in energy release one would expect when comparing a bullet traveling at 800 fps and 3000 fps and nowhere near the 30% increase expected between 800 mps and 3000 fps.

In January 2006, after gathering up the nerve, I contacted Larry Sturdivan and asked him about his HSCA testimony. As to whether Exhibit F-114 represented a bullet strike at 800 meters per second or 800 feet per second he responded: *"It has a simple explanation. I misspoke. The bullet is obviously a*

low-velocity strike, probably at a simulated range of several hundred meters. The figure of 800 feet per second is certainly the one that is closest to the actual impact velocity. At work, I always used metric measure, but for the public hearings it was suggested that I use feet, inches, and pounds. This is one instance in which I slipped. There may be others. In other cases, the person who transcribed the testimony misinterpreted a few of my words. It likely happened with other witnesses for the HSCA and WC as well."

When I asked him if his use of an exhibit depicting an M-16 bullet traveling at a subsonic speed indicated he'd studied the possible use of silenced weapons in connection with the Kennedy assassination, he responded: *"It was just one of the thousands of pictures we had of military bullets we had tested. I used it because it showed the instability of a bullet in a soft tissue simulant, without the deformation and breakup. Like the WCC/MC, it was a bullet that did not deform in soft tissue. Modern military bullets deform at full velocity, so I showed a picture of one at reduced velocity. The only bullets fired in the WC tests were the WCC/MC."*

When I followed up and asked him if the HSCA had ever asked him about the possible use of silenced weapons, he answered: *"Never came up. Several witnesses who were familiar with supersonic rifle fire, such as John Connally, stated that the shots were identifiable as "high-powered rifle" fire. A subsonic bullet is much quieter -- and is much less injurious, has a more arced trajectory (due to its low speed) and, as a result, is much less accurate, etc. A sniper using a subsonic weapon (e.g., a handgun) could fire a volley of shots from the upper floors of the Depository and be unlikely to hit the target with any of them. Such a weapon is more likely to be used in point blank shooting, like the Tippit murder."* (Sturdivan's comments here are intriguing. He ignores the possibility of subsonic rifle fire even though he'd studied the ballistics of subsonic rifle fire, as proven by F-114. His statement that a subsonic bullet has a more arced trajectory is also intriguing when one considers that the trajectory of the bullet creating Kennedy's back wound was initially reported as heading sharply downwards.)

When I wrote back and asked if he felt handicapped by the limits of the HSCA investigation, he wrote: *"No. The HSCA didn't tell me much. They just asked a lot of questions. The most irritating thing is that they kept most of the scientists isolated from each other, so that I didn't meet Bill Hartmann 'til years later."*

Sturdivan's response forced me to do some soul-searching. Here I had taken several pieces of information: 1) that Exhibit F-114 had been misrepresented in Sturdivan's published testimony; 2) that it was in fact the ballistics gelatin of a subsonic bullet; and 3) that it was also misrepresented on a website created by Oswald-did-it theorist John McAdams, and convinced myself that this represented some sort of conspiracy. And yet I was wrong. I was right about points one and two, but they had an innocent explanation. And I was wrong about point 3 altogether. When I realized that it was possible Sturdivan had merely told me a cover story, and that it was also possible that Russ had deliberately misrepresented the exhibit on his website, I had a revelation. In that moment, I fully understood what I will call "the seduction of intrigue". For a split second, it seemed rational to me to assume Sturdivan was lying etc... This was because I had quietly changed gears and begun thinking of reasons to believe I wasn't wrong, rather than reasons to believe that I was right. It occurred to me that such thinking takes place when someone has spent a lot of time developing a theory, and someone else comes along and wrecks it. I at once understood why my presentation had upset so many alterationists, i.e. why they had refused to honestly look at my presentation etc. They'd thought so long and hard when developing their theories that they couldn't bear to believe they'd been wrong. What had been their theory had become their religion.

I decided to lose my religion and accept that the mislabeling of F-114 had been some sort of mistake.

Only it turned out my bout with intrigue was far from over. In April, 2006, I acquired video footage of some of the HSCA hearings, including parts of Sturdivan's testimony. Unfortunately, the footage of Sturdivan began just after he discussed F-114, so I was unable to determine whether he, in fact, said 800 feet or 800 meters. Nevertheless, when I compared the published transcripts of Sturdivan's testimony against his actual testimony, a few new questions arose.

When I e-mailed Sturdivan and asked about these new (at least for me) discoveries, he was once again quite forthcoming. When asked why his published testimony reflects his actual words, when the testimony of Dr. Baden appears to have been significantly re-written, he replied "Perhaps Baden asked to be allowed to revise his own testimony, I don't know." (Another witness, Jack White, told me that every witness was given the opportunity to change their testimony. Perhaps Sturdivan was simply not informed he could do so.) When I asked who changed the exhibit numbers in his testimony—Exhibit 583 was twice corrected to read Exhibit 853-- Sturdivan replied: "I guess Mathews corrected the exhibit numbers." (Mathews refers to I. Charles Mathews, the HSCA Special Counsel responsible for Sturdivan's testimony.) When I asked why some of the questions asked Sturdivan had been changed, Sturdivan's response surprised me. He replied: "In the case of (Congressmen) Fauntroy and Ford, the staff probably published the questions as phrased on the script they were supposed to follow. Some of the Congressmen had trouble following the script -- or just did what politicians do; i.e., speak without thinking what they are trying to say, just because they like the sound of their own voices..." When I asked him WHAT script he was talking about, he clued me in on how the HSCA conducted its "public" hearings. (Dr. Baden had previously mentioned the use of scripts in his 1989 book *Unnatural Death*, but it had fallen below my radar). Sturdivan replied: "*A couple of weeks before the open hearings, I got a copy of the questions to be asked, keyed to each Congressman in turn. I prepared my 'probable answer' to each so that the staff and/or Congressman could pre-prepare any follow-up questions. I.e., the Committee's staff did it. I suggested a few changes to questions and a few additional questions to make the story more complete. However, the Congressmen had a lot of trouble following the script. Some asked questions I had already been asked by another person and did not ask some of the questions they were scripted to ask. As a result the story got scrambled and less understandable.*" In light of the fact that someone (probably Mathews) changed Sturdivan's testimony to reflect the proper exhibit numbers, I asked Sturdivan if he remembered that he mis-spoke and said F-114 represented a bullet traveling 800 meters per second, or had simply assumed he'd done so. His response was illuminating: "*The 800 meters per second, referring to F-114, is an obvious mistake. This is an M-193 bullet. Had it hit at 800 m/s, it would have been deformed, probably would have broken in two, and the bullet (or fragments) would have exited the block. 800 f/s is a handgun velocity that would have produced this type of picture. I don't know whether I said it wrong or they wrote it wrong or later changed it to be wrong.*"

And there it sat until Christmas Eve, 2009, when I received a copy of Sturdivan's HSCA testimony from the Poage Library at Baylor University. I put the DVD in my DVD player, convinced that I would soon be able to resolve whether Sturdivan said "800 meters per second" and confused the HSCA, or said "800 feet per second," only to have some unidentified person change his testimony and exhibits to read "800 meters per second." But I was in for another surprise. Sturdivan said "*F-114 is the same bullet at a lower velocity. That velocity would be encountered at about 800 meters per second*", but then corrected himself and said "*800 meters range.*" This was quite interesting. First of all, at all other points in his testimony, Sturdivan discussed bullet velocity in terms of feet per second, and here he was discussing a bullet's velocity in meters down range. By describing the bullet in such a manner,

Sturdivan thereby hid from the record that the bullet tested was not fired from 800 meters down range, but was a reduced charge bullet designed to simulate the effects of a bullet fired from 800 meters down range. Such a bullet was subsonic. Such a bullet was the type used in weapons designed for silent killing.

In retrospect, Sturdivan's verbal gymnastics only made sense. Sturdivan was, after all, testifying on behalf of a government widely suspected of assassinating its President. He'd done work for the military. Included in this work was studying the wounding effects of the subsonic ammunition used in assassination weapons. Needless to say, this was not a topic the committee would want him to touch upon. And so he testified not how fast the bullet was traveling, but how far down range it would normally take the bullet to slow to that speed. And screwed up.

But it's not as simple as that. While on the surface it seems possible Sturdivan's mistaken claim the bullet was traveling 800 meters per second led someone to not only include this mistake in the transcript, but mistakenly re-title his exhibit, this fails to explain why Sturdivan's correction, "*800 meters range*," was left off his testimony. He was clearly correcting himself. And his words were clearly spoken.

This effectively puts me back where I began, wondering why the exhibit title was changed, and wondering whether it's just a coincidence that this exhibit was of a bullet type used in assassination weapons.

But it also takes me further. In finding that Sturdivan's correction had been omitted from the transcript of his testimony, a door was opened to the possibility that much of what we know FROM SWORN TESTIMONY, is an inaccurate presentation of said testimony.

We'll get back to this in a minute...

The Seduction of Intrigue

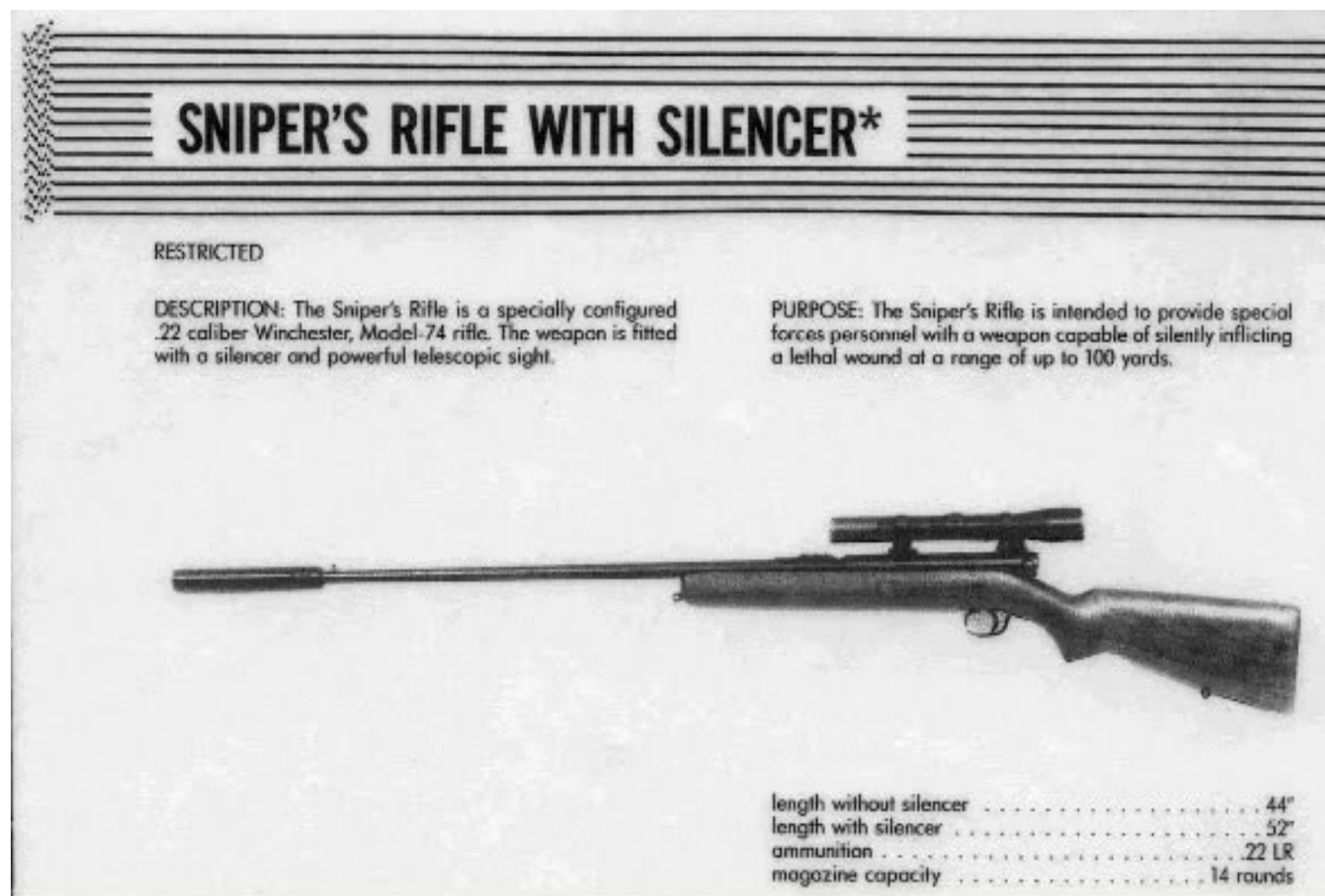
The image shows a web browser interface with three stacked banners at the top. Each banner features the CIA seal and the text 'CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY' and 'www.cia.gov'. The second banner adds the tagline 'THE WORK OF A NATION. THE CENTER OF INTELLIGENCE.' The third banner promotes 'NATIONAL CLANDESTINE SERVICE CAREERS' with the slogan 'YOU CAN MAKE A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE.' Below the banners is a navigation bar with links like 'Listen to Radio', 'Broadcast', 'Community', and 'Free Downloads'. The main content area shows a profile for 'Hot Christian Acappella' with a 'Play' button. Below this is a photo of John McAdams, an academic political scientist, with a redacted face. To the right is an advertisement for Xbox 360 with the text 'THE BEST MOMENTS ARE ON XBOX 360' and a 'SUBSCRIBE NOW!' button.

In early 2009, I googled the name of single-assassin theorist John McAdams, whom many conspiracy theorists assume is on the CIA's payroll, and came across an acappella internet radio station he runs as a hobby. Strangely, however, the ads across the top of his webpage were all paid for by the CIA. He maintains this was 100 percent a coincidence. This remains hard for me to believe. I mean, what are the odds I'd google YOUR name and find a series of CIA ads above YOUR face?

The Seduction of Intrigue

While trying to figure out if the bullet fired in F-114 had indeed been subsonic, I discovered that there was an historical basis for my suspicion that a small caliber weapon firing subsonic ammunition had been used in the assassination. While reading about the CIA's overthrow of the Guatemalan Government in 1954, I discovered that, among the supply lists, lists of communists to be killed after the take-over, and other documents released in 1997, there was a CIA Manual on Assassination. In this manual there were several relevant passages. At one point, when discussing the advantages and disadvantages of assassinating people with firearms, the manual relates "Public figures or guarded officials may be killed with great reliability and some safety if a firing point can be established prior to an official occasion. The propaganda value of this system may be high." (Note that the propaganda chief for this operation was future Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt, who, shortly before his death, admitted an involvement in the Kennedy assassination to his son, and claimed David Morales, one of the CIA's para-military trainers for the Guatemalan Operation, and presumably one of those handing out the CIA Manual on Assassination, was also involved.) Elsewhere, the manual deals specifically with the issue of subsonic charges, noting "pistols, submachine guns and any sort of improvised carbine or rifle which will take a low velocity cartridge can be silenced," and then cautioning "Because permissible velocity is low, effective precision range is held to about 100 yards with rifle or carbine type weapons."

Further confirmation came from studying the supply lists prepared for the Guatemalan op. On one such list there is the surprising item ".22 cal. rifles w/silencers." As larger caliber rifles were available, this gives a clear indication that .22 caliber rifles with silencers were a preferred assassination weapon, and that the 100 yard limit mentioned in the assassination manual was true for these weapons. While I've taken a lot of guff from shooters about this, as they all seem convinced that a sniper rifle firing a small subsonic bullet would be nearly worthless at the distances of Dealey Plaza, I suspect their concern is overstated. Geoffrey Boothroyd, the English Firearms expert who advised James Bond creator Ian Fleming on the weapons described in his books, once famously wrote Fleming: "Silencers. These I do not like. The only excuse for using one is a .22 rifle using low-velocity ammunition, i.e., below the speed of sound." Former sniper Craig Roberts, in his book Kill Zone, moreover, wrote of his suspicion that a "CIA-issued .22 caliber Model 74 Winchester silenced sniper rifle" was fired at Kennedy, wounding him in the throat. Subsequent investigation on my part revealed that, yes indeed, the Winchester 74 sniper rifle pre-dated the assassination and is a semi-automatic weapon, meaning it could be fired quite rapidly, causing separate hits on Kennedy and Connally, and creating the illusion they were hit by the same bullet. I found a photo of such a rifle, furthermore, in the 1991 book OSS Special Weapons and Equipment by H. Keith Melton, an expert on the CIA and its predecessor, the OSS. This is reproduced below:



Note that the range is 100 yards, the same as that of the assassination weapons described in the CIA

Manual on assassination.

Elsewhere on the page, the advantages of such a rifle are further detailed.

"A Weapon that eliminates muzzle flash and muzzle noise offers several advantages to special forces personnel.

- (1) The source of the fire is masked.***
- (2) The location of the weapon is difficult for the enemy to pinpoint.***
- (3) The enemy can not identify the numbers or type(s) of weapons firing, or their range.***
- (4) The weapon has less recoil and is more accurate to fire.***
- (5) The enemy is harassed and confused.***
- (6) The sniper has a psychological advantage over the enemy."***

In 2007, at a swap meet, I came across an old book entitled Everyday Ballistics that gave me more reason to believe such a weapon was used on 11-22-63. This book had been the property of the U.S. Navy. In the chapter on bullet drop, it reports that a fully charged .22 long rifle bullet--the type of bullet used in the Winchester 74 rifle--would only drop a foot or so over a distance of 270 feet, the approximate distance from the roof of the Dal-Tex Building to Kennedy at frame 224 of the Zapruder film. In a subsequent chapter, it makes the surprising assertion that a subsonic bullet fired at 1000 fps would suffer less wind deflection than a similar bullet fired at a faster speed. It then specifies that a .22 long rifle bullet fired at 1000 fps. in a 5 MPH cross wind would suffer less than two inches of deflection at 100 yards and less than a half inch deflection at 50 yards. From this it seems clear that a well-practiced shooter firing a silenced Winchester 74 or M-16 from the Dal-Tex Building could easily have hit Kennedy, or Connally, or both.

My study of the evidence suggests the use of such a weapon can not be ruled out. Upon further reading about the M-16, moreover, I realized that it fired three-round bursts in its semi-automatic setting. Since the wounds to Kennedy and Connally circa frame 224 were quite possibly caused by but two bullets, I now suspect the second rifle used in the assassination was a semi-automatic weapon quite similar to the one shown above.

So does that mean I think the CIA was involved? Not necessarily. Let's just say that the killers were probably aware of CIA assassination techniques, and may very well have been CIA-trained. If the CIA suspected as much, it might very well explain why the CIA has been less than forthcoming on so many aspects of the assassination.

Yes, after all this time, literally years spent on this investigation, I still think it's possible that the numerous government lies I've uncovered are unrelated to the assassination itself, and are more indicative of a vast cover-up of information embarrassing to the U.S. Government and City of Dallas than a vast conspiracy to kill Kennedy, and an ongoing conspiracy to cover-up this event.

But sometimes I have to wonder... In early 2009, while preparing to mail out something I'd sold over the internet, using an assumed name, I noticed that the buyer's name was quite familiar. It was John McAdams, the Marquette University Professor whose single-assassin theorist website remains top-ranked by google. Now, by early 2009, I'd sold thousands of items over the internet, none to anyone with whom I'd ever had any contact. And here was the one person with whom I'd had regular contact--through the alt.assassination.JFK newsgroup--who was also widely rumored to be a CIA operative...and he was buying something from me. Did he know the name under which I'd been selling my possessions? Was he sending me a message? Was it even him?

I decided to google his name along with the city provided on the address, to see if it was indeed THE

John McAdams, and not just A John McAdams. And I came across an internet radio station programmed by THE John McAdams with the same home town. Hmmm...I thought. So it is him... Now ain't that a coinkydink... But then I noticed that the three rotating banner ads across the top of McAdams' radio station web page were all sponsored by the CIA. All of 'em. There were other ads off to the side. But the ads above McAdams' face were all CIA ads. Now what are the odds of that? I have contact with one person rumored to be a CIA operative. I find a photo of him online. Above this photo--by pure coincidence?--there are ads placed by the CIA.

I just couldn't buy this was a coincidence. I decided that there must be some sort of connection. It then hit me that most internet ads are placed by computer programs, and that McAdams' having people google his name together with "CIA" may have led some program to associate his name with the CIA, and place ads for the CIA above his name and photo. I mentioned this possibility to a few JFK assassination website owners and they told me that they agreed that this was indeed the most logical explanation.

Some months later, however, McAdams himself insisted this wasn't so. McAdams had stupidly called one of the website owners I'd consulted a "fascist". This, in turn, led me to point out that this man had defended McAdams when I had asked him if the CIA ads had been more than a coincidence. McAdams then grew quite defensive, and claimed that the appearance of these ads above his face was obviously a coincidence, and that only a kook or loony would think otherwise. When I mentioned that it seemed perfectly reasonable to me to assume that someone at the CIA considered his JFK website a friendly website, and wanted to reward him by supporting his music web page, John fought this as well, insisting that, since CIA ads could be found on the home page of the website hosting his radio station, it was all obviously just a coincidence. In the end, he was unwilling to accept any possibility that the ads on his web page were more than a coincidence, even if this possibility reflected no wrong-doing on his part.

So here we were again...at a cognitive divide. Perhaps then, conspiracy theorists are those who see something unlikely--like the one person you know who might have connections to the CIA having CIA ads on the website of their internet radio station--as suspicious, while those denying the possibility of conspiracy see this same event as just another, yawn, coincidence. One side sees what could be a coincidence as a possible clue, while the other side sees what could be a clue as an obvious coincidence.

That said, there's no getting around the nightmarish ramifications of the HSCA's questions and answers having been scripted and re-written, with certain substantive statements excised from the record. This means the supposed "historical record" of the hearings most commonly used by historians--the transcripts--are not reliable records of what actually transpired. Still, this problem is partially offset by the fact there are video and audio tapes of much of the testimony, which may one day be widely available. But what about the Warren Commission? Their hearings were not only conducted in secret, they were not recorded in any way, outside the transcripts. Could their transcripts have been changed as well?

Unfortunately, yes. We know, beyond any doubt, that at least some of the transcripts have been doctored. An apparently unedited transcript of Jacqueline Kennedy's testimony, we should recall, revealed that she originally reported that Governor Connally screamed *"like a stuck pig"* when shot. This reference was deleted from the published transcript. An 8-28-64 memorandum from Commission Counsel Wesley Liebler, in which he cites an early version of the commission's report, moreover, quotes the testimony of the FBI's fiber expert Paul Stombaugh as follows: *"In my mind I feel that these fibers came from this shirt, but I know of no scientific method to prove this, so therefore I am unable to say this."* This differs greatly from the same paragraph in the final report, where his words were changed to *"There is no doubt in my mind that these fibers could have come from the shirt. There is no*

way, however, to eliminate the possibility of the fibers having come from another identical shirt." As the former line appears nowhere in the published transcript, and reads much more like human speech, it seems apparent that this line was re-written and that the new line was added into both the transcript and the report in the final days of the Commission's existence, when their sole focus was on the issuance of the report.

This should force us to question what else was changed, and by whom. It should also make us wonder what guarantees were used to make sure that changes like this one, presumably undertaken to remove the implication of Stombaugh's words--that if there was a scientific method to prove the fibers on the gun came from Oswald's shirt he would have gladly said it had been proven--were the exception, and not the rule, and that greater, more substantive changes were not made as well.

This is a real concern. In 1992, a presumably unaltered transcript of the 4-30-64 testimony of FBI paper expert James Cadigan was released by the National Archives. As reported by Jim Marrs, this transcript revealed that, when asked if he knew why an identification card of Oswald's was damaged by silver nitrate, a chemical used to unveil hidden fingerprints, Cadigan responded *"I could only speculate...It may be that there was a very large volume of evidence being examined at the time. Time was of the essence, and this material, I believe, was returned to the Dallas Police within two or three days, and it was merely in my opinion a question of time. We have a very large volume of evidence. There was insufficient time to desilver it. And I think in many instances where latent prints are developed they do not desilver it."* Well, one can see how the FBI might find this embarrassing. But this was sworn testimony, supposedly taken to create a permanent record of the murder of a president and its aftermath. How can changing Cadigan's rambling answer to *"No, this is a latent fingerprint issue"*, as was done, possibly be justified?

...particularly when, as Marrs reports, the cover sheet to the transcript reveals *"Stenotype Tape, Master Sheets, Carbon and Waste turned over to Commission for destruction"*? I mean, how is this even legal? If anonymous FBI officials and political appointees have the right to change the words of people representing the Bureau in sworn testimony, and to destroy the record of what's been changed, who is responsible if the changes amount to perjury? Someone in the Bureau who never appeared in court? Or the man with the lies shoved in his mouth? I mean, don't the accused have the right to face their accuser, and not have their accuser hide in an office and sneak words into the transcripts of others?

That the cornerstone of the judicial process--the taking of sworn testimony under penalty of perjury--was undermined by the very body tasked with protecting the integrity of the judicial process--the FBI--and done so as a matter of routine--should not be readily dismissed.

Perhaps, then, with time, a scholar will undertake the journey of reading through all the available transcripts, and all the versions of the report, and note the changes, and note all the quotes that were changed in the process. Such an undertaking would be of enormous interest to historians, and possibly win the undertaker a prize or two.

Anyone interested?

The Time for Tests



At left: a photo from a 1998 study of the single-bullet trajectory showing that the bullet or bullets creating JFK's wounds would be unlikely to strike Connally in his armpit. At right: a 1992 study by Failure Analysis Associates showing that the Dal-Tex Building was a likely source for this shot.



At right: an 11-22-63 Dallas Police photo showing the view of the sniper's nest down Elm.



Above: an 11-23-63 photo of the Dal-Tex view by Shel Hershorn.

Since Kennedy's and Connally's wounds don't align for a shot from the sniper's nest, from the angle at right, it's time to test whether they'll align for multiple shots from the Dal-Tex Building, from the angle at left.



The Time for Tests

No? Well, then, how about helping me conduct some tests?

Yes, that's right. While I doubt we'll ever know exactly who killed Kennedy, I believe whole-heartedly that a series of tests can be conducted which will determine beyond a reasonable doubt whether or not Oswald fired all the shots. Here are four that come to mind, in order of priority:

In Test 1 a movie camera like Zapruder's would film simulated shootings of skulls, from a distance comparable to the distance of Zapruder from Kennedy. The shots would be fired at both the entrance described at autopsy and the entrance determined by the HSCA. From this test it could be determined if the Zapruder film should have shown blood spray from the back of Kennedy's head, should he actually have been shot in the back of the head at Z-313. Should it seem likely no bullet impacted on the back of Kennedy's head at 313, needless to say, it could lead to a whole new understanding of the case.

In Test 2 Dr. Olivier's 1964 tests of the effects of M/C ammunition on human skulls would be duplicated, but with a focus on the entrance wound. Should it appear that all the bullets striking the back of the head fragment upon impact, as Olivier concluded, and should it be clear that these fragmenting bullets create entrance wounds much larger than the small entrance wound observed by the doctors at autopsy, as I propose, it could lead to a whole new understanding of the case.

In Test 3, simulated heads placed on simulated necks would be shot at both the proposed entrance locations and exit locations, from a variety of angles, while the head is tilted to the left, to see if the "first forward, and then back-and-to-the-left" movement of Kennedy after frame 312 can be replicated. Should the movement be replicated via an impact at the supposed exit, from either in front, as most conspiracy theorists believe, or from behind, as I propose, it could lead to a whole new understanding of the case.

And finally, in Test 4, Kennedy and Connally dummies would be placed in their relative positions at Z-220--Z-224. Shots would then be fired at these dummies from both the relative location of the sniper's nest using a bolt-action rifle, and the relative location of the upper floors or roof of the Dal-Tex Building using a semi-automatic weapon firing sub-sonic ammunition. From this test it could be determined if the single-bullet theory is more feasible than a semi-automatic weapon's striking both Kennedy and Connally. Should it seem more likely the shots were fired from the Dal-Tex, it could lead to a whole new understanding of the case.

Of course, there are other tests that can be performed to help illuminate the true strength or weakness of the case presented against Oswald.

In Test 5 the proportions of the bag in the Archives would be used to create a paper bag, and this bag would then be photographed in the possession of a man the size of L.D. Montgomery by a variety of photographers, using a variety of lenses. If the press photos of Montgomery holding the bag outside the depository could be replicated, well, I'll eat the cowboy hat I used in my own attempt to replicate the photos. If not, well, then, at least a partial FRAME-UP of Oswald would be proved, and John McAdams and Craig Lamson would owe me an apology.

Test 6 would be another test whose results I suspect we already know. A person would handle and fire a rifle like Oswald's while wearing a shirt like Oswald was wearing when arrested. The rifle would then be dusted aggressively for fingerprints. If a tuft of fibers from the shirt was then found stuck in a crevice of the butt plate, on top of the dusting powder, we could then sleep well that night. If not, well then we would have more evidence for what we should already suspect: that the case against Oswald was in large part a FRAME-UP.

Tests 7 and 8 would be a little trickier and would test the finger and palm prints used in the case against Oswald. In Test 7, a palm print would be added to a rifle barrel through a number of means, including the handling of the rifle, and the planting of an inked print on the rifle. These prints would then be removed from the rifle and compared to the print purportedly pulled off Oswald's rifle. The rifle would then be dusted. This could very well yield interesting results, and shed light on the likelihood the palm print purportedly removed from the rifle had ever been on the rifle, and whether or not the FBI should have found remnants of this print. In Test 8, the trigger guard prints would be freshly analyzed by an impartial team of experts not knowing the identity of the prints on which they were working, to see if any or all of the prints are in fact Oswald's prints, as purported.

Which brings us to Test 9, which might prove price prohibitive... In Test 9, Vincent Guinn's 1964 NAA tests on the paraffin casts would be replicated, only with the shooters mimicking Oswald's actions as accurately as possible, and with the casts being made 8 hours after the test shooting. These numbers would then be compared to the results Gallagher received for the tests on Oswald's casts. Should the counts and antimony/barium ratios in these results be consistent, and consistently unlike the results for Oswald's casts, it could, once again, lead to a whole new understanding of the case.

The Time for Panels

Should one not have the time, finances, or ability to perform such tests, however, one can continue pushing the case in a positive direction by shoring up or debunking my claims the HSCA's investigation was inadequate. Here are but a few of the areas that need to be reviewed by scholars and scientists.

1. The HSCA's pathology panel claimed a bullet entered the cowlick area at the top of the back of Kennedy's head, and left a small red oval entrance in the cowlick area of the scalp. No such entrance was noted by anyone viewing the President's body. Those noting the entrance swore it was down by the hairline. My study of cognitive psychology and forensic pathology suggests this would be unlikely should the wound have been 4 inches higher on the back of the head, as purported by the HSCA panel. A panel of cognitive psychologists and forensic pathologists needs to be convened to determine the likelihood of such a mistake.

2. The HSCA's pathology panel also claimed this bullet broke up upon entry, and left a large fragment from the middle of the bullet at the margins of the entrance wound. My study of wound ballistics suggests this to have been most unlikely. A panel of ballistics experts needs to be convened to establish the likelihood that a bullet breaking up in such a fashion would leave so small an entrance wound.

3. The panel's radiology consultants also noted the presence of metal fragments at the top of Kennedy's head, inches away from the purported entry. My study of the radiology of gunshot wounds suggests this would be unlikely, should but one bullet have entered on the back of the head, as proposed by the HSCA panel. A panel of radiology experts needs to be convened to determine 1) if these fragments were indeed outside the skull, and 2) the likelihood they would end up in this location should the bullet have broken up upon entry in the cowlick, as proposed by the HSCA panel.

4. The emergency room doctors viewing the President's body at Parkland Hospital and the autopsy surgeons viewing his body at Bethesda Hospital all noted a significant portion of missing scalp corresponding to the large defect on Kennedy's skull. Forensic texts have subsequently made the claim such missing scalp can be taken as an indication this defect was an entrance, not exit. This led the HSCA pathology panel to presume all these doctors were mistaken. A panel of cognitive psychologists and wound ballistics experts needs to be convened to determine 1) the likelihood these men were all mistaken, and, 2) if the reported lack of scalp is indeed indicative of entrance.

5. In order to explain the "back-and-to-the-left" movement of Kennedy's head apparent in the Zapruder film, the HSCA's experts claimed both that he'd suffered a neuro-anatomic response to being shot in the head, and that the rush of blood from his head had created a "jet effect." My study of these issues has led me to doubt both these explanations. A panel of wound ballistics experts needs to be convened to determine the likelihood of these explanations, and to determine further if the "back-and-to-the-left" movement can be better explained by Kennedy's being hit on the top right side of his head from behind.

6. The HSCA pathology panel also noted air in Kennedy's neck, which was apparent on the x-rays. They claimed this could have come as a result of Kennedy's tie blocking off the hole in his throat, whereby air from the hole in his trachea backed up into his neck. This reeks of desperation. A panel of wound ballistics experts needs to be convened to determine the likelihood of such a claim, and if this air might be better explained by a bullet or bullet fragment's having traveled down Kennedy's neck. This panel would, of course, have to study this issue independent of all other factors.

7. The HSCA pathology panel also claimed a bullet entered Kennedy's back at the T-1 level and traversed his neck, exiting from middle of his throat at a point slightly above the level of entry. This

entrance was purportedly two inches to the right of his spine. My study of the anatomy of this region suggests such a trajectory would intersect the transverse process of the spine, and pass through a thicket of major blood vessels. A panel of wound ballistics and anatomy experts needs to be consulted to determine the likelihood a bullet on such a trajectory would nick or smash through the spine, and nick or smash through the major vessels of the neck.

8. The experts of both the Warren Commission and HSCA concluded that a Mannlicher-Carcano bullet traversing Kennedy's back without hitting bone would be slowed by the time it hit Governor Connally's back, and that this slowing would explain the lack of damage to the bullet after striking Connally's rib. The numbers presented in support of this, however, have been inconsistent and suspect. A panel of wound ballistics experts needs to be convened to determine the truth of the matter.

Should one not be a scholar or scientist, of course, one can build upon my research and search the available literature for studies and reports not discovered by myself, and then use these materials to further discredit the many dubious conclusions of the HSCA's experts and panels.

It is my fervent belief that such an effort will eventually lead to a tipping point, where even the mainstream media comes to recognize that the conclusions of the HSCA's experts are suspect, and that a re-appraisal of the assassination is both desirable and necessary.

Scintilla

In conclusion, I should make it clear I don't pretend to know who killed Kennedy. The decision within the Johnson Administration to shut down independent inquiry and staunchly defend the flawed conclusions of the Warren Commission does not in itself prove that anyone within the administration was involved in the murder itself, or was deliberately covering up a conspiracy. By way of example, when one studies Lyndon Johnson's expansion of the Vietnam War, one finds that Johnson would frequently worry out loud to his advisers and make them uncomfortable, so uncomfortable in fact that they would tell him what they thought he wanted to hear just so they could leave the room. While this may have been a deliberate tactic of Johnson's designed to get others to back him on controversial decisions (he would often misrepresent what amounted to a capitulation on the part of one of his advisers as a ringing endorsement, saying "I'm just a poor old country schoolteacher, but Walt Rostow's from Harvard, and he says we oughta bomb that country into the stone age, etc."), it's possible this was merely an unfortunate aspect of his character, and one which prevented his receiving the best advice from his best advisers. As a result, it seems plausible that men such as Assistant Attorney General Katzenbach, FBI Director Hoover, and even Chief Justice Earl Warren took from their meetings with Johnson that he'd be much more comfortable if the investigation didn't really dig too deep, and that he (the President) felt this would be the best course of action for the country, for national security purposes, etc. and that they then took it upon themselves to alleviate his concerns. This may not have been his overtly expressed desire. The Watergate burglary and the Iran/Contra scandals are perfect examples of crimes committed and covered up in the President's name, without the President's full knowledge beforehand.

That said, it hardly seems likely that, should Johnson have wanted the Warren Commission to say Oswald acted alone, he would have been shy about letting his feelings be known. It is indisputable that, once he became President, the Senate's investigation into the crimes of his close associate Bobby Baker slowed to a halt. It is also indisputable that a January 10, 1964 phone conversation between Johnson and Senator George Smathers captured the two men discussing the investigation and figuring out how

to get the Republican Senators pushing the investigation to "behave". Irregardless of whether Johnson passively or actively pushed a cover-up, however, it is clear that an inadequate investigation occurred on his watch. It took the United States 90 years to correct its official view on slavery; one can only hope the government's forthcoming admission it erred on the Kennedy assassination will not take as long.

But in the meantime, I'm hopeful I've been able to show those who habitually claim there's just not one "scintilla" of evidence for a conspiracy that there is, in fact, a whole boatload of scintillas. No, scratch that, a flotilla of scintillas. If nothing else, I pray my efforts have lessened the chances of anyone taking the "not one scintilla" argument seriously. In Latin, scintilla means spark. If the evidence in this presentation has sparked your curiosity, then you should conclude there is a scintilla of evidence.

For those of you still in denial, in this presentation, it has been demonstrated that:

1. There was a verifiable lack of interest by the FBI in uncovering the facts of Kennedy's autopsy.
2. The drawings of Kennedy's wounds prepared by the autopsy doctors and presented to the Warren Commission were made without the use of the doctors' measurements of the President's wound locations. They presented a grossly distorted picture of Kennedy's wounds. This distorted picture, moreover, helped sell the single-assassin conclusion. During his testimony, Dr. Humes misled the Commission about the use of measurements in creating these drawings. This seems more than a coincidence.
3. There was a verifiable lack of interest on the part of the Warren Commission in determining the facts regarding the President's wounds, and how these related to the possibility of conspiracy.
4. The assassination re-enactment on May 24, 1964 was deliberately not as accurate as it could have been, in ways that indicate it was designed not to uncover the likelihood of the single-bullet theory, but merely whether it was remotely possible.
5. Warren Commission counsel Arlen Specter elicited knowingly false testimony about this re-enactment from Secret Service Agent Thomas Kelley. This false testimony obscured the fact that Specter and Kelley had used the autopsy photos to determine the location of the President's back wound in order to best test the possibility a bullet entering this location from a rifle in the sniper's nest could exit the President's neck wound and go on to hit Governor Connally in his right armpit. That no photos of the location used were entered into evidence, and that Kelley falsely claimed they'd used the drawings created by the doctors in order to establish this location, suggests that both men were in fact engaged in a massive deception. Perjury and subornation of perjury.
6. A report was created in 1967 that misrepresented the autopsy photos of the President at the very time CBS News was pressuring the administration to create a report confirming that these photographs supported the conclusions of the Warren Commission.
7. When interviewed for the subsequent CBS TV special by Dan Rather, Dr. Humes lied and claimed the autopsy photos he'd recently viewed confirmed the wound locations on the inaccurate drawings he'd provided the Warren Commission. He later provided the ARRB with documents proving that this lie was included on a list of "talking points" provided him by the Justice Dept. in anticipation of his interview.
8. Another report on the medical evidence was created in 1968, and released in the final days of the Johnson Administration. This report is clearly inaccurate in its assertion that Kennedy's back wound was well-above his throat wound. Its re-appraisal of the President's head wounds is also in conflict with the published autopsy photos and X-rays.
9. This incorrect appraisal of the head wound was seconded by the HSCA Forensic Pathology Panel in

1979. To support their conclusions a number of contradictory exhibits were presented.

10. Dr. Michael Baden presented an important exhibit to the HSCA upside down, and inaccurately depicted the President's head wounds to the committee. He made statements in his testimony that, when compared to the pathology report created by his panel, reflected his total confusion about Kennedy's head wounds. He also misled the committee about Dr. Humes' Warren Commission testimony about the head wounds.

11. The enhanced X-rays as presented by the HSCA were cropped in a suspicious manner, with areas of supreme interest in the un-enhanced x-ray, the occipital region of the skull and the upper cervical region of the neck, deliberately excluded.

12. The interpretations of the autopsy photos and x-rays by the HSCA's various panels and consultants were frequently in disagreement with each other. The committee for the most part ignored these conflicts, and presented the reports of the consultants as if they had all been accepted by the committee. While this may have spared the doctors some embarrassment, it left an extremely confusing public record.

13. The X-rays as presented included fractures and fragments that were in conflict with the HSCA's conclusions on the head wounds. While some of these items of interest were acknowledged by the HSCA's radiology consultants, they were left unexplained by the pathology panel.

14. The HSCA's trajectory analysis was conducted against the advice of both its forensic pathology panel and wound ballistics expert and presented false depictions of both Governor Connally's position in the car at Zapruder frame 190, and President Kennedy's posture at frame 313. These false representations supported the committee's conclusions on the single-bullet theory and its assertion that Oswald fired all the bullets striking Kennedy. The "expert" leading this analysis, furthermore, testified that he'd used the precise measurements of Kennedy's skull while creating exhibits depicting the bullet trajectory through Kennedy's skull, but then changed these measurements after he was told the bullet entrance was in a different location. This is clear-cut evidence, proof even, that his "analysis" was a fraud created to tell the public the bullets were all fired from the school book depository sniper's nest.

15. The conclusions of the bullet lead analysis performed on behalf of the HSCA were almost certainly incorrect and were undoubtedly in conflict with the earlier and subsequent writings of its author. These conclusions were also in conflict with the guidelines of the FBI in place at that time.

16. The exhibit titles and testimony of the HSCA's wound ballistics expert were changed in such a manner as to disguise that he'd been studying the wound ballistics of subsonic ammunition. This was apparently done on purpose and without his knowledge.

17. The single-bullet theory simulations and recreations shown on TV in recent years have all been deceptive in one way or another. None of them present the proportions of Kennedy and the locations of his wounds accurately. They are quite often deceptive about Connally's position in the limousine as well. Even worse, neither the Warren Commission, nor any of the subsequent medical panels, nor any of the television programs defending the single-bullet theory, have demonstrated the internal passage of the magic bullet through Kennedy and, specifically, how this bullet evaded bone.

18. The autopsy photos and x-rays available on the internet, whose authenticity has been acknowledged by several of those who've inspected the originals, reveal an entrance on the skull right where the autopsy doctors said it was. I am at a loss to explain why so many men who've viewed the originals of these photos and x-rays, lone-nut theorist and conspiracy theorist alike, including the autopsy doctors themselves, have failed to notice this entrance. If this failure is due purely to human error, then perhaps many of the suspicious "mistakes" listed above are not so suspicious at all. Perhaps the level of competence we expect from our "experts" is simply unrealistic.

Or perhaps I am simply wrong in my appraisal of these photos and x-rays. That's certainly possible. So let's take one last look... And decide, once and for all. Here are two GIF files put together by John Mytton, and posted on the JFK Assassination Forum, which show both that the autopsy photos taken from various angles show the large head wound to be in the same place, and that there is a small hole on the back of the head near the hairline.



Do you see this hole, which is at the 1 o'clock position from the brain matter by the hairline, or not?

And is the head tilted back in this photo, or not?

And, when the tilt of the head is corrected in your interpretation of this photo, does the hole at the 1 o'clock position correlate to the level of the middle part of the ear, or not?

And is the hole at the level of the middle part of the ear in this photo within a few cms of the location of the hole on Kennedy's skull recalled by Dr.s Humes and Boswell, and depicted on Warren Commission CE 386 (below), or not?

If not, well, then, perhaps I'm wrong about these photos...

But am I wrong about all of this?

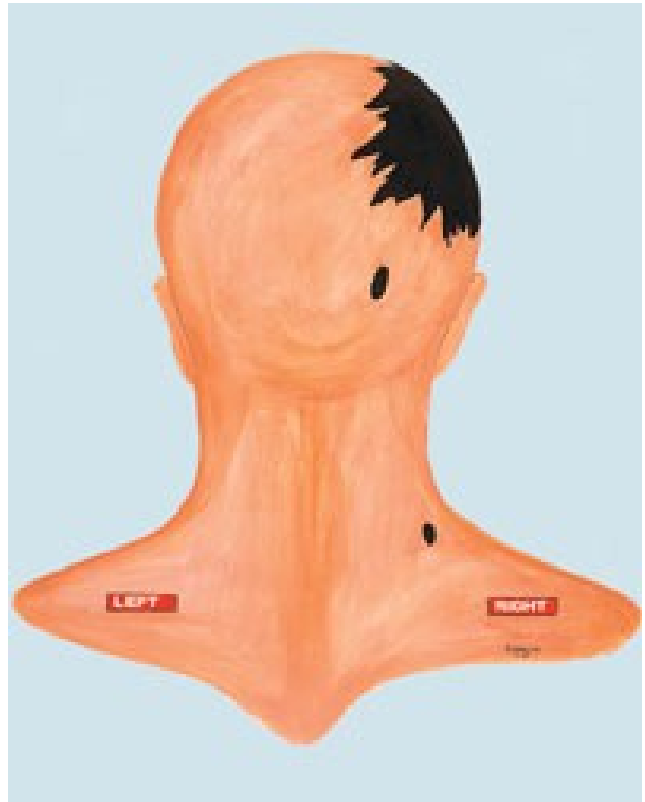
Has my Gump-like quest been in vain?

Chapter 21: Rorschach Test

"Sinister" and "Obscene"

At 2:38 PM CST on 11-22-63, the day President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, just moments after Kennedy's successor Lyndon Johnson pressured Kennedy's widow Jacqueline Kennedy, still wearing her husband's blood and brains on her clothes, to stand beside him at a completely unnecessary swearing-in ceremony (an act Godfrey McHugh, the General in charge of Air Force One--the site of the swearing-in--said was "*obscene*"), Johnson turned to his right, and looked to his long-time political ally, Texas Congressman Albert Thomas. Thomas rewarded him with a wink and a smile.

Now this unguarded moment could have been lost to history, except for one fact: it was captured on film by White House photographer Cecil Stoughton. Stoughton would later tell writer Richard Trask that when he first looked at the photo he saw "*an enigmatic expression which could be innocent, or sinister, and I have leaned to the latter.*" Trask himself would note that the negative to Stoughton's



"Sinister" and "Obscene"



On Air Force One, immediately after being sworn in as the 36th President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson turned to his long-time crony, Texas Congressman Albert Thomas. As captured in this photo, Thomas gave him a wink and a smile. When asked about this wink, the White House Photographer taking this photo, Cecil Stoughton, acknowledged that it could have been "innocent, or sinister, and I have leaned to the latter." Johnson's own behavior was also questioned. The man in charge of Air Force One, General Godfrey McHugh, complained that Johnson's behavior aboard the plane had been "obscene".

photo of the "wink" *"may have been excluded from those given over to the Johnson Library, due to what someone may have construed as its picturing what the public might perceive as a seemingly inappropriate gesture."* He claimed that it is now, from what he can tell, *"missing."*

Trask should be a politician. Kennedy's trip to Texas, the site of his murder, was built around an honorary dinner for Albert Thomas. It was held the night before the assassination. The "missing" negative shows Thomas winking at President Johnson just as Johnson becomes the most powerful man in the world, mere hours after his predecessor, a man whom he'd routinely and viciously insulted but a few years before, and a man who came to Texas in part to honor the terminally-ill Thomas, had been murdered. As a result, people looking at the "wink" photo don't think "Hmmm, what an inappropriate gesture..." No, they think, "Hmmm, I wonder if something happened there that we're not supposed to know about..."

Particularly in that the negative didn't disappear in transit to the Johnson Library, but sometime before, during Johnson's presidency, and almost certainly on orders of someone close to Johnson... By early 1967, word had gotten out that William Manchester's upcoming book *The Death of a President* would criticize Johnson's behavior on the plane. As a result, those loyal to Johnson were looking for ways to combat the image of Johnson presented in both the book and the soon to be released serialization of the book in *Look Magazine*. Well, the easiest way to do that was to attack Manchester's mistakes. Perhaps the worst of these mistakes was Manchester's embarrassing assertion Kennedy's aides boycotted the swearing-in ceremony on the plane. This mistake was embarrassing, not to Johnson, but to Manchester, moreover, as the (previously unreleased) photos of the swearing in ceremony showed most all of Kennedy's aides on the plane to have been in attendance.

It seems clear, then, that the Johnson Administration decided to strike back. The presence of Kennedy's aides in the photos of the ceremony was first mentioned in the *Boston Globe* and *New York Times*, just prior to Manchester's claim in the 2-21-67 *Look* that they'd boycotted the ceremony. The 2-24-67 issue of *Time Magazine* then published these photos. The article on these photos--and Manchester's inaccurate claim Kennedy's aides had boycotted the ceremony--asserted: *"All of the photographer's take—the full existing photographic record of what happened that day on Air Force One—are printed on the following two pages."* The "wink" photo was, no surprise, not included. Thus, the photo was no longer part of the *"full existing photographic record"* in February 1967.

Thus, outside the copy negative made from an original print found and published by David Lifton in 1980, it no longer existed.

And the suspicious disappearance of this photo and negative is just a drop in the bucket compared to what else one can discover when studying Johnson's behavior in the aftermath of the assassination.

Yes, I admit it. It took me many years to get here (I began writing this book in 2004, and I'm writing this section in 2012) but I now believe Lyndon Johnson had a role in Kennedy's murder. I don't pretend to know what this role was--whether he was the instigator, or merely the guy asked to cover it up afterwards--but his involvement to me seems likely.

There was no single factor in my coming to this conclusion. My sense of Johnson's guilt built up within me over time. And not from reading conspiracy literature, either. From reading statement after statement of Johnson's which I came to suspect was untrue--and from listening to conversation after conversation of Johnson's in which it seemed likely he was lying--and from reading defenses of Johnson by historians in which they sugar-coated his constant lying by saying he was only saying things "for effect," I came to distrust the man. The grandfatherly presence on my TV when I was a child

was really a pathological liar, obsessed with his role in history, and convinced others were out to deny him his proper role.

Not all liars are killers, of course. But my conclusion there was more than one shooter leads me to suspect there was a conspiracy...and Johnson's setting up a commission in part to clear himself makes me wonder if he was involved...and his actions in the immediate aftermath of the killing--and subsequent excuses for those actions--make me think he had something to hide...

Let us then discuss Johnson's behavior on 11-22-63. What he did, and why...

Now, look into this Rorschach blot...and tell me what you see...

The Waiting

On **11-22-1963**, shortly before **1:00 PM CST**, President John F. Kennedy was pronounced dead in Parkland Hospital, Dallas, Texas. Within moments, his successor, Lyndon Johnson, who was also in the hospital, decided to return to Washington. Although his bodyguards told Johnson he should get in the air immediately, there was instead a significant delay. As a result, Johnson spent the second chaotic hour of his presidency on Air Force One, waiting around on the tarmac in Dallas.

The cause of this delay? Johnson himself. The reasons for this delay? Well, for many, they remain as shrouded in mystery as they were on the day of the assassination.

But who doesn't love a good mystery? Now let's explore the record regarding this delay.

First up is a witness who, according to writer William Manchester (who interviewed this witness on 6-15-64) started taking notes on the events of 11-22-63 while waiting at the hospital. Eight days later, she committed her recollections to tape. The transcription of her tape, as provided the Warren Commission on 7-16-64, relates that after Kennedy Aide Kenneth O'Donnell told Vice-President Lyndon Johnson *"The President is dead."* and Acting Press Secretary Mac Kilduff addressed Johnson as *"Mr. President"*, *"It was decided that we would go immediately to the airport. Quick plans were made about how to get to the car, who to ride in what...When we got to the airplane, we entered airplane No. 1 for the first time...On the plane, all the shades were lowered. Lyndon said that we were going to wait for Mrs. Kennedy and the coffin. There was discussion about when Lyndon should be sworn in as President. There was a telephone call to Washington--I believe to the Attorney General. It was decided that he should be sworn in in Dallas as quickly as possible because of international implications, and because we did not know how widespread this incident was as to intended victims. Judge Sarah Hughes, a Federal Judge in Dallas--and I am glad it was she--was called to come in a hurry. Mrs. Kennedy had arrived by this time, and the coffin..."*

This witness, as you've probably surmised, was Lyndon Johnson's wife, Lady Bird Johnson. Note that her husband's decision to wait for Mrs. Kennedy was announced on the plane, and not before. Note as well that Mrs. Kennedy had *"arrived"* by the time Judge Hughes was told *"to come in a hurry."* This suggests either that she'd come onto the plane before Johnson spoke to Hughes or had, at the very least, pulled up outside.

This second scenario is supported, moreover, by our second witness. Johnson secretary Marie Fehmer's typed-up notes on what happened on the plane before Mrs. Kennedy's arrival are of particular interest, and are reproduced in full. The ellipses reproduced come from the typed-up notes. They read *"1:40 P.M. Arrive Air Force One. Go into bedroom of plane to use phone.* (Note: this is presumably a

reference to Johnson's going into the room alone.) *The President had talked to McGeorge Bundy via WH line before I got there. When I walked in, the President looked up and said 'Write this down as what has happened. I talked to the Attorney General...Asked him what we should do...where I should take the oath...here or there...said he would like to look into it...and would notify me whether we should take it here or not... McGeorge Bundy and Walter called me...thought we should come to Washington as soon as could. Told them I was waiting for the body and Mrs. Kennedy. The Attorney General interrupted the conversation to say that I ought to have a judicial officer administer the oath here.'* Then I tried to get Waddy Bullion for the President...he was out of his office. Called Judge Sarah Hughes' office...they said she was not there. The President said that he'd talk to anyone in her office. He got on the phone and told the person at the other end that he needed someone to administer the oath...and to find her...and to get her to Love Field. Judge Hughes called in at 2:02--said she could get to the plane in ten minutes. The President left the bedroom in the plane--where above had taken place--and came into the stateroom to wait Mrs. Kennedy's arrival and to join Mrs. Johnson, J. Valenti, Cong. Thornberry, Cong. Brooks, Cong. Thomas, Rufus Yongblood and MF. Mrs. Kennedy arrived at 2:02 with the body. She was met by the President and Mrs. Johnson and comforted."

Ms. Fehmer's notes further detail that Johnson was finally sworn in at 2:40. As this was two minutes past what would come to be the official time for the swearing-in, one might presume that the clock or watch upon which Miss Fehmer was relying was not 10 or 12 minutes slow, as some might wish to believe, but was, if anything, two minutes fast. This suggests, then, that Mrs. Kennedy actually arrived at 2:00.

Hmmm... The 11-29-63 Secret Service report of one of Johnson's bodyguards, Jerry Kivett, further relates that Acting Press Secretary "Malcolm Kilduff asked me to inquire of the Vice President if he wanted any press to go back on the plane with him. I inquired of the Vice President his wishes in this matter and he said yes, let me talk to Kilduff. I then asked Kilduff to come in and talk to the Vice President. About this time we received word that Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body were on the way. During the discussions that took place in the State Room, the Vice President stated that he had talked with the Attorney General and they agreed that the Vice President should take the oath of office of President of the United States as soon as possible. The Vice President added that he had been able to contact Judge Sarah T. Hughes and she would be at the plane in 10 minutes to administer the oath of office. About this time Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body arrived at the airplane." Well, heck, this suggests that Johnson knew his swearing-in would delay Mrs. Kennedy's departure from Dallas well before the arrangements for his swearing-in had been finalized.

It's actually worse than that. Shortly after the assassination, apparently in December, 1963, Westinghouse put out a 2 album compilation of news reports and discussion regarding the assassination and its aftermath. This was entitled November 22: Dialogue in Dallas. One of the contributors to this album was Malcolm Kilduff. The 2003 book *President Kennedy Has Been Shot* quotes Kilduff from this album, as follows: "As soon as I got to the plane, Jim Swindal, the President's pilot, said 'The President has been looking for you.' I walked in and I talked to the President. He said, 'Mac, I've got to get sworn in here in Dallas. We're trying to get hold of the judge.'" Well, hold it right there. Kilduff left the hospital in the same caravan as Mrs. Kennedy and the body, and arrived at Air Force One just afterward. He almost certainly walked up the steps at the front of the plane while the coffin was being loaded in the back of the plane. So Kivett's recollections were a bit foggy. Johnson had almost certainly received word "Mrs Kennedy and the President's body were on the way" before Kilduff's arrival, and not afterward. This makes Kilduff's quoting of Johnson even more intriguing... He said Johnson told him upon his arrival (presumably a few minutes after Mrs. Kennedy's arrival) that he was trying to get hold of the judge--not that they'd talked to Sarah Hughes and she was on her way. Well, this suggests that Mrs. Kennedy arrived before Judge Hughes called in, and not after.

And this wasn't the only indication this was so. For his book, *The Death of a President*, ultimately released in 1967, William Manchester interviewed Maj. General Chester Clifton, Kennedy's military aide, four times, on 4-21-64, 8-21-64, 1-22-65, and 5-28-65. He interviewed Johnson assistant Jack Valenti two times, on 6-5-64 and 4-26-65. And interviewed White House photographer Cecil Stoughton on 4-27-64. Well, surprise surprise, Manchester gathered from these interviews that, upon Mrs. Kennedy and the body's arrival on the plane, Kenneth O'Donnell had dispatched Maj. General Clifton, who'd traveled in the Kennedy caravan from Parkland, to the front of the plane to find out why the plane was not preparing to take off. In Manchester's account, Clifton was surrounded by Valenti, Stoughton, and Congressman Homer Thornberry, who told him "*We can't go yet,*" and "*We've got to find a federal judge.*"

Yeah, you got it. "*We've got to find,*" not "*we are waiting for.*"

And there's more. In November 1969, the Dallas Chief of Police on the day of the shooting, Jesse Curry, published a short book, *JFK Assassination File*, comprising some of the Dallas police records regarding the shooting, and his personal recollections. Curry had driven the lead car in the motorcade, and had driven Johnson to Air Force One after the shooting. He had stood outside Air Force One to "*direct security operations*" and had witnessed the swearing-in ceremony. And yet, in his book, Curry described the arrival of Mrs. Kennedy and her husband's body, and then claimed "*A short time later I was informed that President Johnson would take the oath of office before leaving Dallas. At that moment, respected U.S. Federal Judge Sarah T. Hughes was already en route to Love Field for that purpose.*" Hmmmm...Curry was directing the security around the plane. If Judge Hughes had called in before Mrs. Kennedy's arrival, wouldn't they have told him about this right away?

It seems likely, then, that Marie Fehmer's notes--which suggest that Mrs. Kennedy arrived just after Judge Hughes called in--were somewhat misleading, and that she actually arrived just before Judge Hughes called in.

In any event, it's reasonable to conclude from all this that Johnson left for the plane without an announced plan, then decided to wait for, first, the body and Mrs. Kennedy, then second, Judge Hughes. The 11-29-63 report of Johnson bodyguard Jerry Kivett also reflects that, upon leaving Parkland and arriving at Air Force One, "*There followed a series of conferences between the Vice President, Congressman Homer Thornberry, Congressman Jack Brooks, and Albert Thomas... I do not recall what necessarily was discussed and at one time or another various members of the White House staff came back to the State Room to talk to the Vice President. It was decided that the plane would remain and wait for Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body.*" And Kivett wasn't alone in his suggestion the decision was made on the plane. The 11-29-63 report of Kennedy bodyguard John Ready reflects that he traveled to the airport with the Johnson entourage, and that "*Upon my arrival at Love Field I boarded the Presidential Aircraft (USAF#I), expecting to depart immediately. It was at this time that I was notified that Mrs. Kennedy and the late President were returning to Washington, D.C. on this plane.*"

The reports of the agents traveling with President Kennedy's body largely support Kivett's and Ready's recollections. None of them mention that they expected Johnson to be waiting for them when they approached the plane. In his 11-29-63 report, Roy Kellerman, the agent-in-charge of the Presidential detail in Dallas, who stayed behind with Mrs. Kennedy at Parkland when Johnson left for the airport, declared: "*The Vice President and Mrs. Johnson had preceded us with Roberts' shift to the airport and when we had arrived, the field had been secured and we rushed to AF 26000. All available special agents carried the casket from the ambulance up the rear steps and placed it in the rear section of the plane. When we boarded the plane, Vice President Johnson and his party were aboard the plane.*" It's subtle, but the implication is that Johnson's presence on the plane came as a surprise.

That this was indeed the case is supported, moreover, by Kellerman's subsequent statements. He was interviewed by author William Manchester on 11-17-64 and 5-12-65. In Manchester's book, it is presented that Kellerman was not only not told that Johnson was leaving the hospital, but that Kellerman was surprised and disappointed to find Johnson on Kennedy's plane. The reason for his disappointment? According to Manchester, Kellerman had a fresh shift of agents ready to take over from the shift that had just lost Kennedy. He'd assumed Johnson would be flying out on his own plane, however, and had ordered this shift to meet Johnson there. Upon arrival at Kennedy's plane, then, and seeing Johnson, Kellerman realized that the tired morning shift traveling with Kennedy's body would have to stay on for a few more hours, only now protecting Johnson.

Of course, the public was told none of this in the days after the shooting. No, what the public got instead were articles like the one found in the **11-23-63** New York Times, written by Tom Wicker the day before, in which Mrs. Kennedy was reported to have left the hospital *"about 2 P.M.,"* and in which the setting then switched to Johnson's swearing-in ceremony, which was *"delayed about five minutes for Mrs. Kennedy's arrival."* The effect of this juxtaposition, of course, made it appear the ceremony was all set to go before Mrs. Kennedy arrived on the plane, but then held up so Mrs. Kennedy could be in attendance.

This, as we know, was just not true. The AP's article on the swearing-in, however, was equally misleading. The version found in the 11-23-63 Sarasota Herald-Tribune (a morning paper) reads: *"The new chief executive repeated the oath in a low, but firm, voice at 1:38 p.m. Central Standard Time."* It then filled in some details: *Dallas Police Chief "Curry had driven Johnson to the airport about 40 minutes before the ceremony. Their destination was not announced when Johnson left the hospital where Kennedy died. White House officials said it was kept secret for security reasons. Johnson decided to delay his swearing-in ceremony until Mrs. Kennedy arrived. She came at 2:18 p.m. when the president's body was brought to the plane. When newsman boarded, Johnson was in a conference room with three Democratic congressmen from Texas--Homer Thornberry, Albert Thomas, and Jack Brooks."* The article then detailed how the swearing-in was further delayed while Mrs. Kennedy composed herself. It even noted that while Johnson was waiting for Mrs. Kennedy, he saw Kennedy's secretary Evelyn Lincoln in the crowd, and kissed her hand. (Note: this last bit seems curious. If it actually happened, it was probably just for show. Johnson and Evelyn Lincoln distrusted and disliked each other--to such an extent on her part that she considered him the top suspect in Kennedy's murder, and to such an extent on his part that he asked her to clean out her desk the next morning.)

And, yes, you read that right. According to the earliest reports of the AP, the largest news service in 1963, the swearing-in of President Johnson was at 1:38 CST, after having been delayed by Mrs. Kennedy, who arrived at 2:18. Well, the only way to read this is that the "2:18" was EST--the time in Sarasota. This would set Mrs. Kennedy's arrival at 1:18 p.m. CST, and 20 minutes before the swearing-in took place.

Now, here's where it gets interesting. The only reporters to fly back on the plane were from Newsweek and AP's rival, United Press International. Perhaps, then, this article was built upon the briefing in Dallas by Westinghouse TV newsman Sid Davis, who'd witnessed the swearing-in, and stayed behind in Dallas to brief the rest of the press corps. But there's a problem with this. Davis reached the plane after Mrs. Kennedy. So where did the AP get that Mrs. Kennedy arrived at the plane at 2:18? It seems likely, then, that this time came courtesy the same *"Washington officials"* telling the AP the secrecy around Johnson's departure was for *"security reasons."*

And that's but the half of it. A subsequent version of the story--this one found in the Miami News (an evening paper)--changed bits and pieces of the story, but still screwed up the most important fact in the

story--the time of the swearing-in ceremony. This article started off by describing the swearing-in itself; it then went back and described the events leading up to the swearing-in. It reported: *"The new chief executive repeated the oath in a low but firm voice at 2:38 p.m. Miami time."* It then detailed: *"Police Chief Curry had driven Mr. Johnson to the airport about 40 minutes before the ceremony. For security reasons their destination was not announced when Mr. Johnson left the hospital where Mr. Kennedy died. Mr. Johnson decided to delay his swearing-in ceremony until Mrs. Kennedy arrived. She did when the President's body was taken to the plane."* It then repeated the information about the newsmen coming aboard to find Johnson talking with the Texas congressmen, and the swearing-in's being delayed by Mrs. Kennedy.

Note that the time previously provided for Mrs. Kennedy's arrival had vanished. Had someone realized that the time provided--2:18--meant (if one interprets it as being EST) that Johnson's departure wasn't actually delayed by Mrs. Kennedy, or (if one interprets it as being CST) that the time provided for the swearing-in earlier in the article (2:38 Miami time) was inaccurate?

And the AP wasn't alone in its confusion. Yes, in a surprising congruence, AP and UPI made the same mistake on 11-23-63; both news services made it seem as though Johnson had held up his departure for Mrs. Kennedy, instead of what had actually happened--that he'd delayed Mrs. Kennedy's departure so he could be sworn-in. Yes, in yet another nationally syndicated article, found in the Central Oregon Bulletin, UPI's Merriman Smith reported that after being sworn-in, Johnson *"turned and kissed his wife on the cheek, giving her shoulders a squeeze. Then he put his arm around Mrs. Kennedy, kissing her gently on her right cheek. Johnson had deliberately delayed the ceremony to give Kennedy's widow time to compose herself for one of the grueling aspects of her husband's assassination. The ceremony took only two minutes. As members of the group of 27 persons jammed in the compartment started to shake his hand, Johnson seemed to back away. 'Now, let's get airborne,' he said."* Note that Smith went out of his way to describe the sweet gentle manner in which Johnson treated Mrs. Kennedy. He failed to report that Johnson had just forced Mrs. Kennedy--a woman who'd just witnessed her husband's head get blown off, and then held his brains in her hands--to sit around on a hot, sweaty plane for half an hour, only to be used as a prop in a photo op. In fact, in a recorded account of the swearing in found on youtube, Smith indicated the opposite--that Mrs. Kennedy's arrival had held up Johnson's ceremony. He described the arrival of Judge Hughes, and then and only then described the arrival of the casket at the back of the plane, Mrs. Kennedy's taking a moment to compose herself in the bedroom, and her dramatic appearance at Johnson's side. Yucch, and double yucch. And, yes, Virginia, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of the assassination and swearing-in.

And the confusion about the swearing-in was not confined to the timing of the swearing-in. An **11-25-63** article in the Houston Post (reported nationwide by the Associated Press) suggested that Robert Kennedy was responsible for Johnson's delay in leaving Dallas. The article, written by the paper's editor, William Hobby, Jr., a political crony of Johnson's, with a close working relationship with Johnson's freshly-hired assistant, Jack Valenti, related that Johnson had spoken to Robert Kennedy by phone from Air Force One, and that the two had agreed both that Johnson should be sworn in immediately, and that he should not leave Dallas before taking the oath.

This did not go unnoticed. In his 1976 book on Johnson, *A Very Human President*, Valenti admitted that he passed Robert Kennedy in a hall in early 1964, and that Kennedy warned him *"I don't appreciate the leaks coming from the White House and from you. I suggest you cut it out."* Although Valenti then claimed *"I could not for the life of me pinpoint any specific story Bobby was referring to,"* Max Holland, in his book *The Kennedy Assassination Tapes*, concludes it was the Houston Post story on the swearing-in. Holland is probably right about this. Houston was Valenti's home town. He'd had a

newspaper column at the Post for years. He was hired on the spot by Johnson at the hospital, and he flew with Johnson on Air Force One to Washington. His specialty, moreover, was public relations. It only makes sense, then, that Robert Kennedy would think the Post story came from Valenti.

Perhaps, then, Valenti failed to realize why this story would be so upsetting to Kennedy. Perhaps he'd failed to realize that, as Robert Kennedy would subsequently confide, he'd never "agreed" with Johnson that Johnson should be sworn-in in Dallas, and had merely failed to voice an objection.

It's clear, then, that Robert Kennedy had good cause to be angry. Not only had Johnson unnecessarily delayed Mrs. Kennedy's departure from Dallas, he'd been successful in keeping this from the public, and in offering up an excuse should this come to light--an excuse in which Robert Kennedy could be held responsible for the delay.

This led to a rift. While researching his book *Mutual Contempt* (1997) at the Johnson Library, Jeff Shesol discovered two memos regarding an **11-27-63** conversation between President Johnson and Robert Kennedy. According to Robert Kennedy's 1964 oral history interviews for the Kennedy Library, Sargent Shriver, Kennedy's brother-in-law, had told Johnson aide Bill Moyers that the Kennedys were unhappy with Johnson's behavior since the shooting, and Moyers had told this to Johnson. In an attempt to clear the air, then, Johnson requested a meeting. As discussed by Shesol, the first memo, presumably written by Moyers, outlined the topics to be discussed. The very first point to be discussed read as follows: *"The question of the plane's departure. Is it true that LBJ said the plane couldn't take off until he was sworn in? Did Johnson hold up the departure? Why?"* Next on this list was Johnson's treatment of Mrs. Lincoln. The second memo, apparently on the conversation itself, reflected that Johnson had tried to convince Kennedy that the plane *"took off as soon as Jackie got there."* Hmm...this is the same falsehood reported by the Associated Press. Was Johnson--or someone working for Johnson--their source? In any event, if this memo is correct, and Johnson really said this, well then, Robert Kennedy's subsequent actions should not come as much of a surprise--he admitted in his oral history that he didn't feel much like seeing Johnson after this discussion, and did not, in fact, talk to him for several months.

And should one doubt Robert Kennedy's opinion of Johnson was so low that he'd avoid him for months at a time, one should consider that on 2-27-65, in an oral history interview for the Kennedy Library, Kennedy told historian Arthur Schlesinger both that his brother had denounced Johnson on November 21, 1963, the night before the shooting, as one *"incapable of telling the truth,"* and that his own experience with Johnson had borne this out. According to Kennedy, Johnson had tried to convince him at a dinner in 1962 that he'd never actually wanted to be President. Kennedy then added *"my experience with him since then is that he lies all the time. I'm telling you, he just lies continuously, about everything. In every conversation I have with him, he lies. As I've said, he lies even when he doesn't have to."*

But that is neither here nor there. For now. At this stage we need only realize that this question--the question of whether or not Johnson had held up Mrs. Kennedy--and how long she was held up as a result of his decision to be sworn in in Dallas--was at the center of a Johnson/Kennedy rift on 11-27-63, and may very well have been on the minds of the Secret Service agents writing reports over the next few days.

It's undoubtedly intriguing, then, that the **11-29** and **11-30-63** reports of Secret Service agents Roy Kellerman, Paul Landis, Winston Lawson, and Clint Hill reflect that Mrs. Kennedy left Parkland Hospital at 2:04 and that these same reports of agents Landis, Lawson, and Hill reflect that she arrived

at Air Force One at 2:14 or 2:15, and came aboard with her husband's casket at 2:18. If accurate, this cuts the length of Mrs. Kennedy's wait on the plane considerably. It also gives weight to the possibility Johnson thought Judge Hughes would be but minutes behind Mrs. Kennedy when he decided Mrs. Kennedy should wait for the swearing-in.

But something is just off. These reports reflect that it took 10 or 11 minutes to drive the 3 1/2 miles between the hospital and the airplane in a speeding hearse when the 11-22-63 notes of Johnson aide Cliff Carter and Marie Fehmer reflect that Johnson left Parkland at 1:35 and reached the plane at 1:40. These notes are supported, moreover, by the 11-29-63 report of agent Emory Roberts, who specified both that Johnson left at 1:35 and arrived at 1:40. I mean, really...does that make much sense? After interviewing most everyone aboard the Johnson and Kennedy caravans to the airport, William Manchester concluded, in *The Death of a President*, that the Kennedy party traveled "*at least as fast as the Johnson party.*" Why would this trip take the Kennedy party--who were purportedly racing toward the airport--10 or 11 minutes--a time suggesting they drove cautiously in the normal flow of traffic--when it took the Johnson party but 5'?

And so...the million dollar question... Did the agents claiming it took 10 or 11 minutes for Mrs. Kennedy to reach the plane fudge their data to help Johnson? Or is it just a coincidence that the reports of these agents reflect that Mrs. Kennedy arrived 12-13 minutes after Judge Hughes returned Johnson's call and said she would be there in 10 minutes?

These reports, it should be noted, were not just at odds with the notes taken by Johnson and Fehmer, but the 3-23-64 testimony of the Assistant Deputy Chief of the Dallas Police, M.W. Stevenson, before the Warren Commission. Stevenson, who escorted the hearse in which Mrs. Kennedy and the coffin containing her husband traveled to the airport, testified that they left the hospital "*About 1:40 or 1:50. It's got to be somewhere in there, because the body was not held at the hospital but a short while.*"

That Mrs. Kennedy had arrived within moments of Johnson's talking to Hughes--either before or after--is confirmed, we should recall, by the already discussed 11-29-63 report of Johnson bodyguard Jerry Kivett. Kivett claimed "*During the discussions that took place in the State Room, the Vice President stated that he had talked with the Attorney General and they agreed that the Vice President should take the oath of office of President of the United States as soon as possible. The Vice President added that he had been able to contact Judge Sarah T. Hughes and she would be at the plane in 10 minutes to administer the oath of office. About this time Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body arrived at the airplane.*"

Let's be clear about this. Marie Fehmer's notes--the accuracy of which we have some reason to doubt--reflect that Judge Hughes called in at 2:02 and said she'd be there in 10 minutes. If Johnson told Kivett "*she would be at the plane in 10 minutes*" and this was "*about*" the time of Mrs. Kennedy's arrival--which the other agents place around 2:14--well, then Johnson was telling Kivett that Judge Hughes would be there in 10 minutes at a time already past the time she'd said she'd arrive. And that makes no sense.

That Kivett--one of Johnson's own bodyguards--would write such a report, moreover, suggests that the other agents weren't lying, at least not deliberately. Perhaps, assuming they had actually arrived at 2:02, or 2:00, someone had told them they'd arrived at 2:14, or had suggested they add that into their reports. Perhaps they then did so, not realizing it could be used to help Johnson in his brewing war with Robert Kennedy. Or perhaps one of them was mistaken as to the time, and accidentally misled the others. The 3-9-64 testimony of Roy Kellerman before the Warren Commission reflects, intriguingly, that he received the 1:00 PM estimate for Kennedy's death from Kennedy's doctor, George Burkley. Perhaps Burkley had supplied him with the other times as well. Or perhaps Kellerman and the Kennedy detail had received their information from the same "*Washington official*" telling the AP Mrs. Kennedy had

reached the plane at 2:18.

Or perhaps Fehmer's notes were wrong about the "2:02"s provided for Hughes' call and Mrs. Kennedy's arrival.

And as long as we're playing "perhaps"... Perhaps Johnson had failed to subtract the minutes since his phone call with Hughes from the "10 minutes" he'd mentioned to Kivett... And perhaps Kivett had used the expression "about this time" in an equally sloppy manner. If so, Johnson could honestly have said Judge Hughes would be there in 10 minutes at 2:07, and Kivett could observe Mrs. Kennedy arrive "about that time" at 2:14. One just can't say for sure. But one can say for sure that even the timetable offered by the Secret Service agents in their 11-29 and 11-30 reports reflects that Mrs. Kennedy arrived at the plane at 2:14 or 2:15, that she came aboard after the casket was brought aboard at 2:18, and that the plane did not depart till 2:47, 29 minutes later, and 9 minutes after Johnson had been sworn in as President.

Conclusion number 1: Johnson's decision to be sworn in in Dallas had delayed Mrs. Kennedy's departure.

This fact was met with much resistance. On 11-29-63, an AP article by Frances Lewine on Mrs. Kennedy (found in the Telegraph Herald) reported that *"A little over an hour and a half after Kennedy had been taken to Parkland Hospital, his body was taken out a rear entrance. Mrs. Kennedy walked beside it and entered a cream colored ambulance for a police-escorted dash to the airport where the presidential jet plane waited to take the slain president home. Inside, 27 persons crowded into the gold-carpeted presidential compartment. Together, the Johnsons moved to press Mrs. Kennedy's hands in deep emotion as she arrived. Her first public appearance as the grieving widow was to stand there, blood stains still on her clothing, as Lyndon Johnson took the oath of office as President. It was mercifully short--just two minutes."* Well, heck. What nonsense. Mrs. Kennedy arrived on the plane well after 2:00, and the oath-taking commenced immediately? Judge Hughes was, by implication, already there, patiently waiting for Mrs. Kennedy.

An 11-30-63 article in the Deseret News presented a similar scenario. It held that a *"beige Cadillac hearse backed into the hospital ramp"* at 2:00, and was then loaded up with Kennedy's casket. The article then switched locations for its narrative to Air Force One and claimed *"The body of President Kennedy arrived about a half an hour later and was lifted aboard the big jet."* It then reported that Johnson was sworn-in aboard the plane at 2:38. Well, the net effect of this was to suggest (yet again) that Mrs. Kennedy arrived just prior to the swearing-in, and held up the swearing-in ceremony. Hmmm... Where did the approximate time for Mrs. Kennedy's arrival on the plane come from? Did someone provide the uncredited writer of this article false information, or did the writer of this article just guess the time of Mrs. Kennedy and the body's arrival, while assuming she'd arrived just before the swearing-in took place?

Other articles were equally curious. On 12-1-63, the Boston Globe ran an article on "Those Four Days That Changed History." It claimed: *"The casket was closed and wheeled from the hospital, Mrs. Kennedy walking beside it. Declining to ride with the driver she climbed into the rear of the hearse with her husband's body and rode back to the airport where they had been so warmly welcomed a few hours earlier. Even ahead of the hearse, Johnson had been hustled under tightest security to the airport. Now he was waiting in the presidential conference room aboard the big jet, jammed with 25 other persons into a room 12 by 15 feet. At 2:18 pm the hearse pulled up and the casket was lifted aboard the plane. Mrs. Kennedy followed it, and then was taken into the conference room where she stood to Johnson's left, Mrs. Johnson to his right. Standing before them was US District Judge Sarah T.*

Hughes, 67, summoned urgently by telephone from her office. With the huge fanjet engines already whining, Johnson placed his left hand on a small leather covered Bible, raised his right hand and had the 36 word oath of office' administered by Judge Hughes." Well, there it was again: 2:18. Where did this come from? And, more to the point, was the person telling agents and reporters the casket arrived at 2:18 the same person telling reporters Mrs. Kennedy boarded Air Force One, and walked right into the swearing-in ceremony?

And then there's this. On 1-19-64, the Boston Globe published a second account of Johnson's *"first hectic hours"* that made an even stranger mistake. It reported that, upon reaching Air Force One, Johnson's *"first order was to hold the plane on the ground until Mrs. Kennedy and the body of President Kennedy were ready. Plugged into the nose of the plane, as always, was a direct telephone connection to the White House in Washington. Through the White House switchboard, Mr. Johnson could reach anyone he needed. At 1:35 pm Mr. Johnson called Robert Kennedy at his home in Washington. The purpose of the call was both personal--to extend his condolences to the late President's brother--and official. Mr. Johnson wanted to know whether it would be legal to be sworn in at the Dallas airport before he flew to the capital. When the government's chief legal said it would be proper, Mr. Johnson decided to take the oath before take off. He reasoned that it would reassure the country and the world and would help stifle rumors that might otherwise have sprung up before he reached Washington. A second call went to Washington on behalf of Federal Judge Sarah Hughes, who had been summoned to swear in Mr. Johnson. Called from her home to the plane, she had no copy of the presidential oath. Carter called the Justice Department for it--and Deputy Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach dictated it at 1:45 pm out of a copy of the Constitution. Marie Fehmer typed it out and handed it to Judge Hughes. O'Brien told the President that Mrs. Kennedy wanted to be present at the oath-taking, and when all was ready she was called. At 2:38 pm, Mr. Johnson took the oath."*

Well, did you catch it? Beyond telling us that Johnson called Kennedy within minutes of his arrival on the plane--something that would later be proven untrue--and telling us that Robert Kennedy advised Johnson to be sworn-in in Dallas--something Kennedy would later deny--the article claimed that Marie Fehmer received the words to the oath of office at 1:45--and handed them to Judge Hughes. Well, this was, according to Marie Fehmer's notes, 17 minutes before Hughes had even left for the plane!

So what was going on here? Was some person or entity trying to hide that Judge Hughes had arrived after Mrs. Kennedy, and that Mrs. Kennedy's departure had been delayed as a result?

And that's not nearly the last article in which this simple fact was denied, or concealed. No, the most recent article I've found to deny Mrs. Kennedy's departure was held up by Judge Hughes was published years after the writers of the article should have known better. On 11-20-88, the Dallas Morning News published an extensive overview of the assassination and aftermath. It presented the events in chronological order. Consistent with the reports of the Secret Service, it presented Mrs. Kennedy's arrival at the plane at 2:15. This was not a surprise. What was surprising, even shocking, however, was that the previous entry in the timeline was *"2:12 p.m. Judge Hughes boards Air Force One."* Well, where did that come from? I've looked far and wide and have uncovered no reason to believe she arrived any earlier than 2:30. Perhaps someone working on this article had read Fehmer's notes claiming Hughes called in at 2:02 and said she'd be there in 10 minutes, and had accepted Hughes at her word.

Yes, the "2:12" in this article, 25 years after the assassination, remains a mystery. Could it really be that the people writing and editing this article were unaware that Johnson and Hughes' delay of Mrs. Kennedy had long since bubbled to the surface?

In the aftermath of the assassination, the Associated Press put together a book comprising its photos of the events of November 22-25, 1963, and a narrative describing these events, written by four of its reporters. This book, *The Torch is Passed*, sold upwards of a million copies in December 1963 and January 1964. About the delay of Air Force One's departure, the reporters related first that Mrs. Kennedy and those gathered around her husband's casket at the back of the plane failed to realize Johnson was on the plane until they asked why the plane had not taken off upon their arrival, and were told by Acting Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff that Johnson was on the plane and waiting to be sworn in as President. The reporters then defended Johnson's presence on the plane. They asserted: *"Lyndon Johnson rightfully occupied the very private presidential sanctum with its desk, easy chairs and twin beds. There at his elbow was the telephone that could connect him, through the plane's complex communications apparatus, with any sector of the globe. Already, Lyndon Johnson was using that phone. It was the one instrument at hand that enabled him to take a quick firm grip on the reins of government."*

But this was nonsense. I mean, really. This was the height of the cold war. If there was a problem with Kennedy's plane, would the President have been grounded? Of course not. If Kennedy's plane had been shot down, or the President incapacitated while overseas, would the Vice President have been forced to go without a plane? Of course not. It seems clear then that Johnson's plane was perfectly equipped to handle a crisis, and the writers of *The Torch is Passed* knew it, and were providing him with political cover.

Should one think the book pure propaganda, however, one should think again. After describing Mrs. Kennedy's arrival on the plane, and defending Johnson's taking over her bedroom, it reported: *"It was 30 minutes before Lady Bird Johnson arrived with U.S. District Judge Sarah T. Hughes..."* Well, this was incorrect on the first part--Mrs. Johnson arrived around the same time as her husband, albeit in a separate car--but it was almost certainly correct on the second. The swearing in took place at 2:38. Judge Hughes arrived just before this, around 2:30. If Mrs. Kennedy arrived 30 minutes before that it would mean she arrived around 2:00, the same time suggested for her arrival by Marie Fehmer's notes. Assuming Fehmer's notes were not its actual source, then, the timeline pushed in *The Torch is Passed* suggests Fehmer was indeed correct regarding the time of Mrs. Kennedy's arrival on the plane.

Conclusion number 2: the mainstream media was incredibly slow to recognize that Johnson's taking the oath had inconvenienced Mrs. Kennedy.

Conclusion number 3: Mrs. Kennedy reached the plane within a few minutes of Judge Hughes' calling in.

Conclusion number 4: the actual times of Mrs. Kennedy's arrival at the plane, and of Judge Hughes' calling in, are unclear.

Long Distance Runaround

We can now focus on two other points of contention: the roles of Robert Kennedy and Kennedy aide Kenneth O'Donnell in Johnson's decision to wait for Mrs. Kennedy at the airport, and fly home on the fallen president's plane.

In his 11-29-63 Secret Service report Kennedy bodyguard Emory Roberts relates that, after arriving at Parkland Hospital and checking on Kennedy's condition, *"I said in effect to the Vice President, in the*

presence of Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Cliff Carter, Executive Assistant to the Vice President and SAIC Youngblood, as well as others, that I did not think the President could make it and suggested that we get out of Dallas as soon as possible. We (SAIC Youngblood and myself) suggested that he (Vice President) think it over, as he would have to be sworn in. I suggested that we leave Dallas via AF 1, and SAIC Youngblood agreed and suggested that we return to the White House... One of the Special Agents assigned to Vice President Johnson called the airport and requested the Presidential plane to stand by to take Vice President Johnson to Washington, D.C...." Roberts then relates that, after escorting Mrs. Johnson to visit Mrs. Kennedy, and then returning to Johnson's side "I left again, this time upon request of the Vice President to double check with Mr. Kenneth O'Donnell if it would be O.K. for the Vice President to take AF 1 and return to Washington, D.C. I located Mr. O'Donnell in hallway and he said "yes." The Vice President was informed that Mr. O'Donnell stated that he could leave. The Vice President said in effect, that he didn't want to leave without the approval of a staff member or the Secret Service. At 1:15 p.m. (according to my watch) the Vice President, in the presence of Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Cliff Carter, SAIC Youngblood and others, was informed by me, that the President was dead. Vice President Johnson said to Mr. Carter to make a note of it and someone mentioned the time as 1:13 p.m. Mr. Malcolm Kilduff, Assistant Press Secretary to President Kennedy, came into the room about that time and it was decided that he would not release the death of the President, until the now President Johnson had left the hospital. 1:35 p.m. The now President Johnson, and I believe Mr. Cliff Carter, departed Parkland Hospital in an unmarked police car, accompanied by SAIC Youngblood."

The 11-29-63 report of Johnson bodyguard Rufus Youngblood further relates that after being told of Kennedy's death *"The Vice President was concerned about wanting to leave quickly as he had been advised to do, and which he now felt that he should, but he was also very much concerned about leaving without Mrs. Kennedy. It was finally agreed, at the advice of Mr. O'Donnell and others of us, that we would leave the hospital and go to AF-1 (President Kennedy's former airplane), with Mr. O'Donnell and others bringing Mrs. Kennedy as soon as they could remove the body."* Youngblood then reported that, upon Johnson's arrival on the plane, and his determination that the oath of office be administered on the plane, *"He also asked me to check on the status and location of Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body, and inform him of their estimated time of arrival."*

Note that at this early date Youngblood claimed merely that *"Mr. O'Donnell and others of us"* had advised Johnson to leave the hospital and go to Air Force One. This plan, it follows, was not necessarily O'Donnell's idea.

The 11-29-63 report of Johnson bodyguard Lem Johns, however, was more specific. After describing a discussion with Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry, Johns reported: *"I returned to the Vice President and ASAIC Youngblood and heard Ken O'Donnell inform Vice President Johnson that President Kennedy had died. To the best of my knowledge I believe that the Vice President learned from Mr. O'Donnell that Mrs. Kennedy was getting a casket, and would proceed as soon as she could to AF-1 for return to Washington, D.C., with President Johnson on the same plane."*

Well, hmmm. First note the phrase *"To the best of my knowledge I believe"*... This is the language one uses when testifying about something they want you to believe but about which they are unsure. Now note the awkward phrase *"with President Johnson on the plane,"* which has been added onto the otherwise fine *"Mrs. Kennedy was getting a casket, and would proceed as soon as she could to AF-1 for return to Washington, D.C."* Johns' words thereby suggest that someone--quite possibly the large Texan he was tasked with protecting--had asked him to make sure that his report included that O'Donnell had told Johnson to wait for Mrs. Kennedy on the plane. As we've seen, the delay of Mrs. Kennedy's departure from Dallas was the subject of a Robert Kennedy/Lyndon Johnson discussion but two days before. Perhaps Johnson had simply asked Johns *"You remember O'Donnell telling me that, don't cha?"* Perhaps Johns had simply been reluctant to say *"No, Mr. President, I don't recall that."*

Or perhaps Johns was just mistaken. This is all just guesswork, of course.

Still, it seems more than a coincidence that here, a few days after Johnson had failed to convince Robert Kennedy that Mrs. Kennedy's flight from Dallas had not been delayed at all, were three of his most trusted SS agents placing the blame for this delay on an old school chum of Robert Kennedy's: Kenneth O'Donnell. The implications for this are nightmarish, of course. One would like to think that members of the Secret Service were beyond playing politics, and would not let their reports be skewed by political considerations.

And one can find reasons to believe so. Rufus Youngblood was interviewed by writer William Manchester on 11-17-64. Lem Johns was interviewed by Manchester on 11-19-64. And Emory Roberts was interviewed by Manchester on both 12-4-64, and 4-26-65. Manchester's book, *The Death of a President*, was released in 1967. It offered that discussions and actions regarding Johnson's departure from Dallas were clouded by the belief among some there was only one plane at the airport. This was understandable. While waiting at Parkland, Johnson had discussed the usefulness of moving his plane from Love Field to Carswell Air Force Base, for security purposes. This never took place. But some of the agents apparently thought this had taken place. This led them to build their plans for an immediate get-away around Kennedy's plane, and to assume any discussion of a plane at Love Field was a discussion of Kennedy's plane. According to Manchester: *"It may be (as Roberts and Johns later came to believe) that the talk of Carswell had confused them, leading them to think the Vice-President's plane was being moved there."* He then countered *"It is equally possible that the agents, like the man they guarded, were drawn by the halo the press had given Angel."* Angel, of course, was the Secret Service's code name for Kennedy's plane.

Hmmm... So Manchester didn't readily accept Johns' and Roberts' explanation for why they steered Johnson to Kennedy's plane, and why they tried to blame it on O'Donnell.

He was correct not to do so. For, when one studies the bulk of the evidence, it seems clear a secret war was brewing between Johnson and the Kennedys, with the Secret Service in the crossfire... A memo found in the Johnson Library, and discussed by Max Holland in *The Kennedy Assassination Tapes*, reflects that on **12-14-63** General Godfrey McHugh, the Air Force General in charge of Air Force One on 11-22-63, and a close ally of the Kennedys, attempted to determine if the phone calls between Johnson and Robert Kennedy on the day of the shooting had been recorded. One can only assume, then, that Kennedy had asked McHugh to look into this, in an effort to both derail the already published claim Kennedy had told him to be sworn in in Dallas, and prove Johnson the liar he believed him to be. No tapes were found.

On **12-23-63**, however, Johnson's position was propped up for the public via a nationally syndicated article by Robert Buckhorn, of UPI. It was on the events at Parkland Hospital and Love Field as observed by Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff. According to the article (which I found in *The Modesto Bee*), Kilduff claimed that when he boarded Air Force One, *"Johnson revealed he had been in contact with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Kilduff quoted Johnson as saying 'They feel I should get sworn in here.'"* Well, there it was--the Assistant Press Secretary quoting Johnson himself, and indicating that Robert Kennedy and others had told Johnson to be sworn in in Dallas.

But, apparently, that wasn't enough for Johnson, who still worried about the loyalty of those around him. On **1-6-64**, at his home, Johnson's bodyguard Rufus Youngblood received a most unusual phone call. It was from Johnson, who was extremely angry about a memo he'd received, written by a former Kennedy staffer. (The name of this staffer is unknown, as the memo from which Johnson was reading has never been located... but it may very well have been Kenneth O'Donnell.) Johnson told Youngblood: *"I've received a memorandum that disturbs me, Rufus. I'll read you some of it. I'm alarmed at the situation that has developed between the President and the Secret Service. Morale in the*

Secret Service is at an all-time low. A number of the members of the White House detail are asking for transfers. This is a great body of men. These men feel they are being prevented from doing their job properly. These men do not want favors; they just want to be accepted. We need them badly, especially in campaign years. They must feel the President appreciates their efforts. If they do something wrong, they do not want to be reprimanded in public over a radio system which lots of people listen to. The attachment this week from Sports Illustrated is an example. I'll do anything you think proper.' Johnson then continued *"I just told Rowley (i.e., Secret Service Director James Rowley) to call all of them in and to take any of 'em's resignations that wanted to. And I'd be glad to have his, if he wants it, or yours or anybody else's. And if they don't want to handle it, well, we'll get the FBI to do it."* Johnson then complained about Secret Service agents following his car too closely when he went for rides on his ranch. He then urged: *"So you get ahold of Rowley and you all call a meeting of your group and (decide) whatever you decide you want to do; and if you want to resign, I'll be glad to accept it forthwith. And if the Secret Service wants to go back to counterfeiting, they can go back to counterfeiting, then I'll get the FBI to just assign me a couple of men to stay by my side without all this God damn big push! I don't know who it is bellyaching. First I heard of it. I'm sorry it didn't come to me. It had to come through some of Kennedy's staffers."* Youngblood then asked who wrote the memo. Johnson responded *"I don't think I ought to do that, but one of Kennedy's top people and somebody has been bellyaching to him. And there's enough truth in it (to see) that somebody talked. And I can't have disloyalty, and I can't talk in front of your people and have them repeat it."* Youngblood then responded: *"You're absolutely right. You cannot have disloyalty and I don't want any transfer, reassignment, or any other damned thing, sir."* Johnson then returned to complaining about agents driving too close to his car. He then repeated his threat: *"So you find out whose morale is low and get rid of the son of a bitch. And if the whole Secret Service is low, I'll tell Dillon (i.e., Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon--Rowley's boss) the first thing in the morning that we'll just change the damned law in about five minutes and turn it over to the FBI because Hoover thinks that I could be handled a lot better anyway. I don't want any of it. I think now's a good time, after Dallas, to make the change, if they want to do it. Now I thought I did pretty well after Dallas and I thought I reflected credit on the Secret Service. I did my damndest to compliment you and everybody else. But if the appreciation I get is going to be articles like this--Kennedy people coming in and telling me that the morale is the lowest in the history--I'm not going to be run by them, you know that."* He then repeated: *"You get ahold of Rowley and y'all see who the hell has been bellyaching and get it straightened out. Take their resignations, get them out of here, and get Lem Johns back and you and Lem Johns handle me. You handle me safer than the forty can, 'cause they're liabilities instead of assets. And if y'all don't want to do it, just honestly say so and I'll get you a good reassignment and I'll get Hoover to send me over a couple of 21-year-old accountants over here and they'll probably do as good a job."* Youngblood then said *"We'll stick with you, sir."* Johnson then finished *"Okay, but I want something done about it, you understand? Good night, Rufus."* (Note: a tape of this phone call is available for listening on The Miller Center website.)

So yes, it's clear. Johnson was not only not above firing individual members of his protection detail should they fail to protect him from criticisms from the "Kennedy people" still among his staff, he was ready and willing to dismantle the entire Presidential Protection Division of the Secret Service should they fail to demonstrate their personal loyalty to him.

(One might note as well that the two agents Johnson specifies for their loyalty--Youngblood and Johns--are two of the three agents whose 11-29-63 reports suggest O'Donnell told Johnson to wait on Air Force One.)

Johnson's concern, or obsession, with how his behavior on the plane would be recorded, moreover, seems evident. In **March 1964**, Lyndon Johnson, a book by Harry Provencher, was re-released in

paperback with a new chapter on Johnson's actions in the aftermath of the assassination. Provence was editor of the Waco Tribune-Herald, and had known Johnson for years. It may be presumed he spoke to Johnson during its preparation. Johnson's close aides Walter Jenkins and Cliff Carter, in fact, were given special thanks in the acknowledgements section of the book. And yet the book held that Johnson called Robert Kennedy from the hospital, and quoted Kennedy as telling Johnson *"you had better be sworn in as President before you start back to Washington."* Well, Provence was a professional journalist, an editor no less. A journalist--a good one anyhow--wouldn't put something in quotes unless it was something someone had actually said, either the person being quoted, or someone else quoting that person. The probability exists then, that Provence's quote of Kennedy came directly from Johnson, or at the very least, one of his assistants, Jenkins or Carter.

It seems clear, then, that Johnson was committed to spreading the word that taking the oath in Dallas had not been his decision.

It shouldn't come as a surprise, then, that on **3-8-64**, when Rufus Youngblood testified before the Warren Commission, he offered a slightly different slant on the events of 11-22-63--one that appeared to further blame Robert Kennedy's school chum O'Donnell for the problematic delay in Dallas. Youngblood explained that at Parkland, after telling Johnson of Kennedy's death, *"Ken O'Donnell said for us to return to Washington, and to go ahead and take the President's plane."* He then expanded: *"O'Donnell told the Vice President that Mrs. Kennedy would not leave the hospital without the President's body. And O'Donnell suggested we go to the plane and that they just come on the other plane. And I might add that, as a word of explanation, there were two jet planes, one Air Force 1, in which the President flew, and the other Air Force 2, in which the Vice President and his party flew on. And O'Donnell told us to go ahead and take Air Force 1. I believe this is mainly because Air Force 1 has better communications equipment and so forth than the other planes. President Johnson said that he didn't want to go off and leave Mrs. Kennedy in such a state. And so he agreed that we would go on to the airplane and board the plane and wait until Mrs. Kennedy and the body would come out."*

Well, wait a second. Who is the "he" in this last sentence? If it's O'Donnell, then Youngblood's recollections seem to support that O'Donnell told him, and not Roberts, that they should go ahead and take Air Force One. If Johnson, well, then Youngblood was essentially stating that Johnson, on his own, had decided to wait on the plane for Mrs. Kennedy and the body. Youngblood doesn't say, after all, that O'Donnell was still standing there when Johnson agreed to wait on the plane. It seems possible, for that matter, that Youngblood's claim *"O'Donnell told us to go ahead and take Air Force 1"* was just a mutation of what Emory Roberts had told him, and that Youngblood himself had never heard O'Donnell say as much, or specify that by saying Air Force One, he meant Kennedy's plane.

In any event, if Johnson's bodyguard Youngblood had taken to exaggerating O'Donnell's influence on Johnson on the day of the shooting, it may have been from instinct--that he was trying to protect Johnson. The "Kennedy people," it seems clear, were now openly complaining about Johnson's behavior on the plane, and Secret Service agents are not deaf, nor above sharing gossip with other agents. Talk was in the air. Historian Arthur Schlesinger's Journal entry for **3-25-64**, in fact, reflects that he had lunch with Kennedy's former secretary Evelyn Lincoln, and that she continued to resent the fact that *"LBJ and his entourage moved into Air Force One instead of letting JBK (Jackie) and the President's friends take the body back to Washington by themselves."*

That this talk had made its way to Youngblood, moreover, is also supported...by Youngblood. In his 1973 book *20 Years in the Secret Service*, Youngblood described the events at the airport, then admitted: *"Months later, amid all the sniping and second-guessing, Johnson was criticized for 'usurping' the Presidential aircraft."* Note that he says "months later." This would be right around the time he testified.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, William Manchester began work on his book *The Death of a President*. On **4-10-64**, Manchester interviewed CIA Director John McCone. (A transcript of this interview was placed in the CIA's files. It was declassified in October, 1998. It is 15 pages long. Manchester's notes on this interview were first made available in 2009, and are only 4 pages long. This suggests that McCone taped his conversation with Manchester, but that Manchester was not allowed to tape McCone. I guess this isn't much of a surprise.) In any event, McCone told Manchester that after hearing of the shooting, he called Robert Kennedy *"through the White House. When I got him at his home he told me he was at home, and he asked if I would come right over."* McCone then described Kennedy's mood and activities. He then claimed he'd overheard Robert Kennedy's conversations with Johnson on the day of the shooting, and that after being asked about the oath of office in a first call *"He contacted his office--and I've forgotten just who in that office--to find out exactly just who could or should administer the oath. He found that any federal judge could do it, and he transmitted that information together with appropriate references so they could get the exact oath down to Dallas. He insisted that the swearing in be done immediately. I think President Johnson felt the same way. He did not want the country to go the two hours and a half that President Johnson would be in the air without a President. And that was arranged. This involved several phone calls."* McCone then described the arrival of a Catholic Priest. He said that this priest *"sensed that the Attorney General was involved in the myriad of problems that arose almost at once, you know--his concern over Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, his concern over the swearing in of the President."* He then continued: *"There was a period of half an hour, I suppose, that he was debating whether to fly to Dallas himself to return with the body and with Mrs. Kennedy. I urged that he not do that, stating that there was an element of time--that the best thing to do would be to bring the president's body up as quickly as possible, as quickly as it could be released, and he couldn't possibly get down there for three or four hours, by the time he got aboard a plane and got down there, and he would be out of touch all the time that he was in the air. He agreed with this, and as a result either decided or agreed with the decision that the body should be brought up with President Johnson and Mrs. Kennedy just as quickly as possible."*

Hmmm...so McCone told Manchester Robert Kennedy not only told Johnson he should be sworn in in Dallas, but that he--Robert Kennedy--had *"either decided or agreed that the body should be brought up with President Johnson and Mrs. Kennedy."* Hmmm...is this credible? This not only exonerates Johnson for the swearing-in's taking place in Dallas, but Mrs. Kennedy's returning on his plane. This is mighty curious, and suspicious when one takes into account Robert Kennedy's statements on the matter. Perhaps, then, Johnson got to McCone.

Or perhaps--if one is to be paranoid, this is the time--McCone and Johnson had both been "gotten to." Yeah, I know this smells like dog dirt, but indulge my paranoia for a second... McCone told Manchester that upon hearing of the shooting, he called Robert Kennedy, and that Kennedy asked him to come right over to his house. He then claimed he'd spent the next hour or so walking around Kennedy's house and grounds, talking to him about the assassination in between the incoming calls.

Well, wait a second. McCone was the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, not some retired businessman or old friend. Didn't he have a job to do? Shouldn't he have been at CIA Headquarters, digging up everything he could regarding a possible conspiracy? Shouldn't he have been on the phone, calling up everyone he knew to find out everything he could? His holding Bobby's hand in a time of national crisis simply makes no sense--unless one is to assume this was something previously agreed upon by the person to whom McCone would now be reporting, Lyndon Johnson. Yes, shockingly, there is no record of McCone talking to Johnson--who purportedly suspected a Russian or Cuban attack from the outset--on the day of the shooting. Johnson received briefings from National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, but there is no record of him talking to CIA Director John McCone until the next morning.

Heck, the record of what was discussed the next morning is also kinda suspicious. On 11-25-63 McCone created a memo on this, his first meeting with his new boss after the killing of his old boss. This memo reveals that they met at 9:15 in the office of National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, and that the meeting lasted *"approximately 15 minutes."* The memo reveals as well that they discussed their own personal and professional relationship--that there were a number of issues that had arisen during the Kennedy Administration on which they'd *"seen eye to eye."* It then reveals that McCone had *"confirmed"* his confidence in Johnson, as well as his *"desire to help and support him in every way..."* McCone then describes their reviewing details of the *"President's checklist"* and their agreeing to meet every morning for the next few days. That's it. The meeting lasted but fifteen minutes. Apparently, there was no extended discussion of Oswald, or of Russian activity.

Now contrast McCone's 11-25-63 memo with the transcript of his 8-19-70 interview with the Johnson Library. When asked when he first saw Johnson after the shooting, McCone replied *"I think I saw him at his home that night."* (This was incorrect. Johnson's calendar of phone calls and visitors shows it was the next morning-- a fact confirmed by McCone's 1964 interview with Manchester, where he claimed *"I did not see him that evening when he arrived--I saw him the next morning, and I saw him every day for a long time--sometimes several times a day."*) In any event, when then asked Johnson's mood during this meeting, McCone replied: *"Well, his mood was one of deep distress over the tragedy, and grave concern over how to get his arms around the problems that confronted him--some concern over how to properly handle the men in the organization whose competence he recognized, but also whose allegiance to President Kennedy-- And, of course, you know the background of issues that arose that dated 'way back to the convention here in Los Angeles and even before."*

Well, wait a minute. The man whose competence Johnson recognized, with whom he'd had a problem dating back to the convention and even before, was Robert Kennedy. Did Johnson spend his first meeting with John McCone, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency--the agency tasked with determining the likelihood Russia, our number 1 enemy of the day, had backed the main suspect in the shooting, Lee Harvey Oswald--talking to McCone about "Bobby"?

I don't know. This kinda bothers me. It makes me say "hmmm..."

On **5-16-64** Manchester interviewed Robert Kennedy. The recording of this interview, while still withheld from the public, was made available to Arthur Schlesinger for his 1978 book *Robert Kennedy and His Times*. According to Schlesinger, Kennedy claimed *"John McCone called me and said 'I'll come out,' and he came out..."* Hmmm... McCone told Manchester that Kennedy had asked him to come over, while Kennedy, in his interview with Manchester, said nothing of the thing, and suggested instead that McCone had come over without even being invited.

And that's just the little "hmmm..." According to Schlesinger, Kennedy described the phone call Johnson made to him as follows: *"First he expressed his condolences. Then he said... this might be part of a worldwide plot, which I didn't understand, and he said a lot of people down here think I should be sworn in right away. Do you have any objection to it? And -- well, I was sort of taken aback at the moment because it was just an hour after... the President had been shot and I didn't think -- see what the rush was. And I thought, I suppose at the time, at least, I thought it would be nice if the President came back to Washington -- President Kennedy... But I suppose that was all personal... He said, who could swear me in? I said, I'd be glad to find out and I'll call you back."* Schlesinger then wrote that Kennedy called Katzenbach, and found out any federal judge could give Johnson the oath. Schlesinger then returned to quoting Kennedy: *"So I called Johnson back and said anybody can..."* Kennedy's account of the call was thus in line with Marie Fehmer's notes on every point but one--a big one-- Kennedy didn't mention telling Johnson he should be sworn in in Dallas during the second phone call.

And Kennedy wasn't the only one pushing against the tide. In his **5-18-64** testimony before the Warren

Commission, Kenneth O'Donnell insisted that, at Parkland Hospital *"As soon as I was assured that he (Kennedy) was dead, and it was definite, I went back to the Vice President and informed him the President was dead, and that in my opinion he ought to get out of there as fast as he could. We had a general discussion. The President's first words to me were that we must look upon this in a sense that it might be a conspiracy of some nature, and that all security must be taken..."* O'Donnell then claimed Johnson started discussing some security measures he might take at the airport, such as moving the plane to a nearby military base, but that he shot Johnson down on this matter, reiterating that Johnson should leave without delay, and that *"it would be much better if he got to the field immediately, where he was under security, and got aboard one of the aircraft."* O'Donnell then claimed that he didn't specify which plane Johnson should board, Air Force One or Air Force Two, which were nearly identical. He then testified that when he arrived at Air Force One with Mrs. Kennedy and the president's body *"I didn't know whether it was 1 or 2, to be honest, until I saw the members of the crew"* and that, prior to the loading of President Kennedy's casket onto the plane, *"I didn't know President Johnson was on the plane."* He was then asked point blank if there had been any discussion of President Johnson's waiting for Mrs. Kennedy on Air Force One while at Parkland, and responded: *"There had been no discussion of that to my knowledge. Once the President--the Vice President--left, I left him, I had not seen him again. I had been notified he had departed, I had been notified that he arrived, and that was the last I heard of it, until I got on the airplane."* He was then asked what happened after he realized Johnson was on the plane, and waiting to be sworn in: *"the President and I carried on a conversation, which, again my recollections might be hazy--that it had been brought to his attention that I had asked for the plane to take off, and that there was some difference of opinion between him and me. He said to me that he had called the Attorney General, and that the Attorney General had indicated that it was, if not mandatory, at least preferable that he be sworn in prior to the aircraft taking off. I didn't describe what I saw as the problems. I realized it was an inevitable delay. So I don't believe I commented on it. I just listened to him. We sat there."* Hmmm... O'Donnell backed down after being told Robert Kennedy had said the swearing-in was preferable. Apparently, Johnson had said something similar to Jacqueline Kennedy. Presumably, Robert Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy, and Kenneth O'Donnell were now telling everyone who would listen that Robert Kennedy had never said such a thing...and that Johnson had lied and manipulated them when they were at their weakest.

Unfortunately for Johnson, for that matter, one of his closest cronies was unable to help him in his ongoing effort to blame O'Donnell and Robert Kennedy for the decisions made in Dallas. On **5-20-64**, Johnson assistant Clifton Carter provided an affidavit to the Warren Commission that tried to keep the peace. It read: *"At 1:12 p.m. Special Agent Emery Roberts brought the news that President Kennedy was dead. At that moment the only people present were Vice President Johnson, Congressman Thornberry, Special Agent Lem Johns, and I. Special Agent Roberts advised Vice President Johnson to return to the White House forthwith because of the concern of the Secret Service that there might be a widespread plot to assassinate Vice President Johnson as well as President Kennedy. Vice President Johnson then asked that Kenny (O'Donnell) and Larry (O'Brien) be consulted to determine what their views were on returning promptly to Washington. Kenny and Larry came down and told Vice President Johnson that they agreed he should return to Washington immediately. Vice President Johnson then asked me to try to alert some of the members of his staff to go to the airport for the return trip to Washington. I then proceeded to look for those members of the staff, and I was later driven to Love Field by a young Dallas policeman. By the time I returned to the Presidential plane (AF-1), Vice President and Mrs. Johnson had already boarded the plane and arrangements had already been made to have Vice President Johnson sworn-in as the President. I do not have any personal knowledge of Vice President Johnson's conversation with Attorney General Kennedy concerning the advisability of a prompt swearing-in or of the arrangements to have Judge Sara Hughes participate in that ceremony. I was present at the swearing-in and shortly thereafter the President's plane took off for the Washington*

area."

And that wasn't the end of a bad week for Johnson. Unfortunately for Johnson, one of Kennedy's closest cronies was in a position to help, but did not. On **5-26-64** Lawrence F. O'Brien testified before the Warren Commission. O'Brien had been a close Kennedy aide. Unlike O'Donnell, however, he'd retained much of his influence under Johnson. This made his statements especially intriguing. And they didn't disappoint. First and foremost, he suggested that Johnson's presence on Kennedy's plane came as a surprise to both Kenneth O'Donnell and himself. He told the Commission that, after helping lift Kennedy's coffin onto the plane, he *"noticed that seats to the left of the door had been removed, leaving a floor space in the plane to place the coffin. We placed the coffin on the floor. Then I looked up, and the President and Mrs. Johnson were at the corridor that would go into the compartment from that area of the plane."* He then testified *"During the course of these few minutes, it was my understanding that we were going to immediately depart. There was some confusion for a couple of minutes about departure. I was not privy to that. And the President asked the two of us to sit with him, at which point he said that he was awaiting a judge who was en route to swear him in--that he had secured the advice of the Attorney General, which, as I understood it, was a preference in his view to have a swearing in ceremony immediately. And that this would be accomplished within a matter of minutes."*

O'Brien's subsequent words were more descriptive on this point. In his 1974 book *No Final Victories*, written after Johnson's death, O'Brien claimed that when he and O'Donnell first spoke with Johnson on the plane *"I told Johnson about the problem we'd had at the hospital and said I thought we should take off immediately. I knew that the delay was terribly painful to Jackie. 'No, I've talked with the Attorney General,' Johnson said. 'He thinks I should be sworn in here.' Then it hit me. This man is President of the United States. After that, I didn't argue."* Although a bit murky, O'Brien's words suggest that he'd actually explained to Johnson that further delay would be *"terribly painful to Jackie,"* and that Johnson had nevertheless responded by invoking Robert Kennedy as the authority indirectly causing her this pain. Hmmmm... If Johnson had really done this, and had lied to O'Brien about Kennedy's comments, well, he was indeed quite the weasel.

That Johnson had lied about what O'Donnell and Kennedy had told him, and had lined up the likes of Rufus Youngblood, Lem Johns, and John McCone as support for his lies, however, seems a very real possibility. One can only assume the Kennedys thought as much. They most certainly doubted Johnson's reasons for being on the plane in Dallas. In a **6-2-64** interview of Mrs. Kennedy, conducted by historian Arthur Schlesinger and finally released in 2011, she volunteered *"I don't know if Lyndon had an Air Force One just like it or one of the older planes, but he always kept pushing for a bigger plane. And--or for more--all the kind of things like that he wanted, the panoply that goes with power, but none of the responsibility."*

Mrs. Kennedy's words, one can only assume, stuck with Schlesinger. When one looks at June 1964 in his journal, published 2007, one finds that he talked about the flight back from Dallas with Air Force General Godfrey McHugh on **6-5-64**, and was told that neither Kenneth O'Donnell nor McHugh knew Johnson was on Air Force One when they arrived at the plane. McHugh told Schlesinger, furthermore, that, upon arrival on the plane, he'd initially been told the plane was being held until Mrs. Johnson's luggage could be brought over from the other plane, and not that they were waiting for Judge Hughes.

This, apparently, whet Schlesinger's appetite. His journal reflects further that he tried to talk about the flight with Mrs. Kennedy at a get-together on **6-16-64**, but was cut-off when a third party changed the subject.

This, then, brings us to Johnson's account of his actions. In his **7-10-64** statement to the Warren Commission, Johnson related: *"It was Ken O'Donnell who, at about 1:20 p.m., told us that the*

President had died. I think his precise words were, "He's gone." O'Donnell said that we should return to Washington and that we should take the President's plane for this purpose... When Mr. O'Donnell told us to get on the plane and go back to Washington, I asked about Mrs. Kennedy. O'Donnell told me that Mrs. Kennedy would not leave the hospital without the President's body, and urged again that we go ahead and take Air Force 1 and return to Washington. I did not want to go and leave Mrs. Kennedy in this situation. I said so, but I agreed that we would board the airplane and wait until Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body were brought aboard the plane... Despite my awareness of the reasons for Mr. O'Donnell's insistence--in which I think he was joined by one or more of the Secret Service agents--that we board the airplane, leave Dallas, and go to Washington without delay, I was determined that we would not return until Mrs. Kennedy was ready, and that we would carry the President's body back with us if she wanted... When we got to the airport, we proceeded to drive to the ramp leading into the plane, and we entered the plane. We were ushered into the private quarters of the President's plane. It didn't seem right for John Kennedy not to be there. I told someone that we preferred for Mrs. Kennedy to use these quarters. Shortly after we boarded the plane. I called Robert Kennedy, the President's brother and the Attorney General. I knew how grief-stricken he was, and I wanted to say something that would comfort him. Despite his shock, he discussed the practical problems at hand--problems of special urgency because we did not at that time have any information as to the motivation of the assassination or its possible implications. The Attorney General said that he would like to look into the matter of whether the oath of office as President should be administered to me immediately or after we returned to Washington, and that he would call back. I thereafter talked with McGeorge Bundy and Walter Jenkins, both of whom urged that the return to Washington should not be delayed. I told them I was waiting for Mrs. Kennedy and for the President's body to be placed on the plane, and would not return prior to that time. As I remember, our conversation was interrupted to allow the Attorney General to come back on the line. He said that the oath should be administered to me immediately, before taking off for Washington, and that it should be administered by a judicial officer of the United States. Shortly thereafter, the Deputy Attorney General, Mr. Katzenbach, dictated the form of oath to one of the secretaries aboard the plane. I thought of Sarah Hughes, an old friend who is judge of the U.S. district court in Dallas. We telephoned Judge Hughes' office. She was not there, but she returned the call in a few minutes and said she would be at the airplane in 10 minutes. I asked that arrangements be made to permit her to have access to the airplane. A few minutes later Mrs. Kennedy and the President's coffin arrived. Mrs. Johnson and I spoke to her. We tried to comfort her, but our words seemed inadequate. She went into the private quarters of the plane. I estimate that Mrs. Kennedy and the coffin arrived about a half hour after we entered the plane, just after 2 o'clock. About a half hour later, I asked someone to find out if Mrs. Kennedy would stand with us during the administration of the oath. Mrs. Johnson went back to be with her. Mrs. Kennedy came and stood with us during the moments that the oath was being administered. I shall never forget her bravery, nobility, and dignity. I'm told that the oath was administered at 2:40 p.m."

Let's note first that Johnson's statement is largely based on Marie Fehmer's notes. It repeats that Robert Kennedy called Johnson back to tell him the *"oath should be administered immediately."* It also claims Mrs. Kennedy arrived at the plane just after 2:00. That Johnson was willing to admit this last fact in his statement, moreover, supports that the Secret Service claim she arrived at 2:14 or 2:15 was, if not true, an innocent mistake, or at least not a lie pushed by Johnson.

Now note that Johnson stressed that, upon reaching the plane, he was ushered into the president's *"private quarters"* and that he told *"someone"* that *"we preferred for Mrs. Kennedy to use these quarters."* Well, this hid that Johnson turned around and used these *"private quarters"* to make a series of phone calls. And that's not all. While it's widely reported that Mrs. Kennedy spent the bulk of the flight in the back of the plane with her husband's casket and companions, the location of Mrs. Johnson on the flight back from Dallas is rarely discussed. In a 10-18-69 Oral History interview with the

Johnson Library, however, Johnson aide Jack Valenti was asked point blank her whereabouts on the flight back from Dallas, and admitted *"most of the time she was back in the little bedroom."* Apparently, the Johnsons' preference the private quarters be reserved for Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy alone was asking too much...of themselves.

Now note that Johnson and O'Donnell's stories were at odds on two key points. Johnson claimed that before he (Johnson) left Parkland Hospital for the airport he was told by Ken O'Donnell to fly back on *"the President's plane,"* which in this context would mean Kennedy's plane, number 26000. O'Donnell denied doing any such thing. Johnson then indicated that he (Johnson) had told O'Donnell at Parkland that he would wait for Mrs. Kennedy on *"the President's plane."* O'Donnell denied this as well.

Johnson's story was also at odds with Robert Kennedy's, of course. He claimed Kennedy told him the oath should be administered immediately in Dallas, while Kennedy--at least in Schlesinger's account--recalled no such thing.

Even so, the writers of the Warren Report--not surprisingly, in light of the fact their report was designed in part to clear Johnson--chose to take his word on these matters. In Chapter 2 of the report--a chapter written by Arlen Specter, then edited by Norman Redlich--it is claimed that O'Donnell told Johnson of Kennedy's death. It then relates: *"When consulted by the Vice President, O'Donnell advised him to go to the airfield immediately and return to Washington.²⁴⁵ It was decided that the Vice President should return on the Presidential plane rather than on the Vice-Presidential plane because it had better communication equipment.²⁴⁶"* The citation for footnote 245 reads *"Id. at 152; 7 H 451 (O'Donnell); 5 H 561 (Johnson)."* The claim is accurate and the citation is accurate. The citation for footnote 246, however, reads simply *"Ibid."* The Free Online Dictionary defines "Ibid" as *"In the same place. Used in footnotes and bibliographies to refer to the book, chapter, article, or page cited just before."* Note the words "just before." The page cited just before was a page from Johnson's statement. By placing a sentence in which O'Donnell *"advised"* Johnson before a sentence in which *"it was decided"* Johnson should return on the Presidential plane, the report had implied O'Donnell was a party to this decision. The writers of the report had thereby chosen to ignore O'Donnell's sworn testimony--the testimony they'd found credible enough to cite in the preceding footnote--and had decided to instead push the facts as related in Johnson's un-sworn statement. They'd then hidden this fact from the public.

It should come as no surprise then that they also accepted Johnson's word on the conversation he'd had with Robert Kennedy. The report claimed *"From the Presidential airplane, the Vice President telephoned Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who advised that Mr. Johnson take the Presidential oath of office before the plane left Dallas.²⁶³"* They, of course, never double-checked this with Kennedy.

As a result, the Johnson/O'Donnell and Johnson/Kennedy conflict on these matters was little recognized. It lay hidden beneath the surface of Washington politics.

Conclusion number 5: the Warren Commission was deceptive in its reporting of the aftermath of the assassination, and showed undue deference to Johnson's version of events.

The Kennedy Response

It bubbled up again, however, in **August 1966**, when William Manchester's book *The Death of a President* was being prepared for release. On **8-29-66**, Johnson and his close adviser Abe Fortas made a number of phone calls trying to get to the bottom of one of Manchester's more sensationalistic claims--that the Bible on which Johnson had taken the oath had belonged to Kennedy and had disappeared afterwards. Fortas uncovered that it was not a Bible, but a prayer book, and that it wasn't stolen, but placed into the White House archives. Even so, the phone calls, now available on youtube, do much to

damage Johnson's credibility. He mentions offhand that he thinks the bit about the Bible being stolen is part of a *"well-laid out deliberate thing"* designed to damage his presidency, and that the *"most serious aspect"* is that *"somebody working for us...had some knowledge of this"* and *"informed Manchester of this."* He then complained that the press covered the walk-out of a few students from a recent speech of his, and suggested that they must have been warned in advance, and that the whole thing was part of some much larger plot to discredit him. It's clear, moreover, whom Johnson thought was behind this plot: Robert Kennedy.

Was Johnson losing his grip? Or was he merely admitting what he'd long decided was true--that Bobby was out to get him? And, more to the point, was Johnson's paranoia the product of a guilty conscience?

In anticipation of the release of Manchester's book, U.S. News and World Report published its own account of the shooting on **11-14-66**. This was based almost entirely on the 26 volumes of Warren Commission testimony and exhibits published in 1964. There was one interesting addition, however. The writers of the article had either stumbled upon, or been warned of, the Johnson-Youngblood and O'Donnell divide, as to whether O'Donnell had told Johnson he should fly back on Air Force One, and if the plane had in fact had a superior communications capability to the other planes in the president's fleet. To no one's surprise, they came down on the side of Johnson.

Here's why: *"A former White House official explained that, at the time, the three jet planes in the presidential fleet were being 're-gear'd for communications of a classified nature, Naturally, the first plane to be re-equipped was AF-1. Most of the new gear had been installed in AF-1. The other two jet planes had not been completed. Now they all have the same gear, so it doesn't make any difference any more, whether a President travels in AF-1, 2 or 3."*

Well, that was mighty convenient, don't you think? An unnamed former White House official told them AF-1 just so happened to have been superior to AF-2 during the day in question? And the exact way in which it was better is classified? And they believed it? To such an extent, even, that they were willing to suggest O'Donnell had lied to the Warren Commission?

Manchester himself was more subtle in his bias. After first reporting that Johnson claimed O'Donnell had told him to take Air Force One, Manchester wrote: *"O'Donnell declares this version to be 'absolutely, totally, and unequivocally wrong.' He says that Johnson raised the possibility of a conspiracy and that 'I agreed that he should get out of there as soon as possible.' Then, he recalls, 'He asked me whether they should move the plane--meaning, I thought, Air Force Two--to Carswell Air Force Base. I said no; it was 35 miles to the Air Force base, and it would take too long to move the plane. Besides, no one would know that he was going from Parkland Hospital to Love Field anyway; they had no way of knowing.' Concerning 26000, O'Donnell says, 'The President and I had no conversation regarding Air Force One. If we had known that he was going on Air Force One, we would have taken Air Force Two. One plane was just like another.'" Manchester then concluded: "The discrepancy between the two versions" (that of O'Donnell and of Johnson) *"is probably a consequence of confusion."* He also offered that Johnson *"may have had...thoughts about the value of identifying himself with what he called the 'aura of Kennedy,"* and to have decided that it was in his best interests, politically, that he return to Washington with the President's widow at his side.*

The "discrepancy" between Robert Kennedy and Johnson on the swearing-in also saw light at this time. Manchester wrote that the substance of Kennedy's return phone call to Johnson was unclear, that Johnson thought it was about whether he should take the oath, and Kennedy thought it was about who could give the oath. He wrote as well that Johnson told the Warren Commission Kennedy told him to take the oath, and that, on this issue *"Youngblood's memory is foggy. He tends to support his superior, with qualifications, but he explains--quite reasonably--that he only heard one voice. Kennedy who was on the other end, does not remember recommending an immediate ceremony, and it should be noted*

that such a recommendation would have been inconsistent with his mood. It is his recollection--and that of Ed Guthman, who was with him, that he said 'Anybody can swear you in. Maybe you'd like to have one of the judges down there whom you appointed. Any one of them can do it.'" (Note: Manchester interviewed Guthman on 3-24-64, 5-3-64 and 6-10-64, Kennedy on 5-14-64 and 1-12-65, and Youngblood on 11-17-64. The notes and/or transcripts of these interviews are not yet available.)

It should be noted that Kennedy was playing it cool here. He had Ed Guthman as a witness that he'd never told Johnson he should be sworn in in Dallas, and yet still refrained from calling Johnson a liar. Perhaps, then, Manchester had told Kennedy of his interview with McCone, and McCone's insistence Kennedy had indeed told Johnson he should be sworn in. One might assume from this as well that Manchester covered this topic in his first interview with Kennedy, at a time Kennedy was still functioning as Johnson's Attorney General, and still hoping for a slot on the Democratic ticket as Johnson's Vice President. When Kennedy was interviewed by Schlesinger the next year, we should recall, he was much more forthcoming.

Manchester, for his part, didn't stop there, either. Not only did he not tell his readers of McCone's recollections, he later wrote that Kennedy's disavowal of telling Johnson to take the oath was *"supported by Kennedy's opening words to Katzenbach: 'Lyndon wants to be sworn in in Dallas.'*" (Note: Manchester interviewed Katzenbach on 6-5-64)

Manchester returned to this topic later in his book, for that matter, and made sure the reader knew where both Kennedy and he stood on the matter. Of Robert Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy's first conversation after she'd landed in Washington, he wrote: *"a disjointed conversation ensued, touching upon the probable future of Kennedy aides, the delayed take-off from Love Field...and the explanation which the new President had offered at the time. 'He said he'd talked to you, Bobby,' Jackie told her brother-in-law, 'and that you'd said he had to be sworn in right there in Dallas.' The Attorney General was startled. There must be some misunderstanding, he said: he had made no such suggestion."* In a footnote, Manchester then offered *"The author invited President Johnson to comment on this misapprehension. He replied that he had nothing to add to his statement to the Warren Commission."* (Note: beyond his interviews with Robert Kennedy, in which this conversation between Jacqueline and Robert Kennedy was undoubtedly discussed, Manchester interviewed Mrs. Kennedy on 4-7-64, 5-4-64, 5-7-64, 5-8-64, and 7-20-64. The notes and/or transcripts of these interviews are, you guess it, not yet available.)

Manchester's interviews with Mrs. Kennedy, of course, were not confined to discussion of the swearing-in. In fact, when one studies the events of 11-22-63 closely, one finds that they revealed something far worse than Johnson's misunderstanding or lying about Robert Kennedy's attitude towards the swearing-in. In his book, Manchester relates that, after arriving on Air Force One, Mrs. Kennedy headed for the bedroom. He reports that *"Because she regarded the bedroom as hers, she did not knock. She simply grasped the latch and twisted it. Inside, reclining on the bed, was Lyndon Johnson, dictating to Marie Fehmer."* Manchester then reported that Johnson and Fehmer quickly left the room, and that Kennedy aide Lawrence F. O'Brien was a witness to their doing so. (Manchester interviewed O'Brien on 5-4-64 and 6-4-64.)

Well, yikes! Why hadn't this been mentioned before? Let's recall that Johnson had told the Warren Commission, that, upon arrival at the plane, *"We were ushered into the private quarters of the President's plane. It didn't seem right for John Kennedy not to be there. I told someone that we preferred for Mrs. Kennedy to use these quarters. Shortly after we boarded the plane. I called Robert Kennedy, the President's brother and the Attorney General."* Hmmm... Johnson failed to mention that he'd made this call from the private quarters. Of course that could have been an oversight... But that's just the half of it. In his statement to the Warren Commission, Johnson proceeded to describe his discussions with Robert Kennedy, and his decision to have Sarah Hughes perform his swearing-in

ceremony. He then asserted that a few minutes after talking to Hughes *"Mrs. Kennedy and the President's coffin arrived. Mrs. Johnson and I spoke to her. We tried to comfort her, but our words seemed inadequate. She went into the private quarters of the plane."*

He'd totally concealed that he'd been using the private quarters of the plane, and had been caught in the act by Mrs. Kennedy! He'd made it seem, moreover, that he'd avoided using these quarters out of respect for her late husband!

Conclusion number 6: Johnson lied about the first time he saw Mrs. Kennedy on the plane.

Through December 1966, Johnson had largely had his say. His time had passed. Now the Kennedys were having theirs...

Led by Kenneth O'Donnell... When interviewed for a **12-6-66** AP article (found in the Spokane Daily Chronicle), O'Donnell sought to clarify Manchester's claim Johnson had over-ruled him (O'Donnell) after he (O'Donnell)--not having been told the plane was set to be the site of Johnson's swearing-in ceremony--had ordered Air Force One to take off. O'Donnell explained that upon arrival at Air Force One *"I didn't know that he (Johnson) was on the plane. I was under the impression he had already left."* If he'd been told Johnson would wait for Mrs. Kennedy on Kennedy's plane, as Johnson insisted, O'Donnell would never have made that impression.

O'Donnell had thereby signaled that he wasn't about to back down. Johnson had not told him he would wait for Mrs. Kennedy. Period... This reflected badly on Johnson, and supported Manchester's supposition he'd orchestrated his return flight to Washington for political reasons.

Other articles fanned the flames. A UPI article on Mrs. Kennedy's efforts to further edit Manchester's book (found in the **12-16-66** Washington Reporter) relates: *"Bennett Cerf, the publisher and television panelist, said Thursday that Mrs. Kennedy is sensitive to a passage describing Lyndon B. Johnson's taking over the presidential plane after Kennedy was shot in Dallas. Cerf, who said he wishes his Random House was publishing Manchester's book, read an unedited version of the manuscript and described it as 'a wonderful book which will sell a million copies.' Cerf said that the book relates that the presidential jet--Air Force One--and the vice-presidential jet were at Love Field in Dallas Nov. 22, 1963. The planes were identical--except for the 'football,' a bag containing information regarding procedures in case of nuclear attack. The book, according to Cerf, says the Kennedys were 'shocked and infuriated' when they returned to Air Force One with Kennedy's coffin and found Johnson occupying the presidential jet."*

The Johnson Counter-attack

This demanded a response. On 12-16-66, one of Johnson's advisers, Robert Kintner, a former news executive for ABC and NBC, proposed that they plant an article telling Johnson's side of the story in either Time or Newsweek.

On **12-17-66**, Johnson snapped. In a taped phone call, he discussed the Manchester book with his most secret and trusted adviser, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas. At one point, Johnson asked *"Who is the perpetrator of the fraud on us, Kenny O'Donnell, or General McHugh, or who?"* Fortas then answered *"Both. Those two... it's pretty obvious that those are the two villains."* At another point they discussed Manchester's treatment of the disagreement between Johnson and Robert Kennedy on whether or not Kennedy had told Johnson he should be sworn in in Texas. Johnson complained *"there's also an implication that Bobby didn't want us to take the oath, when the implication to me was that he thought it better to take it there. And that he would have somebody call me and give me the oath."* Well, I'll be. Johnson had as much as admitted to Fortas that Bobby had never told him to take the oath--and that

he'd only implied as much.

And that's just the beginning. At a later point, Johnson went on a tirade about the book being but a slender part of a wider conspiracy: *"I believe that Bobby is having his governors jump on me, and he's having his mayors, and he's having his Negroes, and he's having his Catholics... and he's having 'em just, systematically, one after the other, each day. And I think this book is just... I believe that each one of these things are timed."* A bit later, he went even further. Aware that one of the issues at hand was the length of time he'd made Mrs. Kennedy wait on the plane, he asked Fortas *"What does the evidence show about how long she waited? I was under the impression we waited for her."* Fortas then responded *"there was just under half an hour between the time that she arrived, and the time that the plane took off."* Well, this would suggest he bought into the Secret Service timeline, and not the timeline suggested by Marie Fehmer's notes. A few seconds later, however, Fortas further confused this issue. He told Johnson: *"Judge Hughes came about ten minutes later. And the takeoff was about fifty minutes after Mrs. Kennedy came aboard."* Well, yikes. Fortas was now pushing the Fehmer timeline, and not that of the Secret Service. But wait, it gets weirder. He then continued *"I had the impression it was the other way, I guess, because of what you told me. But this morning we checked the log... so she did have to wait awhile before Judge Hughes could come and before the plane could take off."* Well, double yikes. This suggests that Johnson had been telling those close to him that Mrs. Kennedy had arrived after Judge Hughes, and not before. Could his memory have really been that bad? Or was he simply willing to lie about anything?

The recollections of Congressman Jack Brooks, who'd waited with the Johnsons at Parkland, and returned to Washington with them on Air Force One, become relevant at this point. Brooks made some comments to Marie Fehmer while still aboard Air Force One. (Fehmer's notes on these comments, as Fehmer's notes on Johnson's actions, can be found on the Johnson Library website.) About Johnson's decision to leave Parkland, Brooks said merely that, after being told by the Secret Service that Kennedy had expired, and urged to *"leave now,"* Johnson *"thought he should not do that until they got a medical determination rather than a non-professional comment."* When interviewed for the Johnson Library on 2-1-71, moreover, Brooks once again said nothing of Johnson's deciding, while still at Parkland, that he would wait for Mrs. Kennedy and the body when he got to the plane. Instead, when asked if Johnson was committed to the suggestion he be sworn in on the airplane when Brooks first raised the issue, Brooks claimed: *"He hadn't been committed to anything, he had just got there! The question hadn't come up. He agreed that that was the thing he ought to do. They got hold of Sarah Hughes and Sarah came out. We were waiting, of course, until Mrs. Kennedy, who wanted to ride back with us apparently, and the coffin."*

Hmmm... How did Brooks come to believe it was Mrs. Kennedy's desire she ride back with Johnson? There's no evidence she was ever asked about this. Was this something Johnson had told Brooks?

And why did Brooks make it sound as though Mrs. Kennedy had arrived after Hughes? Was this something he'd come to believe, over time? Or was this something Johnson had told him, as well as Fortas?

In any event, Johnson's being told by Fortas that he would have to concede this point--that his decision to be sworn in in Dallas had indeed inconvenienced Mrs. Kennedy--was not readily accepted. He began grasping at straws... He asked Fortas: *"Is that gonna react on us or on them? That the president shouldn't be on the plane where the black bag is and where the communications is, and he should have gone on and taken off without takin' the oath?"*

This was balderdash, of course, and bald-faced balderdash at that. The "bag," or "football," was a briefcase containing the nuclear launch codes. It was carried by an officer in the Signal Corps named Ira Gearhart. It was not on Air Force One. It was portable, and was designed to follow the President

wherever he went. Johnson knew this, of course. He almost certainly knew as well that the bag could be used on his plane as easily as it could be used on Kennedy's plane. If he was so concerned about Gearhart and the bag when he left for the airport, for that matter, why did he leave without Gearhart, and force Gearhart to find his own way to the airport?

On **12-20-66**, Johnson discussed the matter further, this time with Robert Kintner. Kintner told him that he'd had a talk with Mike Cowles, the publisher of Look Magazine, which was preparing to syndicate excerpts from Manchester's book. Kintner reported that *"Bobby Kennedy does not agree that he told you to be sworn in on Air Force One,"* but that, on the brighter side, Cowles claimed to have cut 90% of the material harmful to Johnson from the upcoming excerpts. According to Kintner, Cowles also offered to let Kintner come by and read the excerpts in secret. This, presumably, calmed Johnson down a bit just in time for Christmas.

On **12-26-66**, however, he got reheated. Press Secretary Bill Moyers had received a copy of the **January 2, 1967** issue of Newsweek. An article in this issue on the upcoming Manchester book relates: *"Mr. Johnson's own recollection of his succession to power differs sharply from the Kennedys' evident perception of it. The Secret Service, he recalled, wanted to put him aboard Air Force One with its superior communications gear and to place Mr. Kennedy's coffin on the Vice Presidential plane, Air Force Two, which had flown LBJ to Texas. But Mr. Johnson ordered the body put aboard Air Force One. 'I wasn't going to let Mrs. Kennedy fly back alone with his body,' he explained to intimates."*

Hmmm... This story was not only different from O'Donnell's recollections, it was different from Johnson's previous statements to the Warren Commission. To all appearances, Johnson was now trying to blame the Secret Service for his decision to fly back on Air Force One--a decision he'd previously attributed to O'Donnell.

As to the other main point of contention--whether or not Robert Kennedy had told Johnson he should be sworn in in Dallas--Johnson appeared to stand firm. Newsweek reported: *"He recalls telephoning Bobby (I hate to bother you at a time like this, but') and asking for a ruling. Kennedy, he said, told him 'I think you should be sworn in there,' but Bobby also said he would check it and call back. The return call came instead from then Deputy Attorney General Nicholas DeB Katzenbach, who advised Mr. Johnson to take the presidential oath at once and dictated its wording to a Johnson secretary."*

Now, let's look at that again, in slo-mo. Johnson had told the Warren Commission, that after initially talking to Kennedy, *"I thereafter talked with McGeorge Bundy and Walter Jenkins, both of whom urged that the return to Washington should not be delayed. I told them I was waiting for Mrs. Kennedy and for the President's body to be placed on the plane, and would not return prior to that time. As I remember, our conversation was interrupted to allow the Attorney General to come back on the line. He said that the oath should be administered to me immediately, before taking off for Washington, and that it should be administered by a judicial officer of the United States. Shortly thereafter, the Deputy Attorney General, Mr. Katzenbach, dictated the form of oath to one of the secretaries aboard the plane."* Hmmm... He was thereby claiming Kennedy had told him in a brief second conversation that he should be sworn in in Dallas. His story had changed. He was now telling people Kennedy had told him in their first and only conversation that he should be sworn in in Dallas. While he may have simply forgotten about the second conversation, it doesn't say much for Johnson's credibility that he couldn't even keep his story straight.

If it was even his story... The tape of the phone call between Moyers and Johnson on 12-26 reveals that Moyers had called Charles Roberts of Newsweek and complained that, despite Newsweek's representations, Johnson had not actually spoken to Newsweek for the article. According to Moyers, Roberts freely admitted that they had not spoken to Johnson, but claimed *"I talked to people to whom the President talked, and I'm confident of the information that we received."* Johnson then told Moyers

"I think we better write a nice paragraph and say, I've had no interviews on the subject at all. And this is completely inaccurate, and untrue, and unfair...that I've asked my staff not to discuss it. And ask 'em to publish it..." Johnson had thereby indicated his dissatisfaction with the article.

He was unhappy with the article and he wanted everyone to know about it. Johnson Press Secretary George Christian spoke about the article hours later, and his comments were picked up in the evening papers. A 12-26-66 UPI article found in the Eugene Register quotes Christian as follows: *"The President has granted no interviews to anyone including Mr. Manchester and has asked his staff to refrain from discussing the subject--the entire subject of the book...He did not talk to Newsweek."* The article then quotes what would appear to be an official statement by Johnson: *"I'll not discuss the various attributions credited to so-called friends and alleged intimates except to say that I believe them to be inaccurate and untrue."*

And yet...there's reason to believe Johnson was bluffing. Over the course of their long and winding phone call, Johnson and Moyers came to agree that the writers of the article hadn't just made stuff up, and that a number of those close to Johnson had in fact spoon-fed them the article. While several segments of the article were misleading and inaccurate, it seems more than a coincidence that, but 10 days before Moyers' called Johnson to complain about an article telling Johnson's side in Newsweek, Robert Kintner had suggested the administration plant a story in Newsweek.

And that was but one of the coincidences. It also seems more than a coincidence that the claim in the article that Johnson was pressured to fly back on Air Force One, due to its superior communications, was something Johnson had just told Fortas. And it's also a bit odd that, while it was Moyers who'd called Johnson to tell him about the article, it was Johnson who told Moyers several minutes into their discussion that Charles Roberts' co-writer on the article was a woman named Norma Milligan, and that she'd flown in from Oklahoma to work on the article. And it also seems odd that, a short time after completing his call with Johnson, Moyers called him back to tell him he'd just spoken to Fortas, and that Fortas had said that Johnson should be *"careful"* in his complaining about the article because *"most of it is good for our side,"* and that *"it makes you look good, even if it is based upon an inaccurate thing."* This, then, led Moyers and Johnson into a discussion of the problems inherent with too many people thinking they know the President's thoughts, and their sharing these thoughts with hungry journalists, desperate for an inside scoop. At one point, Johnson even admits *"i would imagine it's (Washington insider and Johnson adviser) Clark Clifford, or Abe, or somebody that just had these feelings."*

The probability, then, is that the article was indeed fed Newsweek by Johnson's people, with Johnson's approval, but behind Moyers' back. While historian Max Holland, for one, takes Johnson's complaints about the article, and Johnson's professed desire to stay above the fray, seriously, it seems more likely Johnson was lying through his teeth to Moyers, at one time one of his most trusted assistants, but by December 1966 a no-longer entirely trusted lame duck leaving the Administration.

Johnson's problem with telling the truth, after all, is more than apparent when one studies his phone calls. At one point in this call, Johnson reads sections of the Newsweek article to Moyers, and complains about each section. When he comes to the section on the oath of office, and reads *"I think you should be sworn in there," Bobby said,*" he complains *"I don't think Bobby said that at all. I don't think Bobby took any initiative or any direction. I think that Bobby agreed that it would be all right to be sworn in, and said he wanted to look into it, and he would get back to me, which he did."*

Oops. Let's recall that Johnson had complained to Fortas on the 17th that *"there's also an implication that Bobby didn't want us to take the oath, when the implication to me was that he thought it better to take it there. And that he would have somebody call me and give me the oath."* Johnson had thereby indicated that Kennedy had never actually told him to take the oath. Now, in this call with Moyers, he

confirmed that Kennedy had never specified such a thing. And yet, Johnson had told the Warren Commission on 7-10-64 that Kennedy had *"said that the oath should be administered to me immediately, before taking off for Washington."* And yet, Jackie Kennedy had told William Manchester in early '64 that Johnson had told her on the plane that Kennedy had *"said he had to be sworn in right there in Dallas."* And yet, Marie Fehmer's notes from 11-22-63, typed up on the plane en route to Washington, reflect that Johnson had told her that he'd just been talking to Walter Jenkins, and that *"The Attorney General interrupted the conversation to say that I ought to have a judicial officer administer the oath here."* And yes, she put this in quotes, indicating it was a direct quote from Johnson.

Johnson had been telling people from day one that Robert Kennedy had specifically told him he should be sworn in in Dallas, and was now admitting to his advisers, in phone calls he'd never dreamed would become available to the public, that Robert Kennedy had done no such thing!

Hmmm... This makes McCone's claim to Manchester--that he'd overheard Kennedy tell Johnson he should be sworn in immediately--even more curious, yes?

Conclusion number 7: Johnson lied both on the plane, and afterwards, about the substance of his call with Robert Kennedy.

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Victor Lasky

The Kennedy/Johnson divide over what happened on the plane was by now the talk of the nation. On 12-26-66, newspaper columnist Victor Lasky wrote a column on the feud (which I found in the Youngstown Vindicator), which could only have fanned the flames. No fan of the Kennedys, or of Johnson, Lasky defended Johnson from the beginning of his column--not so subtly entitled "The Way LBJ Took Reins is Among His Finest Hours"--to the end. He started out by claiming the Kennedys' disapproval of Johnson had long been apparent. He then wrote: *"Now it turns out that Mrs. Kennedy gave author Manchester a highly emotional account of what transpired aboard Air Force One shortly after the assassination. As she apparently told the story, Lyndon Johnson was boorishly insensitive to her feelings at her time of supreme trial. Among other things, she resented Mr. Johnson's appropriation of Air Force One and his insistence that she be present when he was sworn in as President. The truth is that it was the Secret Service that made the crucial decision for Johnson to fly back to Washington immediately, and it was the Secret Service that rushed him--in an unmarked car--to Air Force One. At the time, no one really knew what lay behind the assassination. The fact that the alleged assassin was known to be some sort of communist, a defector to the Soviet Union, led to the fear that the Russians might have decided to attack this country. It was Johnson himself who decided that he take the oath as President, believing--and very wisely--that in a time of such grave emergency the nation should not be leaderless."* Lasky then proceeded to claim *"If anything, it was Kenneth O'Donnell, the late President's appointments secretary, who acted boorishly on Air Force One...He actually barred the way to prevent the new President from accompanying the widow as she left the plane with the coffin."* He then offered: *"My information, obtained for a new book on Robert F. Kennedy, suggests that Johnson acted with great restraint and dignity. The manner in which he assumed leadership may well go down in history as one of his finest hours. The memory of those tragic days should not be sullied by the hysterical recollections of Mrs. Kennedy and O'Donnell...The fact remains, too, that no matter what she might have believed later, Mrs. Kennedy apparently had thought differently a month after the assassination. Then Mrs. Kennedy, in praising the new President for his behavior toward her, sent him a gift that 'Jack would have wanted you to have.'"*

This column is intriguing for a number of reasons. First, it followed Johnson's most recent lead and blamed the Secret Service for Johnson taking Kennedy's plane. Second, it acknowledged it was

Johnson's decision to be sworn in Dallas. Third, it grossly disguised the circumstances under which Johnson decided to be sworn in; Johnson knew nothing of Oswald or his background when he decided to take the oath in Dallas, and his suggestions to Robert Kennedy and others that he thought a foreign power may have been behind the shooting--when the clear LOGICAL assumption under the circumstances was that it was a domestic hit--is surprising, if not downright suspicious. Fourth, it was grossly insulting to Mrs. Kennedy; it points out that she gave an *"emotional account"* to Manchester, and later describes her recollections as *"hysterical."* The clear intent, then, is to paint her as a weak and silly woman lacking in credibility. This is reinforced in the last sentence of the column, in which Mrs. Kennedy's private words to Johnson are quoted. This quote could only have come from someone close to Johnson. Thus, through his words, Lasky had showed his cards. His column was an attack piece, almost certainly fed him by the same people behind the article in Newsweek. It was also a threat--it signaled to the Kennedys that Johnson was willing to use Mrs. Kennedy's letters to discredit her.

On **12-28-66**, Jake Jacobsen, a Johnson assistant tasked with reading through a draft of Manchester's book, identifying potential problems, and double-checking details, received a memo from the White House Communications Agency detailing Robert Kennedy's phone calls on 11-22-63. This memo established that Johnson called Kennedy at 1:56 CST, and that Kennedy called Johnson back at 2:02 CST. This information was never leaked to the public.

We can only guess why. Marie Fehmer's notes show that Hughes called in at 2:02. They also show that her office was first contacted a few minutes earlier. If Kennedy had told Johnson he should be sworn in during their second phone call, as Johnson claimed in his initial statement, and this was at 2:02, as purported by the White House Communications Office, it meant that Johnson called Sarah Hughes to ask her to swear him in before Robert Kennedy had ever told him he should be sworn in in Dallas.

It's even worse than that. Let's recall that Fehmer's notes reflect that the oath of office was administered at 2:40, while the watches of the reporters in attendance reflect that it took place at 2:37 or 2:38. This suggests that the watch or clock she was using for guidance was a few minutes fast. The times for the calls on the White House Communications Office memo received by Jacobsen are presumably accurate. It seems probable, then, that Judge Hughes said she was on her way at 2:00, 2 minutes before Robert Kennedy called Johnson back, and supposedly told him he should be sworn in.

This is at odds, however, with Fehmer's notes. They quote Johnson talking about his phone call to Robert Kennedy before they mention Judge Hughes' calling in and saying she'd be there in 10 minutes.

Perhaps, then, the times on her notes were just wrong... Perhaps Johnson was trying to hide that it took so long to find Hughes, and had asked Fehmer to claim Hughes called him back at 2:02, when she'd really called back at 2:14, just as Mrs. Kennedy was pulling up outside. Now, that would explain not only the discrepancy between Fehmer's notes and the White House Communications Agency on the timing of the phone calls, but the discrepancy between Fehmer's notes and the Secret Service on the timing of Mrs. Kennedy's arrival on the plane. Perhaps the two "2:02's" provided in her type-written notes were supposed to read "2:14," or even later.

Only adding to the possibility Judge Hughes called back within a few minutes of 2:00, however, is a brief quote attributed to pilot James Swindal in the 11-20-88 Dallas Morning News. According to Swindal, *"It took quite a little bit"* of time for Judge Hughes to reach the plane. If she'd called Johnson back at 2:18, or even 2:14, and arrived at 2:30--after telling Johnson she'd be there in 10 minutes--it seems unlikely Swindal would complain in such a manner. It seems more probable, then, that she called in much earlier, shortly after 2:00 (2:02 by Fehmer's watch), and was incredibly slow in arriving.

No matter what--whether Hughes called in at 2:00 or 2:14--however, the list of calls provided Jacobsen presented a new problem for Johnson. By his account, he called Robert Kennedy within a few minutes of reaching the plane. By most accounts, including Fehmer's notes, he reached the plane at 1:40, or

earlier. So what did Johnson do for 16 minutes or more, after reaching the plane, but before calling Kennedy? Did he sit there watching TV with Congressmen Jack Brooks, Homer Thornberry, and Albert Thomas, discussing his next move? Really? For 16 minutes or more? While he was purportedly scared that a conspiracy was afoot? While the Secret Service was begging him to leave?

I suspect not. I suspect that Johnson, in fact, decided to be sworn in in Dallas within a few minutes of his arrival on the plane. I suspect that he then called Hughes, in an effort to get her to come out and swear him in. Only he couldn't find her. I suspect that he then, and only then, decided to call Robert Kennedy, and get some political cover for his decision to be sworn in in Dallas.

This isn't as wild as one might first suspect. When interviewed for the Johnson Library on 10-7-68, Judge Hughes described her conversation with Johnson in the following manner: *"The first call was by an aide of the Vice-President, and my law clerk had answered the phone, and he had said that he didn't know where I was. Immediately after he hung up, the phone rang again and it was the Vice-President. He told John Spinuzzi, who was my law clerk--said that he wanted to find me, and John says, 'Well, we'll find her.' Just at that time Barefoot came in the office and at that time the phone rang and I was on the other end of the line."* It seems likely, moreover, that she told this same story to William Manchester when interviewed by him on 9-19-64.

Now, that sounds well and good. It all went bang-bang-bang in a couple of minutes. But Judge Hughes wasn't there when the first call came in. And who's this "Barefoot?"

"Barefoot" was Barefoot Sanders, the U.S. Attorney in Dallas. He'd been in the motorcade, and had reported for work, compiling lists of right-wing suspects, after realizing the President had been shot. On 3-24-69, he was interviewed for the Johnson Library, and claimed that he was called at work by a friend of Johnson's named Irving Goldberg. He added *"I think I told Irving I was going to locate Judge Hughes. I went up to her office; she could not be found and when I was up there, a call came in--a call came in to me downstairs from the plane. I don't know who it was; it was not the Vice-President. 'Can you find her?'" Irving and I talked about it. I went tearing upstairs to her office. She was not there. When I got up there...I was on the third floor; she was on the fourth. And when I got up there, which must not have been forty seconds, the phone was ringing and it was the plane trying to reach her. And I said 'I'll try to get her.' So then I got her on the other phone, and I gave that agent--whoever it was-- to one of the secretaries there, and I reached her at home and asked her to get on out there."* Sanders was interviewed by Manchester on 9-22-64, 9-26-64, and 5-27-65, and apparently told a similar story. Similar, but not identical. In Manchester's book, and Judge Hughes' account with the Johnson Library, she calls in by pure chance just as Sanders comes into her office, and Sanders is handed the phone.

Hmmm... So Judge Hughes thought she'd called in, and just so happened to call when Sanders was in her office trying to find her, and Sanders later claimed he'd actually tracked her down. Well, that could be an honest conflict of memories. More interesting, by far, is Sanders' recollection Goldberg asked Sanders to find Judge Hughes before Sanders ever spoke to Fehmer, or Valenti, or whoever called him from the plane. This suggests that someone--perhaps Johnson--had called Goldberg first, and asked him to find Hughes. And this suggests, in turn, that it wasn't such a bang-bang-bang operation after all...

So what about Goldberg? Did he confirm he'd been called by Johnson?

Yep. Goldberg was interviewed by Manchester on 9-24-64. Note that this is 5 days after Manchester first spoke to Hughes, and 2 days after he first spoke to Sanders. It follows then that Hughes led Manchester to Sanders and Sanders led Manchester to Goldberg. He must have felt he was really onto something. Johnson hadn't mentioned Sanders or Goldberg to the Warren Commission. He'd made it seem as if he called Robert Kennedy seeking advice on the swearing-in, that Robert Kennedy called him back a few minutes later telling he needed to be sworn in, that he then and only then called

Hughes' office, and that she returned his call a few minutes later. If that was the way it all went down, however, why did Johnson even call Goldberg?

Manchester provides some help on this question. He presents that after getting off the phone with Robert Kennedy, Johnson had Fehmer call Mrs. Johnson's lawyer, J.W. Bullion, only to find that he was out of town. He says that he then asked her to *"Get Sarah Hughes,"* and that when that effort failed, he told her to *"Try Irv Goldberg."* Well, let's note right here that Bullion and Goldberg were lawyers, not Judges. They couldn't swear him in, they could only offer advice. Now, does it make a lot of sense for us to believe he'd reached out for their advice after talking to the Attorney General, and being told he needed to be sworn in? Of course not.

Now, if he'd had any reason to believe Bullion or Goldberg had an inside track on Hughes' whereabouts, that would be one thing. But, as presented by Manchester, Johnson never asked Goldberg about Hughes's whereabouts. Instead, he quoted Johnson as asking Goldberg *"This is Lyndon. Do you think I should be sworn in here or in Washington?"* and Goldberg as responding *"I think here."* He then quoted Johnson as asking *"Who should do it?"* and Goldberg answering *"Sarah Hughes."* He then quoted Johnson as telling Goldberg *"We're trying to get her here. You try, too."* And then described Goldberg's decision to call Sanders. That's it. Goldberg had no inside track on Hughes. And Johnson knew it. He'd called Goldberg for advice, pure and simple.

And he even admitted this to Manchester. While Johnson refused to grant Manchester an interview, he did respond to some written questions on 6-24-65. Apparently, some of these were on his contact with Goldberg. While Johnson's answers are apparently still unavailable, Manchester does quote a few of them in his book. In a footnote regarding Goldberg's claim he told Johnson *"I think here,"* to be clear, Manchester cites that Johnson in his written statement claimed Goldberg had been more definitive, and had *"advised"* him *"he should be 'sworn in at once, and undertook to locate Judge Sarah Hughes to administer the oath.'"*

Well, if Robert Kennedy had already told Johnson he'd look into this question, and had called him back insisting that he needed to be sworn in immediately--before leaving Dallas--would Johnson waste precious minutes seeking further advice? I think not.

That Johnson had called Goldberg before talking to Kennedy becomes even more clear when one reads Goldberg's subsequent statements. Goldberg was interviewed for the Johnson Library on 11-2-69. There, he said he'd been at the Trade Mart with his wife awaiting the President's arrival, and had just been informed of the shooting. He then recalled *"I said, 'Well, Marian, let's get on out of here as quickly as we can.' So we went to the car and I said, 'I'm going home. I'm not going to go on.' So I went home. When I got in the house, I immediately went upstairs and flipped on the TV. I was in the contour lounge. I turned it on and the picture had not even come on. I just turned it, hadn't gotten a picture, and the phone rang and it was my office, my switchboard operator says that the Dallas White House is trying to get you. I said, 'Well, we better hang up.' So I hung up and the phone rang within seconds. I heard, 'Is this Irving Goldberg?' I said 'Yes.' 'Well, this is the Dallas White House. Hold the phone.' Well, I held the phone, I kept hearing a lot of noise, booping and beeping around, I didn't know what it was. I hung on for about a minute, and I hung up. I thought maybe we missed connection. I didn't know what to do. Electronics is something I don't understand at all...Sure enough the phone rang again and the same voice says 'Would you please hold the phone?' Maybe they had to do something, I don't know. Anyway, I held this time and pretty soon--it wasn't too long really--a voice says, 'This is Lyndon.' He said, 'Irving, I want to talk to you. I want to ask some questions awful fast. I need some quick opinions.' I said, 'I'll do my best.' He said, 'First, should I take the oath here or go to Washington?' I said 'Take it here.' He said, 'Who should give the oath?' I said, 'Mr. President, you are now the president of the United States, in my opinion, by constitutional devolution, but I could be wrong. I would take the oath,*

though I think you are now the president.' He said, 'Who can give the oath?' I said, 'Well to be perfectly blunt, a notary public could give it, anyone that can take an oath. But I suggest that you have a federal judge.' I was not a judge, of course. 'I would have a judge.' He said, 'Well, who do you have in mind? Do you have anyone in mind?' And I said, 'I would have Sarah Hughes.' He said, 'I think that is excellent. Everything you said I agree with.' Then he said the strangest thing. He said, 'Will you try to get her for me?' To me, the President of the United States asking me sitting in my home, well this doesn't make [sense]. I said, 'Well, Mr. President'...I said 'Mr. President of course I'll try to get her, and I am sure you are going to try to get her. By the way, you haven't told me where you are.' He says, 'I'm at Love Field in Air Force One.' And I said, 'I'll work on it and you work on it.' We hung up and I thought for about a second or two, half a minute, what to do. Then it hit me. So I called Barefoot and luck was with me. I knew his secretary. I said, 'This is Irving Goldberg. I don't want any preliminaries. I want Barefoot now.' She said, 'He is here,' and put him on for me. I said, 'Barefoot, no time for conversation, listen to me and act. The President is at Air Force One. He wants Sarah Hughes to swear him in. You find her. Use the FBI, use the Secret Service, use the Chief of Police, you know who to use. I don't know who to use. You get her there.' So he hung up, and he tells me he ran down to her floor. Well, anyway he went to her office and she happened to be on the phone talking to her secretary when he walked in her office, so he was able to tell her exactly what to do and what it was all about."

And that wasn't the only time Goldberg told his story. As discussed in his 1995 obituary in the Dallas Morning News, Goldberg was interviewed for Litigation Magazine in 1991. This is a legal publication, and not one readily found online or in in your local Library. The quotes from this article cited in his obituary, however, indicate that he repeated his much-earlier recollections to the Johnson library almost word for word. The one notable addition, however, was that Goldberg now claimed that when he told Johnson he'd automatically become president upon Kennedy's death, and didn't need to be sworn in, Johnson expressed surprise, and asked *"Don't I need to be sworn in?"* Perhaps, then, this reflects that someone--most likely Jack Brooks or Albert Thomas, but possibly Robert Kennedy--had told Johnson it wasn't just desirable he be sworn in, but necessary.

In any event, hmmm... Johnson asked Goldberg the same questions he asked Bobby. Hmmm... Goldberg made no mention of Johnson's saying he'd already talked to Bobby. Hmmm... When Bobby talked to Manchester, months before Johnson issued his statement to the Warren Commission, he said Johnson told him that *"a lot of people"* had told him he should be sworn in in Dallas--*"a lot of people."* That suggests more than Jack Brooks and Albert Thomas--the two congressmen with Johnson encouraging him to take the oath. It's reasonable to assume, moreover, that Johnson wouldn't even mention this to Bobby if these *"people"* were unfamiliar with the law. It seems likely, then, that Johnson called Bobby after talking to Goldberg, after he'd already decided to be sworn in by Hughes. In such case it follows that Johnson only called Bobby for political reasons, and that the story he'd told Marie Fehmer on the plane--that he'd called Bobby to find out about the oath, and that he only called Hughes after being told to take the oath by Bobby--was a deliberate fabrication.

But what does Marie Fehmer have to say about all this? Well, she's kind of all over the map. Manchester interviewed her on 6-11-64. Note that this is before he spoke to Hughes and discovered Sanders' role in tracking her down, spoke to Sanders and discovered someone had called him from the plane, and spoke to Goldberg and discovered he'd actually spoken with Johnson. Although Manchester's notes on their discussion are still not widely available, it seems probable she told him the story as it's written in her notes. In Manchester's book, after all, he describes her walking into the bedroom on the plane, and Johnson telling her to write down what happened when he called Robert Kennedy. It does not reveal that she was actually in the room when he called Kennedy.

And yes, you read that right. In an 8-16-72 interview with the Johnson Library, she described her activities on the plane: *"For the first hour or so, as far as I got was the sofa room. I didn't know about*

the rest of the plane. During that time, I know we called Walter a couple of times in Washington. I remember hearing the Vice President say, 'Do you know whether or not this is some sort of plot? Are they out to get a lot of us?' He was very much concerned at that time about whether or not it was a plot. I remember he asked that all the TV's be turned on in the plane. And I remember the search for Sarah Hughes. It was at that time that he began to feel a little strange, in that he was in public as far as all these strangers were concerned, all the Kennedy people...Here was just a man who needed to make maybe the biggest decision of his life and didn't want to make it in a circus, just like you might like to go into a phone booth instead of talking out in the middle of an airport. So we went into the bedroom. My memory is that the beds were made up; two single beds were on either side of the stateroom. There was a desk and a chair, and the desk was facing one of the beds. He sat on one of the beds, and I sat at the desk in the chair, where the phone was. We started looking for Sarah Hughes, and it wasn't easy."

So Johnson went into the bedroom to look for Hughes. Hmmm... It's usually reported that he went into the bedroom to call Bobby. Fehmer thereby supports the possibility Johnson went into the bedroom to call Goldberg and Hughes' office and only called Bobby after failing to find Hughes.

Fehmer, however, ruled this out in her oral history. She claimed Johnson's phone call to Hughes came after Johnson *"knew that he had to take the oath of office there. This decision was made after he talked to Bobby and Walter Jenkins."* Hmmm... Perhaps she'd been misled by Johnson. Perhaps she was covering for Johnson. Or perhaps she was simply mistaken. It's tough to say for sure.

But this we can say for sure: there's something odd about Fehmer's notes and recollections regarding Johnson's discussions with Bobby. Her notes reflect that *"The President had talked to McGeorge Bundy via WH line before I got there."* They later reflect that Bundy called in between Johnson's phone calls with Bobby. On 1-30-69, Bundy granted an interview with the Johnson Library. He said *"I telephoned first that afternoon to say to him what I'm sure he had already decided...The burden of my message was simply that he must come back as fast as possible, and of course that was everybody's view from here, and he'd already decided that. I did not get involved in this sort of take the oath here or there kind of question. I think that phone call came after that."* Well, if Marie Fehmer came into the room after Johnson talked with Bundy, and Johnson then described to her a second conversation with Bundy in the middle of a phone call with Robert Kennedy, which she'd supposedly just missed, why single out the first call as one that occurred before she got there? They both occurred before she got there, right? Perhaps, then, she was actually there when Johnson talked to Bundy the second time, and her notes on this were replaced by what Johnson had told her to write.

Let's read the notes again, with the problematic section highlighted. *"1:40 P.M. Arrive Air Force One. Go into bedroom of plane to use phone. The President had talked to McGeorge Bundy via WH line before I got there. **When I walked in, the President looked up and said 'Write this down as what has happened. I talked to the Attorney General...Asked him what we should do...where I should take the oath...here or there...said he would like to look into it...and would notify me whether we should take it here or not... McGeorge Bundy and Walter called me...thought we should come to Washington as soon as could. Told them I was waiting for the body and Mrs. Kennedy. The Attorney General interrupted the conversation to say that I ought to have a judicial officer administer the oath here.'** Then I tried to get Waddy Bullion for the President...he was out of his office. Called Judge Sarah Hughes' office...they said she was not there. The President said that he'd talk to anyone in her office. He got on the phone and told the person at the other end that he needed someone to administer the oath...and to find her...and to get her to Love Field. Judge Hughes called in at 2:02--said she could get to the plane in ten minutes. The President left the bedroom in the plane--where above had taken place--and came into the stateroom to wait Mrs. Kennedy's arrival and to join Mrs. Johnson, J. Valenti, Cong. Thornberry, Cong. Brooks, Cong. Thomas, Rufus Yongblood and MF. Mrs. Kennedy arrived at 2:02*

with the body. She was met by the President and Mrs. Johnson and comforted."

Now let's re-read her typed-up notes, without the part put in by Johnson: *"1:40 P.M. Arrive Air Force One. Go into bedroom of plane to use phone. The President had talked to McGeorge Bundy via WH line before I got there. Then I tried to get Waddy Bullion for the President...he was out of his office. Called Judge Sarah Hughes' office...they said she was not there. The President said that he'd talk to anyone in her office. He got on the phone and told the person at the other end that he needed someone to administer the oath...and to find her...and to get her to Love Field."* (Note: the section in Fehmer's notes on the phone calls with Kennedy most probably resided here prior to Johnson's replacing them with his own version.) The notes continued: *"Judge Hughes called in at 2:02--said she could get to the plane in ten minutes. The President left the bedroom in the plane--where above had taken place--and came into the stateroom to wait Mrs. Kennedy's arrival and to join Mrs. Johnson, J. Valenti, Cong. Thornberry, Cong. Brooks, Cong. Thomas, Rufus Yongblood and MF. Mrs. Kennedy arrived at 2:02 with the body. She was met by the President and Mrs. Johnson and comforted."*

Now, the notes read much better, and make a lot more sense, without the part put in by Johnson. This supports the possibility the notes Fehmer typed up on 11-22-63 were inaccurate, and deliberately so... Let's reread the offending passage: *"When I walked in, **the President looked up and said 'Write this down as what has happened...'**"* Well, there it is. Fehmer had pointed her finger at Johnson in her notes.

And this isn't just silly conjecture on my part. In her 1972 oral history, Fehmer as much as admitted the section of her notes on Johnson's phone to Bobby was a lie. Yes, amazingly, she claimed she was in the room during the Johnson/Robert Kennedy phone calls about the swearing-in. She asserted: *"I heard the President's end of it, but I didn't overhear anything that Bobby said, because I was just there."* And that was just the half of it. When discussing the second phone call, she said *"I think Bobby started it and turned the phone to Katzenbach."* When then asked what their voices were like, she said Katzenbach's was *"controlled; he was like steel. Bobby's was not when he started. I remember when he started, I kept thinking, 'You shouldn't be doing this.'"*

So, she was not only in the room when Johnson talked with Robert Kennedy, she remembered the sound of Kennedy's voice!

This brings us back to Spinuzzi, Judge Hughes' law clerk. Spinuzzi was never interviewed by the Warren Commission, nor by the Johnson Library. He never made a statement to the FBI. He was, however, interviewed by the Dallas Morning News in 1983 and 1988, and quoted in The Dallas Morning News on 11-20-88. He claimed that, after receiving the initial phone call from Marie Fehmer: *"I think the phone rested on the cradle 20 seconds, and it rang again. It was Vice-President Johnson... He said 'I want Sarah Hughes to meet me at the airport. President Kennedy is dead, and I want her to swear me in. I don't care what you have to do--find her.' About 20-25 minutes later, she just by chance called in. She immediately asked us to locate the oath of office."*

So, Fehmer suggested there had been some trouble finding Hughes, and Spinuzzi thought Fehmer's first phone call to Hughes came 20-25 minutes before he told Hughes anyone was looking for her. Their recollections are thereby consistent, and consistent with the implications of Sanders' statement he'd first been called by Goldberg, and Goldberg's statement he'd just got home when he received the call from Johnson. Fehmer's notes say Hughes called in at 2:02. If accurate, this suggests that Johnson decided to have the oath administered by Hughes around 1:42--a few minutes after reaching the plane. This suggests as well that he first called Robert Kennedy to discuss the oath 14 minutes or so after he'd already decided to have the oath administered by Hughes.

But what if Fehmer's notes were inaccurate, and Hughes really called in as Mrs. Kennedy arrived, at

2:14? Well, that's no better for Johnson. That would mean, if Spinuzzi's memory is to be trusted, that Johnson called Hughes' office between 1:49--1:54, just before calling Kennedy at 1:56.

It seems clear then: Johnson called Hughes before talking to Kennedy.

And Spinuzzi wasn't the only one suggesting this scenario in an article written for the 25th anniversary of the shooting. On 11-22-88, the Washington Post published an article on Johnson's first day in office by former Johnson aide--and chief defender--Jack Valenti. Valenti, who sat with Johnson in the presidential compartment for much of the flight back from Dallas, asserted that on the plane *"LBJ made a decision that proved to be wise. He made a phone call to Robert Kennedy, the attorney general, and told Kennedy he was determined to be sworn in on the plane before taking off. Kennedy reminded him he didn't have to be sworn in there. He was president by virtue of the Constitution, and the swearing-in was not immediately required. Johnson murmured that he understood, but he would be sworn in as soon as U.S. District Judge Sarah Hughes had arrived and the body of the late president was safely on board."* So, there it is--straight from the mouth of Johnson's biggest defender--Johnson not only was not told by Robert Kennedy he needed to be sworn in in Dallas, as he later insisted, but he'd decided to have Judge Hughes give him the oath before he'd even called Bobby.

Now, to be fair, there are reasons not to trust Valenti's memory. When interviewed on 10-18-69 as part of the Johnson Library Oral History project, and asked about the events leading up to Johnson's taking the oath of office on the plane, he replied *"I was told that he had talked to the Attorney General, but I'm not aware of that. By the time I came aboard, I think that probably the decision was already made."*

But there are reasons to doubt this as well. Johnson was still alive in 1969. And the controversy surrounding Manchester's presentation of Johnson's behavior on the plane was still fresh. And here was Valenti being interviewed by Johnson's Library. Well, do you think the ever-loyal Valenti would tell what he knew about Johnson's phone call to Kennedy, or just play dumb? I believe we should suspect the latter.

So how did Valenti describe these events after Johnson's death? Well, his 1975 book on Johnson entitled *A Very Human President* declares that, after coming aboard a bit after Johnson, and seeing Johnson come into the office area of the plane: *"Unknown to me LBJ had just placed a call to Robert Kennedy, the attorney general, both to express his deeply felt condolences and to officially ask for advice. Both Johnson and the attorney general had determined that the oath of office should be given on the plane before Air Force One departed for Washington."* Well, okay. He's repeating the story Johnson told the Warren Commission. The book was a tribute to Johnson, after all.

So, then, the first time Valenti let on that Johnson had decided to be sworn in before talking to Bobby was 1988, 25 years after the shooting. Should we believe him?

I suspect so. In a 7-15-91 interview with authors Deborah Hart Strober and Gerald S. Strober, subsequently published in *The Kennedy Presidency, An Oral History of the Era*, Valenti similarly related that *"Johnson had determined he'd be sworn in in Dallas, which was a brilliant move, although Robert Kennedy and Katzenbach suggested he get out of there fast."* The implication, at least to me, is that Johnson had come to his determination before talking to Kennedy. But it is less than clear.

In 2007, Valenti published *This Time, This Place*, a memoir. This clears it up a little. In that Valenti presented the phone calls Johnson made once in the air--such as his phone call to President Kennedy's mother--as taking place when Johnson first reached the plane, this book revealed that Valenti's latter-day memories weren't particularly credible. And yet, it's still of interest that Valenti claimed Johnson consulted with Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach and Attorney General Kennedy before his departure from Dallas, and that they urged *"swift departure,"* and that Katzenbach had further told Johnson the oath was just a *"formality"* and that he could be *"formally sworn in later."* Hmmm... No

mention of Kennedy's opinion. Perhaps Valenti was trying to steer clear of that controversy. In any event, he then wrote that, against the advice of Katzenbach and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Johnson decided to stay put and get sworn in in Dallas. He then asserted that *"Johnson was seeing clearly what others didn't. The swearing-in ceremony wasn't essential to grant him presidential authority, but he saw that the entire world, not just the United States, was in a state of shock. LBJ judged it crucially important that he try to stanch the flow of fear before it spread too far too fast. Though I did not know it, LBJ had already summoned Judge Sarah T. Hughes."*

Well, that confirms it. By 1988, if not long before, Valenti had come to believe Johnson's claim Robert Kennedy had told him to be sworn in before leaving Dallas was untrue, and that Johnson had come to this decision entirely on his own, almost certainly before he'd even spoken to Kennedy.

Conclusion number 8: Johnson lied about the timing of his call to Robert Kennedy, and from the very beginning tried to conceal that he'd called Irving Goldberg and Sarah Hughes' office before ever calling Kennedy.

And so, as you can see, the "2:02" time provided Jacobsen for Robert Kennedy's return call to Johnson was a most inconvenient truth...for Johnson, and his claim he only called Hughes after first clearing it with Bobby.

There was just no getting around it. If Bobby called Johnson at 2:02, as seems unassailable, and Fehmer's notes claiming Hughes called in at "2:02" were incorrect, as seems possible, even likely, and Hughes really called in at 2:18 and said she would be there in 10 minutes, was this really any better for Johnson? Was it better for Johnson if people believed he'd sat on the ground in Dallas without having a specific plan, and that he'd waited 16 minutes or more before calling Robert Kennedy, and then 6 more for Kennedy to call him back, and then another 16 for a judge to call him, and another 12 or so for the judge to arrive?

No, I think not. It's no wonder then that Johnson decided not to talk about the information received by Jacobsen. If Johnson had pursued this matter, and had a public debate on the events of 11-22-63, his house of cards (and lies) might very well have collapsed.

An article in the **12-29-66** New York Times, however, signaled that the criticisms of Johnson in Manchester's book, when coupled with the Kennedy's own feud with Manchester, had hurt the Kennedys more than they had hurt Johnson. The article featured a number of claims by an unnamed Kennedy associate. This associate asserted that neither Robert Kennedy or Jacqueline Kennedy had complained about Johnson's behavior to Manchester, and that the complaints in the book had come from others. It asserted as well that Mrs. Kennedy had written Johnson a number of complimentary notes since the assassination, and that Johnson retained these in his possession. It climaxed in a denial, that really wasn't a denial: *"Mrs. Kennedy never felt that it was wrong for Mr. Johnson to ride on Air Force One," the associate said. "To the contrary, she felt that it would be wrong to leave Mr. Johnson behind."*

Now read that again. The quote gives the appearance of being a denial of hard feelings on Mrs. Kennedy's part. But it's a total dodge. Of course, it wasn't *"wrong"* for Johnson to be on the plane--that wasn't the issue. The issue was his taking over the plane, and holding up its departure so he could be sworn in in Dallas, and then falsely claiming this swearing-in had been Bobby's idea. And, of course, it would have been *"wrong"* to leave Johnson behind. Once again, that wasn't the issue. There was never any question of Johnson being left behind. There was a second plane, after all. The issue was Johnson's failure to leave Dallas when advised to do so, and his refusal to fly home on any plane without Mrs. Kennedy and/or the body. It seems clear, then, that this article signified a concession by the Kennedys to Johnson. They'd acknowledged Johnson had received complimentary letters from Mrs. Kennedy, and were willing to publicly support him in his PR battle against Manchester's book, provided he not

release these letters to the public.

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Drew Pearson And Jack Anderson

In any event, if Johnson and his people were unhappy with the recent article in Newsweek, fate in the form of columnist Drew Pearson gave them a second chance... A **1-11-67** column by Pearson on the controversy surrounding Manchester's book asserted that Pearson and his assistant Jack Anderson had talked with *"various members of the Kennedy and Johnson staffs"* and had discovered what really had happened on the tarmac at Dallas. Pearson then described some of the difficulties those close to Kennedy were having with the local authorities at the hospital. He then reported: *"Meanwhile, Air Force One, the Presidential plane, had been waiting for Kennedy's body. This delay was on the personal order of the new President, and contrary to the wishes of the Secret Service. Emory Roberts of the Secret Service staff had ordered the plane to take off immediately...But Johnson ordered the plane to wait for Kennedy's body."* Well, that much seems clear. Pearson then came down on the side of the Kennedy's on at least one crucial point. He continued: *"Meanwhile, he telephoned Robert F. Kennedy, the Attorney General, in Washington to ask for a legal opinion as to whether he should take the oath of office immediately or wait till he got back to Washington. Bobby Kennedy did not reply immediately. But Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach called back to advise that Johnson should be sworn in immediately."* Now, this was significant in that it directly contradicted what Johnson had told the Warren Commission--that Kennedy himself had told him to take the oath. It is also significant in that it signifies yet another version of the story. To be clear, Johnson had told the Warren Commission only that *"the Deputy Attorney General, Mr. Katzenbach, dictated the form of oath to one of the secretaries aboard the plane;"* he said nothing of speaking to Katzenbach, or of Katzenbach's advising him to take the oath.

(It seems possible, in fact, that Johnson never even spoke to Katzenbach. In his 2008 memoir *Some Of It Was Fun*, Katzenbach not only failed to admit advising Johnson he should be sworn in, he suggested it had never come up, as the only phone call he recalled was one in which Johnson aide Jack Valenti called him and told him *"We want to swear Vice President Johnson in as President"* and then asked him to verify the words of the oath Katzenbach.)

And that's not the end of the hmmm... In his column on the Manchester book, Pearson went on to explain *"Jackie Kennedy expressed indignation in the original version of the Manchester book that Johnson used her husband's plane. However, the plane contained secret electronic communications equipment which only the President could use in case of emergency. Johnson had flown to Dallas in the Vice Presidential plane, but it did not carry this equipment. The Secret Service had decided that he must use Air Force One for the return journey in order to be able to use this equipment. Besides, he was now President."* Well, this supported the Newsweek article from the week before. Clearly, this was the new line being pushed by those close to Johnson. This story was at odds, of course, with Secret Service Agent Rufus Youngblood's and President Johnson's 1964 statements to the Warren Commission, both of which attributed this decision to O'Donnell.

That Johnson had been telling people it was O'Donnell's idea he fly back on Air Force One, and had suddenly switched to telling people it was the Secret Service's idea he fly back on Air Force One, amazingly, finds solid support in an unexpected place. On 10-1-68, while Johnson was still President, his former aide Clifton Carter was interviewed for the as-yet-unbuilt Johnson Library. When asked the topic of discussion while Johnson awaited final word on President Kennedy, he said *"I think he counseled back and forth with Johns and Youngblood and it was decided that they would leave quickly and come on back to Washington."* When later asked if he'd been involved in any of the discussions on 11-22 leading to Johnson flying home on Kennedy's plane, he responded *"No, I was not. I have understood that this is conceivably a part of the discussion Mr. Johnson had with Kenny O'Donnell and*

Larry O'Brien and conceivably with General Clifton. The judgment seems to have been made largely on the fact that Air Force One had certain sophisticated communication equipment that Air Force Two did not have and that if a man is going to be President of the United States he's got to be in constant contact with all elements at his command. It was thought that that was not entirely possible on Air Force Two. This is what I've been told, and as I said, I had nothing to do--did not participate in any discussion." Note that Carter, one of Johnson's closest associates, was told (presumably by Johnson himself) that Kennedy's advisers (Clifton was Kennedy's military adviser) were responsible for the decision Johnson fly back on Kennedy's plane, and not the Secret Service, or, more specifically, Johnson's bodyguards Johns and Youngblood.

There is reason to suspect, then, that Johnson's new-found excuse circa 1966-1967--that the Secret Service as an entity had ordered Johnson to fly back on Kennedy's plane--was no more true than Johnson's previous excuse circa 1963-1964--that Kenneth O'Donnell had told him to fly back on Kennedy's plane. Lawrence F. O'Brien, the closest aide to Kennedy to retain a closeness with Johnson, and one of the men Carter thought told Johnson to fly back on Air Force One, sat with Mrs. Kennedy at Parkland, and accompanied Mrs. Kennedy, Ken O'Donnell, Kennedy aide Dave Powers, and Kennedy Air Force Aide Godfrey McHugh on the flight back from Dallas. In his 1974 book *No Final Victories*, O'Brien claimed that those sitting with Mrs. Kennedy had resented Johnson's *"taking over Air Force One when his own vice-presidential plane, with identical facilities, was available."*

Well, this is most interesting. The Secret Service was responsible for the President's physical security. The responsibility for the security of Air Force One, and its communications capabilities, rested with McHugh. And yet, a 5-19-78 oral history performed for the Kennedy Library, declassified in 2009 and first reported by historian Steve Gillon in his 2010 book *The Kennedy Assassination--24 Hours After*, quotes McHugh as follows: *"When the President was killed and we were going to fly him back, President Johnson refused to fly on Air Force Two because he said the communications were not the same as Air Force One, which of course was not the case. He just wanted to be on Air Force One. But they were identical."*

Of course, McHugh's credibility is open to question. It seems readily apparent that he didn't like Johnson. By the time of his 1978 oral history, he'd taken to claiming that, after failing to find Johnson on the plane, he finally *"walked in the toilet, in the powder room, and there he was hiding, with the curtain closed."* He then claimed that Johnson *"was hysterical, sitting down on the john there alone in this thing,"* and crying, *"They're going to get us all. It's a plot. It's a plot. It's going to get us all."* Well, this is pretty hard to believe. If this incident occurred, it seems clear it would have to have taken place after Mrs. Kennedy first discovered Johnson in the bedroom. What, did Johnson have a sudden breakdown after she'd left the bedroom, and run into the bathroom crying? I suspect not. Perhaps, then, McHugh had taken to exaggeration over the years.

This brings us back to Pearson's column. Pearson, building upon the accounts of McHugh's behavior aboard the plane found in Manchester's book, reported that McHugh had *"rushed through the plane looking for Johnson and Mrs. Kennedy"* and that McHugh *"later said that he had found Mrs. Kennedy kneeling beside her dead husband, while Johnson was in the washroom changing his clothes."* Now, this suggests McHugh had changed his story over time. That Johnson had been in the bathroom, in retrospect, only makes sense. McHugh had raced up and down the plane looking for Johnson multiple times, and had failed to find him. There was nowhere else for Johnson to have been.

But he hadn't been blubbing in the bathroom, as later claimed by McHugh. McHugh was interviewed by William Manchester on 5-6-64. And yet Manchester, in his book, not only failed to recount McHugh's subsequent claim he'd found Johnson in the bathroom, he claimed McHugh had deduced

Johnson had been in the bathroom after seeing him in the hallway outside the bedroom, and realizing there was no other place for him to have been but a few minutes earlier, when McHugh had checked the bedroom.

That McHugh was telling a reasonable-sounding story regarding his encounter with Johnson to Pearson (or Anderson) in 1967, and to Manchester in 1964, moreover, suggests that his other statements to Manchester might also be credible.

This brings us back to the eye of the controversy, William Manchester's *The Death of a President*. McHugh and others intimately familiar with Kennedy's plane including pilot James Swindal were interviewed by Manchester in 1964. And yet there is nothing in his book built upon these interviews suggesting Kennedy's plane had a superior communications ability. According to Manchester, McHugh twice refused to help plan Johnson's return to Washington after Kennedy's death; his stated reason for this, moreover, was that Johnson had "*his own plane*." He wouldn't have done this, one can only assume, if he'd known the communications equipment on Johnson's plane (86970) was significantly inferior to that on Kennedy's plane (26000).

It's important, then, that we find some support for O'Donnell's, O'Brien's, and McHugh's statements regarding the comparative capabilities of the planes. Well, some support can be found in the initial reports of the Secret Service agents assigned to Johnson at Parkland. None of them mention that Johnson was sent to Kennedy's plane (26000) because it was superior.

It seems likely, then, that Johnson was not just mistaken about the comparative capabilities of the two planes, but lying about his reasons for wanting to be on the plane. On **1-25-67**, Johnson tried to defend his taking Kennedy's plane in a phone call to former Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach. Johnson complained about sections in Manchester's book he found inaccurate or offensive, and then added "*And the thought that I oughta go to a plane that didn't have the bag, and didn't have the communications--by God, after this terrible thing had happened--is inconceivable to me!*"

He was repeating the lie he'd told Fortas to anyone who would listen!

If he had a legitimate reason to take Kennedy's plane, for that matter, why did he lie to Katzenbach?

His lying about his reasons, after all, suggests an uncomfortable possibility: that his actual reasons were not legitimate.

Let's recall here what Mrs. Kennedy told Schlesinger: "*I don't know if Lyndon had an Air Force One just like it or one of the older planes, but he always kept pushing for a bigger plane. And--or for more--all the kind of things like that he wanted, the panoply that goes with power, but none of the responsibility.*"

Over the next six weeks, Manchester's book was finally allowed to bubble to the surface. It was serialized in four parts, in the **1-24**, **2-7**, **2-21**, and **3-7** issues of *Look Magazine*. The flight home from Dallas was covered in the third part.

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Charles Roberts

Within a few weeks of its release came the release of Charles Roberts'--yes, the very same Charles Roberts who'd written the 1-2-67 *Newsweek* article so supportive of Johnson--book, *The Truth About The Assassination*. This was, no surprise, a defense of both Johnson and the Warren Commission. Only 128 pages long, and available exclusively in paperback, it was clearly a rush-release, designed to reach a mass market--in a hurry. In fact, when one thinks of the odd fact this rush release was released but weeks before Manchester's book, and was serialized in newspapers the very week Manchester's book

finally hit the streets, and included a list of criticisms of Manchester's book, it's hard not to view Roberts' "book" as a Johnson Administration-sponsored press release.

If so, it served its purpose: it attacked the critics of the Warren Commission, it attacked Manchester, and it even got a dig in at Jackie. At one point, while complaining about Manchester's book, which had only been serialized, and was yet to be published, Roberts complained that the book *"gives the impression that Jackie Kennedy, eager to return to Washington, had to wait endlessly for a Texas judge to come and swear in Johnson. ('Then the full force struck her. An hour, she thought. My God, do I have to wait an hour!') The fact is that Mrs. Kennedy had to wait just 20 minutes. She boarded the plane at 2:18, Judge Hughes boarded at 2:30, and the oath was administered at 2:38."* This was, of course, unfair, to both Manchester and Jackie. Manchester was almost certainly just repeating what Jackie had told him, and Jackie was responding to what, as she recalled, Johnson had told her. If anything, Roberts should have noted that Mrs. Kennedy's words suggested she'd spoken to Johnson before he'd talked to Judge Hughes and had found out she was just ten minutes away, and have proceeded to discuss the ramifications of Johnson's deciding to be sworn-in in Dallas without even knowing how long it would take.

Besides--where did Roberts get off criticizing Manchester on this issue? Roberts was one of but two newsmen on the plane back from Dallas. He wrote a number of articles on the assassination. And yet he never once mentioned that Johnson's deciding to take the oath of office in Dallas had delayed Mrs. Kennedy's departure by even one minute.

There was just something odd about the book. The foreword to the book by Kennedy and Johnson's former Press Secretary Pierre Salinger offered a smug criticism of the Warren Commission's critics, conveniently dividing them into three categories: 1) scholars with a sincere interest; 2) opportunists after notoriety or money; and 3) *"persons who clearly have to be labeled as psychotic."*

And the bulk of the book was no better. Roberts was supposedly a newsman, and yet, on point after point, issue after issue, he took Johnson's side based purely on Johnson's say-so. He actually cited Johnson's claim he'd discussed taking Air Force One with O'Donnell as proof O'Donnell knew Johnson was taking the plane. He failed to mention that O'Donnell had not only told Manchester this was untrue, but had said as much in his Warren Commission testimony--sworn testimony--the kind Johnson had failed to provide.

Roberts was clearly under Johnson's influence. He even repeated the newest Johnson party line--that Johnson had to take Kennedy's plane because, you know, the communications... He wrote: *"In Manchester's book, Johnson's performance that day was marred from the start by his decision to fly back to Washington aboard Air Force One—USAF 26000, the plane on which Mr. Kennedy flew into Dallas. USAF 26000 was then the newest of four Boeing 707 jets converted into luxurious flying offices for use by the President and other VIPs, (There is, incidentally, much public misunderstanding of the term 'Air Force One.' The Air Force uses it to designate any plane on which the President is embarked, whether it is a 707, a Jet Star or a puddle-jumping Convair. Thus any plane Mr. Johnson might have taken from Texas automatically would have become Air Force One. Manchester suggests—by invoking a Kennedy staffer who was 'dumbfounded' by LBJ's action — that Mr. Johnson should have left town on Air Force Two, the Presidential backup plane on which he had been flying..."* Roberts then complains about O'Donnell. He then offers: *"There was a solid reason—never mentioned by Manchester—for Mr. Johnson to board the plane on which Mr. Kennedy had arrived. USAF 26000 then contained far more and better communications equipment — transmitting, receiving, coding and decoding— than any of the backup jets. What orders the new President would have to give during that return flight no man knew. It would have been reckless for LBJ to take any but the best-equipped plane."*

Roberts failed to relate his source for this malarkey, of course, and failed to explain why no one, but no one, had mentioned anything like this to the Warren Commission.

And he didn't even believe it. If he had, one can only assume, he wouldn't have offered up a second excuse towards the end of the book. Yes, strange as it may seem, Roberts eventually concluded *"the argument that Johnson should have limped home aboard a back-up plane, leaving Jackie and the dead President behind, is a conspicuous example of frivolous, biased nit-picking. Whether or not Manchester or O'Donnell approves, the propriety of Johnson accompanying the body of his martyred predecessor home is unassailable. I shudder to think of the charges of haste and callousness that would have been leveled at Johnson if he had dispatched Mrs. Kennedy on that lonely journey bearing only the casket, herself, and a corporal's guard of aides. Kennedy, at that point, belonged to the ages, not to his aides."*

Well, that's pretty sick, wouldn't you say? It is a long-standing tradition of civilized societies that the bodies of the fallen belong to the families of the fallen, not their co-workers. Upon departure from Parkland, Kennedy's body belonged to his wife. It did not belong to Johnson. As not even Roberts could possibly believe Johnson's holding court in the next compartment over on the plane--not to mention the sound of Roberts and Smith tapping away at their typewriters further away on the plane--could be of any comfort to Mrs. Kennedy, it seems clear he considered her comfort a low priority. As he *"shuddered"* to think of the awful charges that could have been leveled at Johnson should he have allowed Mrs. Kennedy to fly home without distraction, moreover, it's clear Roberts considered President Kennedy's casket Johnson's property, to parade before the cameras as he pleased, or whatever it took to avoid the *"awful charges"* he anticipated in his clearly selfish mind.

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Ralph de Toledano

On 4-7-67, after months and months of editing, re-editing, and delays related to its serialization in Look Magazine, William Manchester's *The Death of a President* finally hit the bookstores. It was an immediate best-seller. It was followed just days later, however, by a book on Robert Kennedy, "RFK: The Man Who Would Be President," by Ralph de Toledano. In discussing Robert and Jacqueline Kennedys' fight with Manchester, de Toledano asserted that this was in large part because *"both of them realized that their account of Lyndon Johnson's behavior on the Presidential plane which flew John F. Kennedy's body back to Washington would not stand up to objective scrutiny."* Well, this was obviously untrue--the discussion of Johnson's behavior on the plane considered so controversial in the months leading up to the book's publication was still there in the final version--after receiving Jackie's approval.

And that was just the beginning of de Toledano's discussion of the book. He then put the book in context. He asserted that in the weeks before the assassination Robert Kennedy was conspiring to push Johnson off the ticket in 1964, and that Kennedy could have *"put a stamp of disapproval on the books and magazine articles"* suggesting *"Lyndon Johnson was somehow responsible for Jack Kennedy's death"* but did not, because *"the Kennedys wanted to keep it going."* Well, this might as well have been Johnson speaking. He'd made these very same charges to Abe Fortas in taped phone calls going back to the previous October.

De Toledano then specified some of what he claimed were problems in Manchester's book. He wrote that the book *"tried to obscure the fact that Johnson had taken the oath of office as President in Texas at Bobby's suggestion."* This was a lie. Manchester dealt with this "fact" head-on by pointing out that it might not be a fact, and that there were two witnesses to it not being a fact. De Toledano then claimed *"There was Kennedy resentment that Johnson had been taken to the Presidential cabin in 'Air Force One,' though this had been done at the insistence of the Secret Service."* This was another lie. Assuming

that by the 'cabin' de Toledano meant the bedroom, it was Johnson's own decision to use the bedroom. Yes, he'd initially been led to the bedroom, but he declined to make use of it, only to enter at a later point to use the phone. De Toledano then attacked O'Donnell for ordering the plane to take off upon his arrival on the plane, which, while true, hid that O'Donnell hadn't realized Johnson was on the plane when giving this order. De Toledano then complained that the *"Kennedy party made it a point to ride in the rear of the plane, as far from Johnson as possible."* Well, this was another lie. They were riding with the coffin in an area just behind the presidential area where Johnson was riding. They were riding with their friends' coffin and widow, reminiscing about his life. What did de Toledano expect--that they sit around and talk shop with Johnson, or line up to kiss his ring?

De Toledano's, and apparently Johnson's, blindness, even sickness, on these matters is confirmed, moreover, by his final complaint. He wrote: *"the real blow to Johnson came when Air Force One arrived in Washington. President Johnson had asked that a ramp be brought up to the plane so that he and Mrs. Kennedy could leave together with the President's body. ('He felt,' a Johnson aide later said, 'that it was necessary to show himself to the nation and to the world, so that everyone could see that the traditional transfer of power had taken place.') But Bobby had made different arrangements. The moment the plane came to a stop and steps were pushed up to the forward entrance, Bobby raced up into the plane and down its entire length to join the Kennedy party. At the rear door, he had arranged for a forklift to lower the casket. When President Johnson tried to make his way to the rear of the plane, he was blocked by Kennedy aides. Bobby Kennedy, and not Johnson, escorted Jacqueline Kennedy off the plane. By the time Johnson was able to emerge, the casket which bore Kennedy's body had been loaded into the ambulance, with Bobby and Jacqueline, and started for the naval hospital at Bethesda. And while the nation grieved, Bobby, Jacqueline and the Kennedy staff, held a council of war at the White House to plan ways to use the funeral as a means to 'build up the Kennedy image.'"*

Feel free to read that again, and ponder how sick one would have to be to find Kennedy's supposedly awful behavior anything but heroic. Imagine that your extremely successful older brother has been murdered on a business trip. Imagine that your sister-in-law, who not only witnessed the murder of your brother, but was splattered with his blood and brains, has been corralled into returning to town with the new head of the company. Imagine that he has arranged a photo op where they drive up to corporate headquarters, and she emerges from the car on his arm. Wouldn't YOU, or any decent person, try to help her from the car, and get her away from such a man as fast as possible? I know I would. And I bet you would, too. And yet de Toledano, after speaking to a Johnson aide, takes Johnson's side in this matter. It seems likely, then, that the timing of de Toledano's book was no accident, and that de Toledano, as Roberts, was making Johnson's case to the public...

Conclusion number 10: Johnson engineered a media response to Manchester's book which was both insulting to Robert Kennedy, and dishonest.

And he wasn't alone. What happened next belongs in the "truth is stranger than fiction" file. In **July 1967**, Commentary Magazine featured an article on the Manchester controversy entitled "Manchester Unexpurgated." The writer of this article had reviewed an early draft of Manchester's book, and had noted a bias against Johnson. This author attacked Manchester for this bias, and even went so far as to claim Manchester had created *"fictitious episodes for the purpose of heightening the melodrama."* Chief among these purportedly fictitious episodes was the scene in Manchester's book where Mrs. Kennedy walked into her bedroom on Air Force One, only to find Johnson in the bedroom with his secretary. The writer of this article was Edward Epstein, the author of Inquest, perhaps the most prominent conspiracy book from the year before, and a book Manchester sought to discredit in his book. Apparently, Epstein was out for revenge.

But in his zest for revenge, Epstein missed out on something--something big. Manchester's account proved Johnson's statement to the Warren Commission to have been incomplete and misleading.

Epstein, and the research community he'd help spawn, should have seized upon Johnson's omission, and cited it as a possible indication of further omissions. But instead he attacked Manchester.

Epstein chose the wrong target. Manchester was telling the truth. When he responded to Epstein in his 1975 book *Controversy*, Manchester claimed that Johnson's being discovered in the bedroom by Mrs. Kennedy was *"described to me by Jackie during a taping session on May 4, 1964."* Well, that wasn't much of a surprise. What was surprising, however, was that he also claimed he'd received confirmation from not one but two other witnesses: first, by Sgt. Joseph Ayres, *"an Air Force One steward who was standing in the corridor just outside the compartment,"* on September 6, 1964, and second, by Marie Fehmer, *"Johnson's personal secretary, who was present in the aircraft's bedroom at the time,"* on November 6, 1964.

Hmmm... Let's return to Marie Fehmer's notes. These notes, we should recall, were written on the plane. They were, at least in part, dictated by Johnson. Now read how she described the period leading up to Mrs. Kennedy's arrival on the plane... She wrote: *"Judge Hughes called in at 2:02--said she could get to the plane in 10 minutes. The President left the bedroom of the plane--where above had taken place--and came into the stateroom to wait Mrs. Kennedy's arrival and to join Mrs. Johnson, J. Valenti, Cong. Thornberry, Cong. Brooks, Cong. Thomas, Rufus Youngblood, and MF. Mrs. Kennedy arrived at 2:02 with the body. She was met by the President and Mrs. Johnson and comforted."* Well, heck. Fehmer had admitted that Johnson had gotten off the phone in the bedroom at 2:02, and that Mrs. Kennedy had arrived at 2:02. She'd also claimed, however, that Johnson had already left the bedroom before Mrs. Kennedy had arrived. She'd even included a list of witnesses to this fact!

Well, this is quite revealing. Was Marie Fehmer on her own, or under President Johnson's guidance, creating a false history--from Johnson's first moments as President--that could then be used to protect him from outside criticism? Could he really have been so worried about what might otherwise be considered an embarrassing incident, that he would knowingly falsify the history of his presidency from its very beginnings?

Sadly, it appears so. On 8-16-72, Marie Fehmer was interviewed for the Johnson Library Oral History program, and revealed more than anyone could reasonably have expected. She claimed that Johnson made his first calls from the President's office space (the eventual site of the swearing-in), and that he'd decided to go into the presidential bedroom to call Mrs. Hughes. She then admitted: *"No one notified us that Mrs. Kennedy was coming. Obviously if they had, the arrival would have been different. But we were still in there making phone calls. I don't know how they slipped up or how the Secret Service missed it, but we were not notified. The only thing that happened is that he started to leave the bedroom to go somewhere, and I followed him. As he opened the door, there was Mrs. Kennedy. Well now, you see what a misunderstanding that can bring about to her. She was entering her private bedroom. She was surrounded by her husband's friends, who saw a stranger, in his shirt sleeves yet. It was hot on that plane, no air conditioning on the ground. So she saw the stranger in his shirt sleeves in the hallowed ground...we, of course, scurried out of that bedroom. It was really embarrassing."*

Fehmer--by then married and with the last name Chiarodo--was not asked why the notes she'd written up on the plane had specifically ruled out such an incident. Nor did she volunteer an explanation.

Conclusion 11: the notes created by Marie Fehmer on the plane were incomplete, and deceptive.

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Jim Bishop

And from there things only got uglier. In **May, 1968**, newspaper columnist Jim Bishop interviewed President Johnson for *The Day Kennedy Was Shot*, a pro-Johnson alternative to Manchester's *The Death of a President*. Johnson purportedly proof-read this book prior to its publication that November.

And yet Bishop's account of the decisions made at Parkland largely supported O'Donnell's recollections...

To be clear, Bishop claimed that, in defiance of the Secret Service, Johnson refused to leave Mrs. Kennedy behind at Parkland and fly off on Air Force One before President Kennedy's death could be confirmed. Well, everyone agreed on that. Bishop also reported, however, that, while the doctors were still working on Kennedy, O'Donnell told Johnson to go to the airport without Mrs. Kennedy, and that Johnson then *"conceded it would be just as well to wait for her on the plane."* Bishop does not, one should notice, have O'Donnell agree to such a thing. In fact, on the next page, after O'Donnell has excused himself, Bishop has Johnson decide it would be okay to board Air Force One and wait *"for President and Mrs. Kennedy."* Bishop put this last bit in quotes, moreover, indicating these were Johnson's words, not his. Bishop then related that Johnson was concerned that a quick return to Washington would make him look like he was *"fleeing"*--again, Bishop put this in quotes, indicating that this was Johnson's word, not his. Bishop then claimed Johnson sought advice from *"everyone around him,"* and that they all agreed he could not leave Dallas on Air Force One without Mrs. Kennedy, or it would look like a *"precipitous power grab."*

Bishop then came to the crucial moment in Johnson's original story--the return of O'Donnell confirming that the President was dead. It was here that Johnson had told the Warren Commission, *"O'Donnell said that we should return to Washington and that we should take the President's plane for this purpose."* In Bishop's take, however, O'Donnell tells Johnson of Kennedy's death, and quickly excuses himself to see to Mrs. Kennedy. Johnson then decides to leave on his own, but feels uncomfortable doing so without O'Donnell's *"endorsement."* He then sends his bodyguard Rufus Youngblood to ask O'Donnell if he should use Air Force One, and leaves after Youngblood returns with O'Donnell's one-word answer: *"Yes."* Bishop then adds, in a footnote: *"Mr. O'Donnell denied that he was asked about Air Force One. There is no doubt that Johnson, thinking ahead, wanted to show that, even in tragedy, the continuity of government would be smooth. Therefore, from the start, he wanted to be aboard 26000 with his dead chieftain and the widow."*

Bishop then described Johnson's rapid departure from the hospital, his arrival on Air Force One, and his initial phone call to Robert Kennedy. Surprisingly, Bishop said that Johnson's call to Robert Kennedy was *"one of the first calls"* made by Johnson on the plane, and not the first call, as claimed by Johnson in his statement to the Warren Commission. Even more surprising, Bishop failed to take Johnson's side in his dispute with Robert Kennedy. Instead of supporting Johnson's assertion to the Warren Commission that Robert Kennedy then called him back *"and said that the oath should be administered...immediately, before taking off for Washington,"* Bishop described but one phone call between Johnson and Kennedy, one in which Kennedy *"wasn't sure when it should be administered or by whom,"* and *"promised to have Assistant Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach call back with the correct answers."* Hmmm... This was pretty much the same line pushed by Pearson in his article the year before. Had they used the same sources? Had Johnson retreated from his position on this matter?

Or was Bishop just a lousy journalist? Its' tough to say for sure. But one can say for sure that in the long run Bishop's book hurt Johnson's position nearly as much as it helped it. It seems clear that much of the discussion on the swearing-in in Bishop's book came from Johnson. And yet, Bishop reported that after Johnson made his decision to call Sarah Hughes, *"The communications people required a couple of minutes to find out her local office number."* This added delay, of course, pushes the presumed time for Johnson's deciding to call Hughes even further forward of the time she called in (which Fehmer placed at 2:02), which was already way too early to have come as a result of the call from Robert Kennedy (which the White House Communications Agency placed at 2:02).

Bishop then related the difficulty removing Kennedy's body from the hospital, and the arrival of those traveling with the body at Air Force One. He was surprisingly fair on these points as well. In keeping

with O'Donnell's claim he assumed Johnson had departed before those traveling with the body arrived at the plane, Bishop reports that Lawrence O'Brien was *"flabbergasted"* to see Johnson coming down the aisle to greet Mrs. Kennedy, and reports further that *"there can be no doubt"* Mrs. Kennedy was surprised to see the Johnsons on the aircraft, *"not number two."* He even allows *"It is understandable if she felt resentful, because the trip home to Washington would normally be a 'wake,' a private mourning."*

Bishop's take was thereby consistent with Manchester's on three crucial points: 1) it was Johnson himself who'd decided to fly back on Kennedy's plane; 2) Robert Kennedy hadn't told Johnson he should be sworn in in Dallas; and 3) the Kennedy entourage had no idea Johnson was on the plane before their arrival on the plane. The one clear mistake in Bishop's account, moreover, was his bit about Youngblood following O'Donnell out into the hall. Youngblood had never described such a thing.

But someone else had. Let's recall here that Emory Roberts, in his 11-29-63 report, declared that, after escorting Mrs. Johnson to visit Mrs. Kennedy, and then returning to Johnson's, *"I left again, this time upon request of the Vice President to double check with Mr. Kenneth O'Donnell, if it would be O.K. for the Vice President to take AF I and return to Washington, D.C. I located Mr. O'Donnell in hallway and he said 'yes'. The Vice President was informed that Mr. O'Donnell stated that he could leave. The Vice President said in effect, that he didn't want to leave without the approval of a staff member or the Secret Service."* He then related that Johnson was told of Kennedy's death at 1:15, and left the building at 1:35.

So, hmmm, what to make of this? Well, Roberts' report is somewhat harmful to O'Donnell in that it appears to support that O'Donnell was-- yes, indeed--asked about Johnson's using Kennedy's plane. But look again. Roberts said that he was asked to double-check about Johnson's taking Air Force One and flying back to Washington, and that Johnson was then informed that O'Donnell said it was okay for him to leave. Leave... No mention of which plane. The plane flying the President is automatically deemed Air Force One. It seems possible, then, that Roberts realized that he'd failed to properly specify the plane on which Johnson would be leaving when talking to O'Donnell, and was unwilling to specify that he'd told O'Donnell Johnson was planning to fly back on Kennedy's plane.

This possibility is supported, moreover, by William Manchester's book from the year before. Manchester interviewed O'Donnell on 5-4-64, 6-4-64, 8-6-64, and 11-23-64, and Roberts on 12-4-64 and 4-26-65. His account of their encounter would presumably be balanced. And yet Manchester reported that, when Kennedy's death seemed apparent, and the Secret Service was begging him to leave Parkland, Johnson *"told the agents he would not move without approval from a member of Kennedy's staff, preferably Ken O'Donnell. Roberts sought out O'Donnell in Major Medicine. 'Johnson wants to go,' he said. 'Is it O.K. if he uses the plane? O'Donnell nodded--a gesture to be borne in mind in the light of the subsequent confusion--and Roberts reported back to Johnson, 'Ken says it's O.K.'"*

Roberts' statements are much more harmful to Johnson, then, as they support that Johnson had misled the Warren Commission when he told them *"O'Donnell said that we should return to Washington and that we should take the President's plane for this purpose."* Not only was it not O'Donnell's idea for Johnson to take Kennedy's plane, but Johnson was so uncomfortable with it being his own idea that he forced Roberts to head down the hall and ask O'Donnell if it was O.K. To which O'Donnell nodded. Nodded. Not exactly a confirmation he understood that "the plane" Johnson was planning on leaving on was Kennedy's plane.

Roberts' statements are also harmful to Bishop. Not only did Bishop have the wrong Secret Service Agent talking to O'Donnell in the hall, he had him talking to O'Donnell after Kennedy's death just

before Johnson left for the airport when Roberts' report presents the incident as taking place 20 minutes or more earlier, before Kennedy's death had been confirmed.

And that's not remotely the worst part of Bishop's book. There were so many questionable parts in his book, it would be difficult to pick but one. But certainly among these was Bishop's defense of Johnson's decision to be sworn-in in Dallas. He'd read the Constitution, and had concluded that Johnson **NEEDED** to be sworn in before he could perform any duties as President. He actually claimed that, upon reaching Air Force One, *"Lyndon Johnson was no longer Vice-President and had none of the powers of that office; he was now President of the United States, with none of the powers of that office. He could not have protected the country if, as some surmised, the death of Kennedy was part of a much larger plot to bring the government to its knees."*

Well, this, of course, was nonsense. The Vice-President is sworn in when he becomes Vice-President, and becomes President upon the death of his predecessor. It's the same oath and everything. The swearing-in as President is just a ceremony. I mean, really, Bishop fancied himself an historian. An hour or so at the library would have shown him that Johnson was the eighth Vice-President to assume the office of President upon the death of his predecessor, and that 1) John Tyler had taken the oath of office 2 days after the death of William Henry Harrison, 2) Millard Fillmore had taken the oath of office the day after the death of Zachary Taylor, 3) Andrew Johnson had taken the oath of office 4 hours after the death of Abraham Lincoln, 4) Chester A. Arthur had taken the oath of office 3 days after the death of James Garfield, 5) Theodore Roosevelt had taken the oath of office 13 hours after the death of William McKinley, 6) Calvin Coolidge had taken the oath of office 4 hours after the death of Warren G. Harding, and 7) Harry Truman had taken the oath of office 2 hours after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The oath could have waited, although Johnson, apparently, could not.

Slouching Towards Consensus

Even so, with the release of Bishop's book, it appeared the dispute was slouching towards consensus...a consensus unfavorable to Johnson. When interviewed on **7-23-69** for the Johnson Library, Kenneth O'Donnell said that, after Kennedy was officially pronounced dead, he went to Johnson and *"strongly urged him to go right to Love Field. Number one, if it was a conspiracy no one would know what hospital we were at and no one would have any route covered and he'd be safer than if they had had a route in the newspaper. It only took ten minutes, and speed was of a necessity. Get back to Washington. Which he agreed to do."* He then described the Secret Service's removal of Kennedy's body from the hospital, the arrival of the Kennedy entourage on Air Force One, and their subsequent discovery that Johnson was on the plane. He then said that, when he approached Johnson, *"Before I could say anything he said he'd talked to Bobby and that Bobby told him he ought to be sworn in right there. On the surface it doesn't make any sense, because he's president of the United States the minute they say 'you're dead.' You don't need to ever be sworn in. I think the man wanted to be sworn in in Texas, and there's nothing really wrong with that except if you've got a crisis and a conspiracy you ought to be up in the airplane, which I thought at the time. But that's not my business, he's president. I was just concerned about Jackie."*

When, later asked a follow-up question, on whether Bobby had actually told Johnson he should be sworn in right there, more surprising, O'Donnell continued to vent. He said: *"Bobby's recollection of the conversation--obviously, he's hazy, must be. I reconstructed it in the fashion that he called Bobby to tell him what happened and also to get what the legal views were. I don't know who suggested that, maybe Homer Thornberry did, because really that makes absolutely no sense whatsoever, to be frank with you. He is president of the United States the minute they say, 'You're dead,' with all the powers of the*

presidency. He never has to be sworn in ever in his life. He says Bobby said, and he really sort of hedges that, and he said Bobby put Katzenbach on. In the first place Bobby wouldn't have the slightest idea, I would think that very few people off the top of their head could find what the Constitution really says. I know it is the fact. The fact is you're president. You can get sworn in eight months from now if you feel like it...And I think Bobby got irritated at that because that didn't make any sense, but Bobby didn't know any of the background either. I'm sure he just threw the phone to somebody. There's no question in my mind that Lyndon Johnson wanted to be sworn in by Judge Sarah T. Hughes, an old family friend, and he was afraid somebody was going to take the thing away from him if he didn't get it quick."

Note that O'Donnell not only expresses doubt about Johnson's version of his conversation with Robert Kennedy. but contradicts Johnson's claims on the same two points on which their statements to the Warren Commission were in conflict. He'd thought Johnson was leaving as soon as he reached the airport, on an unspecified plane, while Johnson was under the impression he'd told O'Donnell he would wait for Mrs. Kennedy at the airport on Kennedy's plane. Perhaps O'Donnell had simply failed to hear Johnson's telling him he would wait on the plane. Or perhaps Johnson had made this decision after O'Donnell had left the room.

Johnson himself was unclear on this matter. On **8-19-69**, he granted a taped interview to the ghost-writers of his upcoming memoir, Harry Middleton and Bob Hardesty. Portions of the transcript of this tape were published in the December 2001 Texas Monthly. On the events at the hospital and airplane, Johnson reminisced: *"Mrs. Johnson wanted to see Mrs. Kennedy. And Nellie Connally. Then from there on, there were frequent conversations, and pretty soon they came back and said (Kennedy) was dead. It's all vague in my mind who said what, and where, and who it was. But somewhere in my mind, I knew that this conceivably could be part of something even bigger. So I said, 'Let's get back to Washington as soon as we can.' We went in Air Force One, just as they told us to. I called the attorney general from the plane, and I asked him if I should come back to Washington and take the oath. He said he would call me back, but he thought offhand I should take it there. He was calm and unexcited. Katzenbach came on. The plane was full of people. We stepped into (the presidential stateroom) to get the oath from Katzenbach. I called a lawyer in Dallas, Irving Goldberg. He said he'd get Sarah Hughes. Everyone was saying, 'Let's get this plane off the ground.' I said, 'No, we'll wait for Mrs. Kennedy.'"*

Well, hmmm... Note that Johnson now claimed *"they told us"* to go to Air Force One, and not that O'Donnell had told him as much. Note also that he now claimed Kennedy had said *"offhand"* that he should take the oath in Dallas in the first call, and not that he'd insisted on it during the second call, as claimed in his statement to the Warren Commission.

And that was unsurprising compared to what Johnson claimed elsewhere. When discussing his strong-arming Earl Warren to chair the commission investigating Kennedy's murder, he confirmed that he'd done this in part to clear himself. He admitted *"I shudder to think what churches I would have burned and what little babies I would have eaten if I hadn't appointed the Warren Commission. If there was no Warren Commission, we would have been as dead as slavery."* Hmmm... if only he'd told us who this "we" was... And what evidence he thought Robert Kennedy was planning to use against them...

And that wasn't the last time Johnson discussed his fantastic fear of Kennedy. An 11-28-85 UPI article (found in the Altus Times) reported that historian Francis Loewenheim had just reviewed a recently declassified 30 page transcript of a 1969 interview with Johnson, and had found it of historical interest. (This may very well have been the same transcript later excerpted in the Texas Monthly.) In this interview, reportedly conducted eight months after Johnson left office, Johnson claimed: *"I think that the attorney general seriously considered whether he should let me be president, whether he should really take the position the Vice-President didn't automatically move in. I thought that was on his mind*

every time I saw him the first few days, after I had already taken the oath. I think he was seriously calculating what steps to take. For several days he really kept me out of the president's office. I operated from the Executive Office Building because it was not made available to me. It was quite a problem."

Well, I'll be. We either had a paranoid for a President, or someone with an incredibly guilty conscience. Johnson had told Jackie and everyone who would listen that Robert Kennedy had told him to be sworn in in Dallas--that the country needed continuity, etc. And yet, in his scrambled-egg of a mind, he'd apparently held the concurrent fear Kennedy would try to prevent him from being president. Now, this suggests he'd been lying about Kennedy's telling him to be sworn in, yes? I mean, he couldn't simultaneously believe Robert Kennedy told him to be sworn in and was trying to prevent him from being sworn in, could he? That Johnson's paranoia ran deep, for that matter, is suggested by his similarly stated belief the brief delay in his gaining access to the oval office (so that Kennedy's papers and possessions could be organized and transferred to the archives) amounted to his being *"kept out"* of the oval office. Wow. What did he expect? A crown to descend from the ceiling when he walked into the room? And every sign of Kennedy to magically disappear?

It seems clear from this that Johnson was every bit as twisted as the Warren Commission's depiction of Oswald. And yet there's a key difference: Johnson had a plausible motive.

That Johnson had been lying about O'Donnell as well, and had made the decision to leave Parkland and go to Air Force One after O'Donnell had left the room, was supported, moreover, by Congressman (later Judge) Homer Thornberry, who'd waited with Johnson at Parkland, and had accompanied him to Air Force One... When interviewed for the Johnson Library on **12-21-70** and asked about the events of 11-22-63, Thornberry related that as soon as Johnson received official word of Kennedy's demise *"right then he took charge. He said, 'Now what should we do?' He talked to this agent in charge, a Secret Service man, Rufus Youngblood. He thought perhaps they ought to go on to the plane."* Note that in Thornberry's recollection, Johnson conferred with Youngblood, and not O'Donnell. This supports the previously-discussed possibility that when Youngblood told the Warren Commission that, after being told of Kennedy's demise by O'Donnell, Johnson *"agreed that we would go on to the airplane and board the plane and wait until Mrs. Kennedy and the body would come out"* the agreement was between Johnson and himself--Youngblood--and not O'Donnell, who'd already left the room.

The historical record suggests, then, that if Johnson had told O'Donnell at the hospital he would wait for the First Lady and the fallen president on Kennedy's plane, as he suggested to the Warren Commission, that he did so in a private discussion with his bodyguard Rufus Youngblood, whereby the only one who actually heard him or knew about this plan was agent Youngblood, who then failed to share this information with his fellow agents, including his immediate superiors, Emory Roberts and Roy Kellerman.

This logical deduction, however, has proved a bridge too far for some to cross...

Starting with Lyndon Johnson...

In his **1971** memoir *The Vantage Point*, Johnson kicked the hornet's nest and repeated the story he'd told the Warren Commission. He insisted: *"O'Donnell thought that we should depart for Washington immediately. I asked what Mrs. Kennedy wanted to do. O'Donnell replied that Mrs. Kennedy would not leave the hospital without the President's body. He said that they were waiting for a casket. I could not desert Mrs. Kennedy in that situation and emphatically said so. I told O'Donnell that I would not return to Washington until Mrs. Kennedy was ready to go, and that we would carry the President's body back with us if that was what she wanted. I did agree to go immediately to Air Force One and to wait there until Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body were brought aboard the plane."*

He also stood his ground on the question of the swearing-in. He wrote that, after calling Robert Kennedy, and offering his condolences: *"I told him that both the Secret Service and the members of the late President's staff felt that I should return to Washington at once. Attorney General Kennedy said he would look into the matter and report to me whether the oath should be administered immediately or after we returned to Washington. He also said that he would provide the proper wording of the oath. I then received a call from McGeorge Bundy, the President's national security adviser, and from Walter Jenkins of my staff. They both said that my return to Washington should not be delayed. I told them that Mrs. Kennedy had not arrived with the President's body and that I would not leave under any circumstances until she was aboard. At that point the Attorney General came back on the line. He said that the oath of office should be administered immediately--before taking off for Washington--and that it could be administered by any official officer of the United States. The next call came from Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, calling, I presumed, at the Attorney General's direction. He dictated the wording of the oath to my personal secretary, Marie Fehmer."* Note that Johnson had reverted to form, and was once again claiming Bobby had told him to be sworn-in in Dallas--a claim he'd admitted wasn't true in his 1966 call to Moyers.

But he was not afraid to add something new: Irving Goldberg. After Manchester first exposed the Goldberg connection, and after Goldberg subsequently confirmed his role to the Johnson Library, Johnson really kinda had to say something about him in his account of the day. Johnson continued *"I then called Irving Goldberg, a lawyer friend for many years. We agreed that Judge Hughes, whom President Kennedy had appointed to the U.S. District Court in Dallas, should be asked to administer the oath. Goldberg telephoned Judge Hughes at her office. She was not there, but was expected in momentarily, and a few minutes later she called in."* Note that Johnson had thereby removed both his first call to Hughes' office, and Goldberg's call to Sanders, from the story.

Johnson then continued: *"I explained the situation, and told her that we would send a car for her immediately. She replied that she could get to the airfield faster on her own and would be there in ten minutes. As soon as I hung up, I asked Agent Youngblood to check on the location of Mrs. Kennedy and to let me know the second she arrived."*

Now this is pretty interesting. Marie Fehmer's notes relate that *"Judge Hughes called in at 2:02--said she could get to the plane in ten minutes."* They do not specify that Judge Hughes called President Johnson. Judge Hughes was interviewed by KRLD's Eddie Barker shortly after the swearing-in, and wrote a first-person account of the swearing-in ceremony for the Washington Post that evening. At neither time did she mention talking to Johnson. She gave the Johnson Library an oral history on 10-7-68. There, she repeated the same story. After hearing of the shooting, she left the Trade Mart where Kennedy was scheduled to speak. She went home to Highland Park. Upon reaching home she called into her office, and was told Johnson was looking for her. She told U.S. Attorney Barefoot Sanders, who had come into her office after being asked to track her down by someone on the plane with Johnson, presumably Marie Fehmer, she would leave for Love Field immediately, and be there in 10 minutes. She did not change clothes. She drove straight there. Sanders, in his own oral history, however, relates that after asking Hughes *"to get on out there,"* he *"told them."* It seems clear, then, that Sanders, not Hughes, told Fehmer she'd be there in 10 minutes. Yes, it appears that Johnson, or his ghost-writers, or both--perhaps misunderstanding Fehmer's notes--came to believe he'd actually spoken to Judge Hughes prior to her arrival, and invented a conversation in which he offered her his help, etc. It was a President's account of the first moments of his presidency. And it was pure fiction.

Johnson then described the approach of a small plane to Love Field, and of its pilot's seeking permission to pull up alongside Air Force One and unload its very important passenger, his young

associate Bill Moyers. He then claimed: *"a few minutes later, Bill joined us aboard the plane."* Note that by adding these *"few minutes"* in between his call with Hughes and Mrs. Kennedy's arrival, Johnson had created the illusion he'd spoken to Hughes minutes before Mrs. Kennedy's arrival.

He then described Mrs. Kennedy's arrival. Here, he unveiled yet another shift. While he'd told the Warren Commission *"I estimate that Mrs. Kennedy and the coffin arrived about a half hour after we entered the plane, just after 2 o'clock"* he now declared *"About 2:15 the moment arrived against which I had been steeling myself--and dreading to the depths of my being. Mrs. Kennedy was coming aboard with the President's body."* Apparently, someone close to Johnson had pointed out to him that the Secret Service reports written a week or so after the assassination were more helpful to his cause than the notes of his secretary written on the plane, and used as the source material for his statement to the Warren Commission.

Johnson then proceeded: *"Lady Bird and I went to the rear of the plane to meet her. I had not seen Mrs. Kennedy since morning, when we had gotten into our cars at the airport to begin the motorcade."* Hmmm... That's interesting. Both Mrs. Kennedy and Marie Fehmer insisted he'd seen her just a minute or two before, when Mrs. Kennedy found him in her bedroom... It seems likely, then, that Johnson was lying on this point as well.

There's also this. While Sid Davis', Merriman Smith's and Charles Roberts' published accounts of Johnson's swearing-in fail to note the arrival of Judge Hughes, and suggest they'd arrived just after she'd reached the plane, Johnson now claimed *"We were still waiting for Judge Hughes when the press pool entered."* If true, this suggests they'd deliberately left her arrival out of their reports, and had thereby misled their readers into thinking Jackie Kennedy had held up Johnson's departure from Dallas, as opposed to the reverse.

There's another possibility, of course. Seeing as no other account places the arrival of the reporters before the arrival of Judge Hughes, Johnson's sudden insistence that this was so years after the fact suggests that perhaps, just perhaps, Johnson's swearing-in and Mrs. Kennedy's departure from Dallas were delayed not only by their waiting for the arrival of Mrs. Hughes, but by their waiting for the subsequent arrival of the press corps Johnson desired as witnesses to his assuming office.

There's still another possibility. Charles Roberts was interviewed as part of the Johnson Library Oral History program on 1-14-70. He claimed the press pool arrived before Judge Hughes, but stayed outside the plane so Merriman Smith could make use of a nearby pay phone. He then offered: *"I think he was in the booth as Judge Hughes arrived. She was sort of whisked up the ramp, then Kilduff took us up into the plane right behind her."* Perhaps, then, Johnson thought the press pool had arrived after Mrs. Hughes, and was worried this could be used to suggest he'd held up Mrs. Kennedy's departure, not just to take the oath, but to have the press corps present while he took the oath... And had then decided to lie about it...

Or perhaps he was simply mistaken on this point. If Johnson were the biggest liar in the world, he would still be bound to make an honest mistake from time to time. Perhaps this was one of those times.

In any event, Johnson's book was not the last word. In **1972**, O'Donnell published a biography of Kennedy, *Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye*. Here, he addressed the different stories and tried to make sense of them. He pulled no punches. He called Johnson a liar.

On pages 31 and 32, he insisted that, after Kennedy was pronounced dead: *"I figured that Johnson,*

who had flown to Texas separately from the Kennedys on Air Force Two, the second 707 jet plane in our party, which was identical to Air Force One, would be taking off for Washington immediately. We did not know then whether or not President Kennedy's assassination was part of a planned conspiracy that might also threaten Johnson, and, in any case, it seemed imperative to get the new President out of Dallas right away. I knew, however, that Jackie would not leave Dallas until she could bring her husband's body with her. This would take at least a little time, so I assumed that Johnson would be leaving for Washington ahead of us. This presented no problem; with the two planes waiting in nearby Love Field, he could take one and leave the other one for us. If Johnson wanted to use Air Force One, as more fitting to his new office as President, that would be all right with Jackie and with us. Both planes had the same equipment and facilities. The only difference between Air Force One and Air Force Two was the identification numbers on their tails. I went to Johnson to urge him to go to Washington immediately and to explain to him that I wanted to remain in the hospital with Jackie until President Kennedy's body was ready to be moved to the airport... 'You'd better get the hell out of here,' I said, 'and get back to Washington right away... Get the police to seal off Love Field, and go there right now,' I said. 'And take off for Washington as soon as you get there.' Johnson agreed that I should stay behind at the hospital until Mrs. Kennedy was able to leave with the President's body. 'You take good care of that fine lady,' he said. He never suggested that he might wait at the airport for Jackie and the body of President Kennedy before he left for Washington. If he had made such a suggestion, I would have vetoed it... He never discussed with me whether he should use Air Force One instead of Air Force Two, a question which would have seemed highly unimportant at the time."

O'Donnell then related an incident at Parkland Hospital, where the local coroner Earl Rose refused to release President Kennedy's body to the Secret Service and Mrs. Kennedy, and where they up and took it anyway. By page 37, O'Donnell, along with Mrs. Kennedy and the body of President Kennedy, finally reached Air Force One, where Mrs. Kennedy found Johnson in the bedroom. O'Donnell then pushed Johnson to have the plane take off immediately, only to be rebuked. According to O'Donnell, Johnson told him *"We can't leave here until I take the oath of office... I just talked on the phone with Bobby. He told me to wait here until Sarah Hughes gives me the oath..."* O'Donnell then claimed: *"I was flabbergasted. I could not imagine Bobby telling him to stay in Dallas until he had taken the Presidential oath... Taking the oath is just a symbolic formality and there is no need to hurry about it. Johnson could have waited until he got to Washington and spared all of us on Air Force One that day, especially Jackie, a lot of discomfort and anxiety."* O'Donnell then added: *"Later that night, Bobby gave me an entirely different version of his conversation with Johnson about taking the oath. He said Johnson had telephoned him... to express his sympathy, and then said to Bobby that 'a lot of people down here had advised him to be sworn in right away,' and asked if Bobby had any objection. 'I was too surprised to say anything,' Bobby said... 'Then he began to ask a lot of questions about who should swear him in. I was too confused and upset to talk to him about it, so I switched him over to Nick Katzenbach..."*

O'Donnell then dismissed reports of the flight back from Dallas as one in which open hostility was displayed between the Kennedy and Johnson camps, but nevertheless acknowledged *"Some of us did feel that he was using Mrs. Kennedy and the Kennedy aura when he moved into her husband's Presidential plane so he could stage his oath-taking ceremony there with her present, and so he could arrive in Washington with her and President Kennedy's casket. I think Johnson sensed that he might be criticized for taking over Air Force One instead of going back to Washington earlier on his own plane, as we assumed he would do. This must have been why he later made a big point of insisting in his testimony before the Warren Commission, and in interviews with reporters, that I had specifically told him to take Air Force One when we talked before he left Parkland Hospital. He was trying to shift the blame for his being on Air Force One to me, just as he insisted that he waited in Dallas to take the oath on the plane because Bobby Kennedy had told him to do so, which was not true at all."*

Hmmm... Johnson and O'Donnell were hopelessly at odds. Who was telling the truth?

Let's check back in with Rufus Youngblood. In his **1973** book *20 Years in the Secret Service*, Youngblood offered up a slightly different version of O'Donnell's comments at Parkland. Here is what he ultimately wrote regarding Johnson's decision to wait for Mrs. Kennedy on the plane: *"Sir, we must leave here immediately!" I said to Johnson. The President's life was no longer in the balance. The reason for staying at the hospital no longer existed. 'I can't leave without Mrs. Kennedy,' Johnson replied. O'Donnell said, 'She won't leave without the body. A casket has been ordered but it isn't here yet.' 'We can wait for her on the plane,' I said. O'Donnell agreed that Johnson should go to Air Force One at once. Months later, amid all the sniping and second-guessing, Johnson was criticized for 'usurping' the Presidential aircraft. What these critics chose to ignore was the simple fact that Air Force One--or to more correctly identify the plane in question, Number 26000--had superior communications capabilities that were absolutely essential in the uncertain conditions that prevailed at the time. Lyndon Johnson was President, even though the formality of the swearing-in had not yet taken place. As President, his duty to the country was to take every possible measure to insure the safety of the nation. In Dallas, Air Force One was an extension of the White House, and as Johnson said himself, he saw nothing strange about the President using the President's plane."*

Well, this is most interesting. While Youngblood had previously claimed it was O'Donnell's idea Johnson take Air Force One, he now offered Johnson's rationale for taking the plane--that it had superior communications and was the President's plane--and said only that O'Donnell "agreed" Johnson should take Air Force One. He mentioned nothing of his being sent down the hall to get this agreement--the story, we can only assume, either Johnson told Bishop, or Bishop came up with on his own, while confusing Roberts for Youngblood. He said nothing, moreover, of O'Donnell's agreeing that Johnson would wait for Mrs. Kennedy on the plane. In doing so, for that matter, Youngblood had put his Warren Commission testimony into context. When he'd testified *"he agreed that we would go on to the airplane and board the plane and wait until Mrs. Kennedy and the body would come out"* he was talking about Johnson, and Johnson's agreeing with his (Youngblood's) suggestion they wait at the airport.

Conclusion number 12: Kenneth O'Donnell never told Johnson to take Air Force One. (He agreed that Johnson should leave immediately, without realizing Roberts, Youngblood, and Johnson took this to mean he should leave on Air Force One immediately.)

Conclusion number 13: Kenneth O'Donnell was never told Johnson would be waiting for Mrs. Kennedy on Air Force One.

In opposition to Johnson's statement to the Warren Commission, then, it seems quite clear that O'Donnell never actually *"said that we should return to Washington and that we should take the President's plane for this purpose"* or *"urged again that we go ahead and and take Air Force 1 and return to Washington."* O'Donnell had at best only agreed to such a thing, and did not know Johnson would be on Air Force One when he arrived with Mrs. Kennedy. President Johnson had misled his own Commission...charged with discovering the truth about the assassination of his predecessor, and he'd done so, apparently, for political reasons.

He'd orchestrated the return flight from Dallas so that Mrs. Kennedy would have no alternative but to fly home on his plane. He then lied about it. If Bobby Kennedy hadn't charged onto the plane on its arrival back in Washington, for that matter, Johnson would almost certainly have forced Mrs. Kennedy to exit the plane on his arm.

He was afraid folks might think he'd killed his predecessor, and sought to hide behind the widow's

skirts.

Conclusion number 14: President Johnson lied in his statement to the Warren Commission when he suggested it was Kenneth O'Donnell's idea he leave on Kennedy's plane.

Still, it's hard to see this clearly. And here are a few of the reasons why...

In **1980**, Merle Miller published *Lyndon: An Oral Biography*, a book in which Johnson's story was told by numerous witnesses, including Johnson himself. In writing this, Miller used only direct quotes, from previously published materials, oral histories performed for the Johnson Library, and interviews performed by Miller specifically for his book. When describing what happened on the plane, however, Miller made a surprising choice. He picked someone who wasn't even there: Johnson assistant Walter Jenkins. He quotes Jenkins as follows: *"I began to get calls from President Johnson who was on the plane which was sitting on the ground in Dallas. The first question was whether he should be sworn in right away. He asked me to get hold of Bobby Kennedy and ask him, which I did. He was for the swearing in. He said that there is no question but that he is president, but we don't know but that this is an international conspiracy and maybe there are others that are going to be attacked, and that he should be sworn in as quickly as possible. And then he talked to Mr. Johnson and reiterated what he had said to me."*

Well, that's mighty interesting. Johnson mentioned calling Jenkins, but said this had happened after he'd called Bobby, and that Bobby's return call had come in the middle of this call. Neither Johnson nor Kennedy had ever mentioned Jenkins' first calling Bobby, and Bobby's telling Jenkins Johnson should be sworn in at once. Jenkins was reportedly loyal to a fault. Was he lying to help support Johnson's claim Bobby was for the swearing in?

It appears so. The rest of Miller's quote of Jenkins is also interesting. Jenkins continued *"Then there was the question of the oath. Johnson wanted me to find Sarah Hughes, which I did. I knew her closest friend was Irving Goldberg, so I called him, and he was able to locate her and get her to the plane. He said: 'She may not know the oath for the President of the United States.' So we had to get a copy and read it to them. Somebody dug it out from the White House archives and it was given over the phone to Jack Valenti, who wrote it down on an invoice and gave it to Judge Hughes."*

Well, here, Jenkins was taking credit for the actions of Sanders, who claimed he'd tracked down Hughes, and Kennedy, who admitted asking Katzenbach to find the oath. Tellingly, he also claimed he'd talked to Goldberg, when Goldberg specified that he'd spoken, first, to an operator, and then Johnson. And Johnson admitted calling him. Jenkins had thereby showed his stripes. He was unreliable and tended to make claims that cast both himself and Johnson in a favorable light.

But here's the kicker: we can't say any of this for sure because Miller was also unreliable. Miller failed to cite the source of his quote of Jenkins. In the sources section of his book, he cited both a personal interview of Jenkins, and Jenkins' oral histories with the Johnson Library. He did not provide dates for these interviews. While the University of Virginia has placed over a thousand of the oral histories performed for the Johnson Library online, moreover, none of the at least three oral histories performed by Jenkins are among them. And Miller's papers regarding his book on Johnson? Well, they are also held by the Johnson Library...and also unavailable to the public at large.

And it's not as if we can just trust Miller on this... Miller's reputation was built on his book *Plain Speaking*. This book was built on his taped interviews with President Harry S. Truman. These tapes are now held at the Truman Library. There was a problem with this book, however. This problem was discovered by historian Robert Farrell long after Miller's death in 1986. This problem was not a small problem, moreover. It's actually kind of a big one. You see, some of the quotes attributed to Truman in Miller's book were never uttered by Truman in his taped interviews. Apparently, he'd just made them

up.

So that is why I call this all a Rorschach blot. The patterns we see among all these statements and contradictions may say more about us than about the creators of these patterns.

As for me, I see Jenkins, and Johnson, as liars. Miller's book on Truman--in which he apparently invented some quotes--was published years after Truman's death. His book on Johnson, on the other hand, was published in 1980, while Jenkins was still alive, and but 62 years of age. If Miller had made up the quote he'd attributed to Jenkins, he was taking a heckuva risk Jenkins would find out about it, and denounce his book. It follows, then, that Johnson's close associate Jenkins almost certainly lied to protect Johnson against the charge he'd lied about Bobby. And that Johnson had probably lied as well...

And that they'd largely gotten away with it... Yes, for many years after Johnson's ever-changing story on the why's and how's of how he ended up on Kennedy's plane taking the oath of office with Kennedy's widow by his side should have been brought to light, most of those writing on the events of the plane either presented them as a he said/she said situation or, unbelievably, took Johnson's side.

Here's a good, er, bad example. In 1985 former Secret Service Agent Dennis McCarthy published *Protecting the President*, a best-selling account of his years as an agent, sprinkled with a bit of history. His discussion of the flight back from Dallas was bizarre, to say the least. He wrote: *"Some of Kennedy's staff later criticized Johnson's use of Air Force One immediately after Kennedy's death. Perhaps one can understand their feelings, but from a security standpoint it would have been utterly ridiculous for the new President to have returned to Washington on older, propeller-driven Air Force Two, while Air Force One, with its superior communications equipment, was used as a hearse for the dead president."*

Well, where do we begin? First, the bit about Air Force Two being prop-driven... Absolute horse-pucky. It was a jet, a Boeing 707 nearly identical to Kennedy's plane. It had, in fact, BEEN Kennedy's plane, and Eisenhower's plane before that. Yes, Johnson's plane on the morning of 11-22-63--the one upon which he refused to fly back to Washington--tail number 86970--had been Kennedy's plane as recently as August 1962. And it wasn't retired because it was out of date. It was, in fact, in perfect condition, and would remain so for decades to come, remaining in the presidential fleet until June of 1996. Over that stretch, moreover, it would be used in a number of famous flights. In 1981, ironically, it served as Air Force Two for Vice-President George Bush when he flew back to Washington after President Reagan was shot. In 1967, even more surprisingly, it was pressed into service as Air Force One when Johnson flew around the world.

In 2008, the pilot on this flight, James Cross, wrote a book on this experience, entitled, appropriately enough, *Around the World with LBJ*. Cross reported that Kennedy's former plane, tail number 26000, was being overhauled in December 1967, and that during this time Johnson decided to fly to Australia, and then continue on around the world. He reported that Johnson was at first upset he couldn't take 26000, which he called the *"big plane"* due to its being all of 7 feet longer than the back up planes, including 86970, and its having a 15 foot wider wingspan. He quoted Johnson as insisting *"No, I don't like those planes...They don't have good sound-proofing and I don't like the seats, and they don't have a bed in them like I'm used to."* Cross reported that Johnson soon realized he couldn't get his way, and agreed to fly on 86970--which Cross said he personally preferred, due to its having *"more powerful engines"* than 26000--under the condition it be refurbished to his liking before the trip. According to Cross, Johnson insisted *"Well, you better fix it up so it'll have a nice quiet bedroom, a place where I can sleep. Put some of your men on that airplane and fix all the windows so no outside light will leak in. Put a lot more sound-proofing in the walls and fix a projector in that thing and bring some good movies, and put one of my good beds in it because I need to rest. And don't forget to put on plenty of food and Diet Fresca."*

So, there it is. At least probably. Johnson preferred Kennedy's plane on 11-22-63 because he found it more comfortable, and more befitting a President, than his plane. His decision to fly to Washington on Kennedy's plane had had nothing to do with National Security. In fact, when given the choice on 11-22-63, he'd chosen to take the plane with a bed, and to forgo the one with the more powerful engines.

And, should one think Johnson above such pettiness, one should consider an anecdote found in, of all places, *Protecting the President* by Dennis McCarthy. McCarthy noted that Johnson, while President, liked to go speed boating on a lake near his ranch. He noted that the Secret Service, in its proper role as Johnson's bodyguards, bought and maintained two boats fast enough to keep up with Johnson's boat (which in fact belonged to the Coast Guard) and one boat which could run rings around it. There was a problem, however. They were convinced Johnson would requisition this last boat for himself if he realized how fast it was, and leave them without a boat with which to adequately protect the Presidency. And so they decided to pretend this boat was slower than Johnson's, and let him win race after race, year after year...

Let's recall here what Mrs. Kennedy told Schlesinger, back in 1964: *"I don't know if Lyndon had an Air Force One just like it or one of the older planes, but he always kept pushing for a bigger plane. And--or for more--all the kind of things like that he wanted, the panoply that goes with power, but none of the responsibility."*

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Vincent Bugliosi

Still, some would like us to think Johnson's behavior on the day of the shooting was just peachy. In *Reclaiming History*, his mammoth book on the assassination, published 2007, Vincent Bugliosi notes that O'Donnell denied telling Johnson to fly back on Air Force One, but nevertheless dismisses O'Donnell's position. He *"wonders"* if O'Donnell had found it *"convenient to deny"* telling Johnson to take the plane, and argues, furthermore, that we should take Johnson's side in his disputes with *"Kennedy loyalists"* over his behavior on day one of his presidency, because *"the weight of the evidence is that LBJ was very sensitive to the feelings of the entire Kennedy camp following the assassination."*

Well, first of all, that's nonsense... If Johnson was so concerned about Mrs. Kennedy's feelings in the immediate aftermath of the shooting, why the heck didn't he ask her what SHE wanted to do--whether SHE wanted to return to Washington with her husband's body on her own plane... whether SHE wanted to leave as soon as she arrived on Air Force One... or whether SHE was willing to delay her departure until after Johnson had been sworn in?

It seems clear, moreover, that Bugliosi's failure to read (or remember) the full body of evidence on these matters had grossly misrepresented *"the weight of the evidence."* While accepting O'Donnell's position he thought Johnson would be flying back immediately upon arrival at the airport, and was surprised to find Johnson at the airport when he arrived, for example, he cites a 6-28-05 interview with Secret Service Agent Lem Johns. He fails to note that Johns, in his 11-29-63 report, had previously claimed: *"To the best of my knowledge I believe that the Vice President learned from Mr. O'Donnell that Mrs. Kennedy was getting a casket, and would proceed as soon as she could to AF-I for return to Washington, D.C., with President Johnson on the same plane."* If he'd really been on top of it, Bugliosi would have pointed out the contradiction, and concluded either that Johns' latter day recollection was in error, or that Johns' original report was strangely worded and unreliable. But, alas, he did neither.

This pattern of avoiding the uncomfortable extends through Bugliosi's narrative at other points as well. He asserts that in their second phone call Robert Kennedy told *"Johnson that the oath should be administered immediately, before taking off for Washington."* He cites for this assertion not only

Johnson's statement to the Warren Commission, but William Manchester's *The Death of a President*, and Arthur Schlesinger's *Robert Kennedy and His Times*. He fails to note that two of his three sources are at odds with his conclusion--that Manchester's book relates that both Robert Kennedy and Ed Guthman, who claimed to have been a witness, disputed Johnson's claim, and that Schlesinger's book similarly quotes Kennedy. Bugliosi fails to note, moreover, that Johnson's 1966 phone call to Moyers (which was published three years prior to Bugliosi's book) proves that by December 1966 Johnson himself no longer believed Kennedy had told him he should be sworn in.

He misleads his readers in the process. While he tells his readers Mrs. Kennedy found Johnson in her bedroom when she finally reached Air Force One, he notes as well that this is her version of the story, and that Johnson's version of events suggested otherwise. He even cites Lady Bird's statements as support for Johnson's story. Incredibly, he never mentions that Marie Fehmer had told both William Manchester and the Johnson Library that Mrs. Kennedy was telling the truth, and that this proved Johnson to have been deceptive, at the very least, on this matter.

So, let's do a quick replay. Bugliosi 1) led his readers to believe O'Donnell had been lying, and that Johnson had been telling the truth, when the evidence for this was unclear; 2) failed to even acknowledge that Johnson may have been lying about his conversation with Robert Kennedy; and 3) pretended that Mrs. Kennedy and Johnson had had an honest difference of opinion, when the evidence was crystal clear that Johnson had been lying.

It's even worse than that. In his discussion of the Johnson/O'Donnell divide, Bugliosi cites the testimony of Rufus Youngblood as support for Johnson's claim O'Donnell told him to take the plane. He relates that Youngblood said O'Donnell had done this because it had *"better communications equipment."* He then cites as supporting evidence the 1966 U.S. News and World Report article in which an unnamed former White House employee claimed that Air Force One had better communications than Air Force Two for a brief period in 1963, including on the day of the assassination. He failed to note that three NAMED former White House employees--O'Donnell, O'Brien, and McHugh--had claimed the communications equipment on the two planes were identical. And not only that, he failed to note that by 1966 Johnson and his supporters had long since stopped claiming O'Donnell had said the communications were better on Air Force One, and had shifted to claiming the Secret Service had told Johnson as much...

Reclaiming History... I don't think so... More like muddying the waters...

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Steve Gillon

Steve Gillon, the History Channel's resident historian, and the author of *The Kennedy Assassination, 24 Hours After*, published 2009, is nearly as hard on Johnson as I. He spots many of the contradictions in Johnson's statements, and sees Johnson's lack of honesty regarding what took place on the plane as a major factor in his subsequent rift with the Kennedy's, his loss of credibility with the public, and ultimate downfall.

He concludes: *"LBJ's fear that the nation would not accept him as the legitimate heir to the presidency convinced him that he needed someone close to the slain president, either Kenneth O'Donnell or RFK, to endorse every decision he made on that fateful day. He proved himself willing to manipulate both men in order to obtain the political cover he desired--or he simply lied and manufactured their compliance. He claimed that O'Donnell specifically ordered him to board Air Force One, when that decision was most likely made by the Secret Service. He insisted that O'Donnell was the first person to tell him that JFK was dead, when the evidence shows that Emory Roberts delivered the news. Later, he manipulated a grieving RFK into agreeing that he should take the oath in Dallas. After getting RFK to*

endorse his decision to take the oath in Dallas, he told everyone on the plane that the swearing-in was the attorney general's idea. The pattern of deception so evident in the early hours of LBJ's administration would eventually erode the moral authority of his presidency. Johnson's penchant for bending the facts to suit his purposes raised doubts about his integrity and created a credibility gap that eventually undermined public trust in his administration...Johnson told so many small lies, and some big ones, that many people started to question everything he said."

And yet Gillon was far too charitable... As Gillon accepted John McCone's claim RFK had agreed to Johnson's being sworn in on the plane, and failed to note that Ed Guthman had told William Manchester the opposite was true, it seems likely he had a built-in bias to trust Johnson's claims--as long as he had a witness. He fails to accept that some of these witnesses could have been lying. His willingness to provide Johnson--a man he concludes was an habitual liar--the benefit of the doubt, moreover, also seems apparent. I mean, why else provide Johnson an alibi for his systematic lies--that he was afraid he would not be accepted? Johnson himself never offered such an alibi. And we shouldn't believe him if he did.

Yes, as hard as he was on Johnson, Gillon was still far too defensive of the man. In an 11-20-10 blog on the Huffington Post, he claimed *"Kennedy loyalists viewed Johnson's decision to fly Air Force One back to Washington as part of the larger narrative of the day -- an example of LBJ's insensitivity and his megalomania. They would later claim that LBJ was so desperate to surround himself with the trappings of presidential power that he hijacked the Kennedy plane. The charge is bogus. Johnson never requested to use the Kennedy plane. The secret service made that call for him. (LBJ and JFK flew to Dallas on separate but identical planes. The Kennedy plane was designated Air Force 26000. Any plane carrying the president is automatically designated Air Force One, so in that sense it did not matter which plane Johnson chose.) But it did matter to the secret service. Agent Emory Roberts never questioned that LBJ would be returning to Washington on Air Force 26000. In his mind, Air Force 26000 was the president's plane. Kennedy was dead and Lyndon Johnson was now president. It was now his plane. It may have been unsentimental, but it was appropriate. And Roberts never asked Johnson what plane he wanted to use."*

When one reads through Gillon's book, moreover, one finds the source for his contention the decision to fly back on Air Force One had been made by Roberts. It was Roberts himself, in his 12-4-64 interview with William Manchester. Here is how the book discusses the matter: *"Roberts, typically, was unsentimental about the issue of which airplane to take. When Manchester asked Roberts why the sense of 'urgency' to take Air Force One when the Johnson plane was available, Roberts said, 'Yes, we knew there were two planes there but I was thinking only of the presidential plane...I was thinking only of Air Force One.'"*

Should you fail to be blown away by this, well, join the club. Gillon's position on this issue is almost as nonsensical as Bugliosi's position on, well, many issues. The plane on which the President flies is Air Force One. Period. If Johnson flew back to Washington on the plane formally called Air Force Two, it would have been Air Force One. Period. Roberts' Secret Service report reflects that Johnson sent him down the hall to get O'Donnell's permission to fly back on Air Force One. Even if O'Donnell told Roberts "Yes" and didn't just nod his head, as later claimed by Manchester, and even if he fully understood that by Air Force One Roberts meant Kennedy's plane, it follows from this that Johnson was not forced to fly back on Kennedy's plane by Roberts. It was Johnson's decision. He may have been influenced by Roberts when making this decision. He may have thought O'Donnell had agreed to this decision. But it was his decision. Not O'Donnell's. Not Roberts'. Period.

I mean, this couldn't be any clearer. Roberts suggested they fly back on Kennedy's plane, and Johnson made the decision that they do so. Johnson could have flown back on the plane that flew him out there--the plane that still held his luggage. No one told him he could not. In fact, it seems obvious from

reading the statements of Roberts and Youngblood that they would much rather have had Johnson leave immediately on that plane--even if it was in some way inferior to Kennedy's plane--than sit around for an hour in Kennedy's plane.

This circles back to another point--one unexamined By Gillon. In 1964 Johnson and his defenders were putting the word out that Kenneth O'Donnell had told Johnson to fly back on Air Force One, due to its superior communications equipment. This was disputed by O'Donnell in his testimony before the Warren Commission. This dispute was discussed in William Manchester's book, *The Death of a President*. In late 1966 and early 1967, then, Johnson's defenders started claiming the Secret Service had told Johnson to fly back on Air Force One, due to its superior communications equipment. What they failed to realize, however, was that the agent in charge of Johnson's detail when it raced off for the airport, Emory Roberts, was interviewed in 1964, and asked why they'd raced back to Kennedy's plane...and had responded in a manner suggesting the decision had had NOTHING to do with the plane's communications equipment, and everything to do with Roberts', and apparently Johnson's, perception that the plane represented something more than just a means of transportation, and was, in fact, something akin to a throne. The dead king no longer sits upon the throne. It was the new king's to sit upon, so sit upon it he must.

The real weight of the evidence, then, is that Johnson and his defenders had told a series of lies designed to conceal that Johnson had made the decision to wait around in Dallas, and that he had done so against the wishes of the Secret Service, and that he had done so without any input from Mrs. Kennedy. It's clear, moreover, that he didn't really care what Mrs. Kennedy wanted on November 22, 1963--and that she was, in fact, a hostage to his political orchestrations. He had, after all, moved into the plane in which she was accustomed to traveling and made it clear that she was flying back with him...NO MATTER what she wanted...

This fact, however, has proved too hard for many to digest.

The Rorschach Blot As Seen By Robert Caro

Johnson's Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer Robert Caro is clearly among the fact-shy. In his massive and supposedly immaculately-researched work *The Passage of Power*, published 2011, he makes a number of mistakes. Most are errors of omission. While he acknowledges Johnson's and Kennedy's accounts of their phone calls differ, for example, he writes *"The only witnesses to the calls--Rufus Youngblood and Marie Fehmer--heard only one side of them."* He fails to acknowledge that Manchester interviewed Guthman, and that Guthman was reported to have claimed he'd heard Kennedy's side of the call, and that Kennedy hadn't told Johnson he should be sworn in in Dallas, as later claimed by Johnson. He fails to mention even that McCone had also claimed to hear Kennedy's side of the call, and to have told Manchester the opposite--that Kennedy had in fact told Johnson he should be sworn in. More pointedly, however, Caro fails to cite Johnson's 1966 call to Bill Moyers, in which he as much as admitted Kennedy hadn't told him he should be sworn in in Dallas. While Caro does cite Marie Fehmer's Oral History, in which she admitted Johnson was in the bedroom when Mrs. Kennedy came on the plane, for that matter, he fails to note the disturbing fact this ran counter to the narrative pushed in the notes written by Fehmer while still aboard the plane. These may have all been innocent oversights, of course.

But some of Caro's mistakes are not so easily dismissed. Caro relates that, after O'Donnell told Johnson he should leave the hospital immediately, and that Mrs. Kennedy would not leave Dallas without her husband's body, *"Johnson said in that case he would leave the hospital but not Dallas; he would go to the plane, but he would wait aboard it for the coffin, and the widow, to arrive. A contrary course continued to be urged. A new adjective entered the descriptions of Lyndon Johnson. He was,*

Youngblood says 'adamant.'" A look at Caro's end notes, furthermore, shows that he got this last quote from page 117 of Rufus Youngblood's 1973 book *20 Years in the Secret Service*.

The problem is that Caro--as respected an historian as ever graced the best-seller lists--was blowing smoke. The sentence from which Caro cherry-picked his line about Johnson being "adamant" reads as follows: *"He remained adamant about staying put until there was some definitive word on the President."* That's right. Caro had taken Youngblood's description of Johnson's demeanor before the President's death had been announced, and had used it to shore up Johnson's position that he'd told O'Donnell he would wait for Mrs. Kennedy on the plane.

The evidence suggests, moreover, that Caro's mistake was not entirely innocent. In Caro's 5 volume biography, Johnson is very much an anti-hero, a flawed politician who rose to greatness when his predecessor was unexpectedly murdered. It is important to Caro's thesis, then, that Johnson's first actions as President be noble ones. It seems likely, then, that Caro's overwhelming belief in his thesis had led him to crawl around some mighty inconvenient facts.

Caro's anti-hero president was not heroic, at least not at the outset of his presidency. He'd manipulated people and events so he could fly back to Washington with his predecessor's widow at his side...

But perhaps even this was just an afterthought... Perhaps Johnson's primary interest lay elsewhere...

Valenti and "The Body"

In his 1975 defense of Johnson, *A Very Human President*, former Johnson aide Jack Valenti offered up a fascinating insight into Johnson's actions on 11-22-63. Valenti sat with Johnson on the plane while waiting for Mrs. Kennedy, and was intimately aware of Johnson's thoughts during this period. He wrote of Johnson's decision to be sworn into office as soon as possible--which, while unnecessary, was nevertheless politically desirable. He then added *"before Air Force One departed for Washington, Johnson had also made his first command decision, on his own, to wait for the body of the dead president to be brought aboard before he gave an order to be airborne. This was an intuitive decision and a good one."* So... Johnson, a man famous for seeking advice, had decided not to leave without the body, and had come to this decision entirely on his own, after reaching Air Force One. Hmmm...

And this wasn't a one-time misstatement. In a 1978 WBBM interview with Bob Wallace (found on youtube), Valenti repeated and expanded upon this claim. He said that, after reaching Air Force One, *"Johnson made two decisions: one, that he would not leave without the body of President Kennedy aboard. And second, as an act of symbolism--he didn't need to--he was gonna be sworn in on that airplane. And so we waited for some minutes until the body of the slain president could be brought aboard. He was not about to return to Washington without the body...There was some confusion about the local coroner, the red tape. But Johnson was adamant that he was not leaving until the dead president's body was aboard."*

In a demonstration of both Valenti's certainty on this point, and his confusion regarding others, moreover, he told the Kennedy Library, in an oral history performed 5-25-82, that while he observed little tension between Johnson and the Kennedy faction on the plane back from Dallas, he did see General Godfrey McHugh *"running rather hysterically up and down the airplane. Trying to take charge."* He then offered *"The new president gave orders that he was going to wait for the body of the late president, of which McHugh was furious about."* Valenti had forgotten, one can only assume, that McHugh had arrived with the body of the late President, and was trying to get the plane airborne, unaware that Johnson was on the plane, refusing to let it take off until he'd been sworn-in.

And that wasn't the last time Valenti made this mistake about McHugh. An article by Valenti published in the 11-22-88 Washington Post related that, upon his arrival at the plane: *"Gen. Godfrey McHugh, President Kennedy's Air Force aide, now seemingly in command of the presidential plane, had ordered it into the air. He did not know that LBJ had already communicated to the pilot that Air Force One was not to depart until President Kennedy's body had been brought aboard."* The body, not the widow.

By the time of his 7-15-91 interview with Deborah Hart Strober and Gerald S. Strober, thankfully, Valenti stopped making this error. He did, however, continue making his other claim: that Johnson was waiting for Kennedy's body, and not Mrs. Kennedy. He said that on the plane *"Johnson made two command decisions that, in retrospect, were so right. one was that he wasn't going to leave without the coffin of the thirty-fifth president; number two, he wanted to be sworn in so that the picture of that swearing-in would be flashed around the world..."*

In an 11-21-93 article in the Washington Post, discussing the events of 11-22-63, moreover, Valenti further recalled that, once aboard Air Force One, *"Johnson made two command decisions: First he would be sworn in aboard Air Force One...Second, he would not leave Dallas until the coffin of the 35th president had been brought aboard. Though Bobby Kennedy had counseled otherwise, the new president was firm."*

And that wasn't the last time Valenti claimed Johnson was waiting for Kennedy's body, with no mention of his purportedly all-encompassing concern for Mrs. Kennedy. No, far from it. An 11-22-98 New York Times article by Valenti confirmed that, after installing himself on Air Force One, Johnson's *"first decision was that he would not leave Dallas without the body of President Kennedy on board"* and that *"his second decision was to be sworn in on the plane, before departure."* An 11-20-03 article by Valenti in USA Today similarly claimed: *"On Air Force One, I observed how LBJ, when the dagger was at the nation's belly and his own, made historical decisions quickly and decisively. While the rest of the plane's occupants were in varying states of hysteria, LBJ was supernaturally calm, as if he had brought all his volcanic passions under stern harness. He made, on the spot, two key visionary decisions. First, although he was urged to get in the air immediately for his safety, he said, 'No, I will not leave until the body of President Kennedy is brought aboard.' Second, he was determined to be sworn in as president on the plane, although Justice Department officials insisted he already was president. But Johnson wanted a photograph of his formal ascension to the presidency to be flashed around the globe, to soothe a frightened nation and an equally fearful world."* An 11-22-03 AP article on Valenti by Sharon Theimer then echoed this claim, reporting: *"Johnson made two decisions instantly, Valenti said: He refused to let Air Force One take him back to Washington without Kennedy's body on board, and insisted on taking the oath of office on the plane. A deputy attorney general assured Johnson he already was president, but Johnson took the oath there anyway..."* And, no, that wasn't the last of it, either. In his 2007 memoir *This Time, This Place*, Valenti claimed yet again and for the permanent record that Johnson *"understood intuitively that he could not leave the body of President Kennedy alone in Dallas."*

Well, this is curious, and a bit suspicious to those inclined to suspicion. Why would Johnson refuse to leave Dallas without the President's body--to which he had no right? Valenti's explanation in the Times article that *"LBJ foresaw that he would be maligned for being so eager to be President that he left behind his predecessor's body"* makes little sense in that the alternative--that he would quite correctly be criticized for forcing Kennedy's widow to wait around on the tarmac in Dallas for an additional 30-40 minutes, and then stand by him in her blood-stained clothes during an unnecessary swearing-in ceremony--was something he should also have foreseen, and avoided.

Valenti's latter-day recollections just can't be ignored. There is reason, after all, to believe his latter-day

recollections are in fact not so latter day... Valenti's 1975 book on Johnson, *A Very Human President*, in which he first mentioned Johnson's interest in Kennedy's body, also contains Valenti's notes on a July 25, 1964 background discussion between Johnson and two newsmen, Dan Rather of CBS News and Bob Thompson of the L.A. Times. These notes state: *"Mr. Johnson, in reply to a direct question, said that he had thought an international conspiracy might be underway to 'flatten us out.' Because of this concern, the president said, he ordered that Air Force One be moved at the airport. Then, he said, he decided to go directly to the plane from Parkland Hospital. Even beyond that point, the president said, he had grave doubts about the advisability of 'sitting at the airport' for two hours, but he felt it imperative that President Kennedy's body be returned immediately to Washington."*

No mention of Mrs. Kennedy, or of Johnson's simply acquiescing to her wishes when he flew home with the body of her recently murdered husband. No mention that there was a second jet standing by for Mrs. Kennedy and the body should Johnson have left immediately, as proposed by his advisers. No mention of his determination that she not fly home alone. No, here, according to Valenti's contemporaneous notes of a Johnson background discussion with two newsmen, was Johnson himself claiming that he was waiting for the body--the BODY--because he felt it imperative it be returned to Washington. Right away. With him.

There's also this. In his January 11, 1967 column on the events on the tarmac in Dallas, we should recall, Drew Pearson reported that *"It took about an hour to overcome local red tape and drive Kennedy's body to the waiting airplane."* He then explained: *"Air Force One, the Presidential plane, had been waiting for Kennedy's body. This delay was on the personal order of the new President, and contrary to the wishes of the Secret Service."* And, no, Pearson's reference to the body wasn't a typo, or shorthand for "Mrs Kennedy who was traveling with the body." A few paragraphs later, he repeated that *"Johnson ordered the plane to wait for Kennedy's body."* The BODY...

Pearson's column thereby adds weight to Valenti's subsequent statements suggesting Johnson's preoccupation on 11-22-63 was not with Mrs. Kennedy, but with her husband's body. Even if Valenti was by chance Pearson's sole source for these statements, moreover, it proves Valenti's recollections were fully formed by 1967, and not something that slipped out later.

And there's also this. One of the earliest scholarly books on Johnson was *Sam Johnson's Boy*, by Alfred Steinberg. It was released in July 1968, while Johnson was still President. Although, like Manchester and Bishop, Steinberg failed to cite his sources for particular passages, he did list the names of fifty or so Texas and Washington insiders with whom he consulted in the writing of his book. Jack Valenti was not among them. Even so, Steinberg includes the following description of Johnson's thinking upon arrival on Air Force One: *"Johnson quickly made two decisions. Kennedy's remains would travel to Washington with him so that he would not appear to be in unseemly haste to take charge...Johnson's second decision was that he would be sworn in on the plane before taking off for Washington. Using Kennedy's bedroom phone on the plane, he telephoned Bobby Kennedy at his Virginia home. Although the President's brother was in a state of shock, he took the call. After telling Bobby that his brother's murder 'might be part of a world-wide plot,' Johnson asked whether he should take the oath in Dallas, and, if so, what was the form of the oath? Bobby ignored the first question and said he would call him back on the second."*

Well, this is more than curious, and more than a bit suspicious, wouldn't you say? Why did Johnson think it imperative he gain control of Kennedy's body? Valenti's explanation, which mirrors the explanation offered by Steinberg--that Johnson was scared people would talk if he didn't return with Kennedy's body--seems inadequate. Did Johnson really feel that leaving the body in Dallas would make him look ambitious, or weak, and divide the nation's attention? Upon arrival in Washington, the body was taken to Bethesda Naval Hospital, where an autopsy was performed. The decision to go to

Bethesda was made by Mrs. Kennedy, after speaking to Dr. Burkley, her husband's physician. Burkley had suggested she choose a military hospital. Had Burkley spoken to Johnson as well? Had Johnson told Burkley he wanted the body removed from civilian control as fast as possible?

Hmmm...one can only wonder...

If there's an innocent explanation for this body-snatching, for that matter, why would Johnson later lie about it, and make out that his sole interest was Mrs. Kennedy's welfare, and that the decision to return the body on Air Force One was entirely her own?

Yes, sad to say, something was indeed rotten in Denmark, er... Texas... Texas State law forbade the removal of a murder victim from the state before an autopsy could be conducted. And yet Johnson sat by and nodded his approval while the Presidential detail of the Secret Service--now under his command--violated this law. (While some might find this unfair, as O'Donnell claimed that he was responsible for the removal of the body, and as Dallas Mayor and Johnson crony Earl Cabell claimed he'd intervened at the last minute in order to give the removal of the body the appearance of being "legal," the statements of O'Donnell and the Secret Service agents involved in the removal of the body make clear that they were taking the body no matter what Cabell or others had to say on the matter, and that the Secret Service was ultimately answerable to Johnson, not O'Donnell.)

It is a matter of historical record, then, that among Lyndon Johnson's first acts as President, one of them was to have his subordinates illegally abscond with the corpse of his predecessor. Now, curiously, it is also a matter of historical record that, within moments of Johnson's flying off with the body, the Secret Service flew President Kennedy's blood-stained limousine out of Texas. This meant that both the best evidence (the body) and half of the crime scene (the limousine) were never shown to those with jurisdiction for the crime (the Dallas Coroner and the Dallas Police Department), but were instead illicitly removed from Texas and analyzed in secret by men under Lyndon Johnson's direct control.

Now this alone could have raised doubts about Johnson's involvement in the assassination. And this alone could have caused Johnson to create a commission to clear his name. But there was so much more. The sky upon which Air Force One was flying, metaphorically speaking, was the air of suspicion. Congress had been investigating Johnson for corruption. Within months, he could have been forced to resign. But now, with one quick pull of a trigger, in Johnson's home state, no less, President Kennedy had been killed, and Johnson's hold on power had not only been preserved, but amplified a thousand-fold.

Let's put this in its proper perspective. Lyndon Johnson was a real person, and a real politician, with real ambitions. In 1960, he had run for the Democratic nomination for President against Kennedy, and had unleashed a series of vicious attacks on Kennedy when it looked as though Kennedy was gonna win. (Adlai Stevenson was later to say that these were the most vitriolic attacks on Kennedy he'd ever heard.) As part of his campaign strategy, Johnson had even tried to cast doubt on Kennedy's fitness for office. To do this, Johnson's campaign manager hired private investigators to uncover the truth about Kennedy's health problems. He then began a rumor campaign designed to make people wonder if Kennedy wasn't too sick to serve out his term. (One source, Kenneth O'Donnell, in his 7-23-69 interview for the Johnson Library, put it a little more bluntly. He claimed that LBJ's campaign manager had put out the word that Kennedy *"had Addison's disease and couldn't serve out the term"* and that *"if he was elected he was going to die."*) As the situation grew increasingly desperate in the Johnson camp, moreover, one of his mouthpieces, India Edwards, publicly proclaimed what Johnson had--according to writer Gore Vidal, who'd met with Johnson at the Democratic Convention --been saying in private, namely that *"Kennedy was so sick from Addison's disease that he looked like a spavined hunchback."*

This, no surprise, prompted a response from the Kennedy camp. They issued a series of statements claiming that Kennedy's adrenal dysfunction-- which they'd correctly claimed was not what was classically known as Addison's disease--was in fact under control, with an occasional need for medication. But there's no evidence Johnson believed this. Perhaps then, when Johnson ultimately accepted Kennedy's offer of the Vice-Presidency at the convention, he believed the words of his campaign manager and felt certain Kennedy was on borrowed time. If so, then perhaps, just perhaps, by November 1963 he'd grown tired of waiting for Kennedy to die. These thoughts were undoubtedly on the minds of more than a few...

Particularly as Johnson's campaign manager in 1960, the man who'd conducted an investigation into Kennedy's health problems, and who'd predicted Kennedy's imminent demise, was, in 1963, Kennedy's host on his fatal trip to Dallas, the Governor of Texas, John Connally...

Now, I know some will shy from such speculation. They will say, "But Connally was riding right in front of Kennedy and got shot. He's above suspicion." But let's put this in another time and another place. Let's say it's the year 2003, and John McCain is President. Let's say he got elected in 2000 after reluctantly bringing George Bush onto the ticket. And now he's been killed on a trip with Karl Rove, Bush's former campaign manager. And Karl Rove was wounded in the hail of gunfire. And Rove was heard to yell, as Connally, "My God, THEY'RE going to kill us all!" after getting shot. What would you think? Would you blame anyone who thought maybe, just maybe, Rove was in on the assassination? And that Bush was a party to it as well?

Of course not. These are not innocent times, and Bush and Rove are not innocent men. And neither were Johnson and Connally...

The suspicions of Johnson were REAL and realistic. They were the 800-pound gorilla in the room no one wanted to talk about in 1963, even in hushed tones. On the flight back from Dallas, Evelyn Lincoln, Kennedy's secretary, jotted down a list of those she considered suspects for his murder. This list was not made public until 2010. At the head of a murderer's row of "*KKK, Dixiecrats, Hoffa, John Birch Society, Nixon, Diem, Rightist, CIA in Cuban fiasco, Dictators*" and "*Communists*" was someone Lincoln knew very well, someone sitting right there on the plane with her-- "*Lyndon.*"

Of course, in some circles, little has changed since '63. When, in 2003, forty years after the assassination, the History Channel ran a program on Johnson as part of its multi-part series *The Men Who Killed Kennedy*, it was pressured by prominent historians and political figures to denounce the program, and cancel all future airings of the program. This program was no more inaccurate than other programs in the series, but it forced people to think the unthinkable. And so was made to disappear...

This was unfortunate, as it fostered the perception these historians and politicians had carefully investigated Johnson's actions in the aftermath of Kennedy's assassination, and had found nothing the least bit suspicious. And this clearly wasn't true. Let's recall that in our long and winding discussion of Johnson's behavior in the aftermath of 11-22-63, in Chapter 1 and in this chapter, we have uncovered that Johnson almost certainly 1) lied about his reasons for wanting to fly back on Kennedy's plane; 2) lied about Kenneth O'Donnell's telling him to fly back on Kennedy's plane; 3) lied about telling Kenneth O'Donnell he would wait for Mrs. Kennedy and the body on Kennedy's plane; 4) lied about the first time he saw Mrs. Kennedy on the plane; 5) lied about his being told by Robert Kennedy on 11-22-63 that he should be sworn in on the plane; 6) lied when he indicated he only called Judge Hughes after being told he should be sworn in by Robert Kennedy; 7) lied when he made out that Mrs. Kennedy could have left her husband's body at Parkland Hospital, should she have wished to; and 8) lied when he subsequently claimed the assassination of President Kennedy was thoroughly investigated by Robert Kennedy.

The man was either hiding something, or so scared of how things looked that he lied about them, and made them look far worse...

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